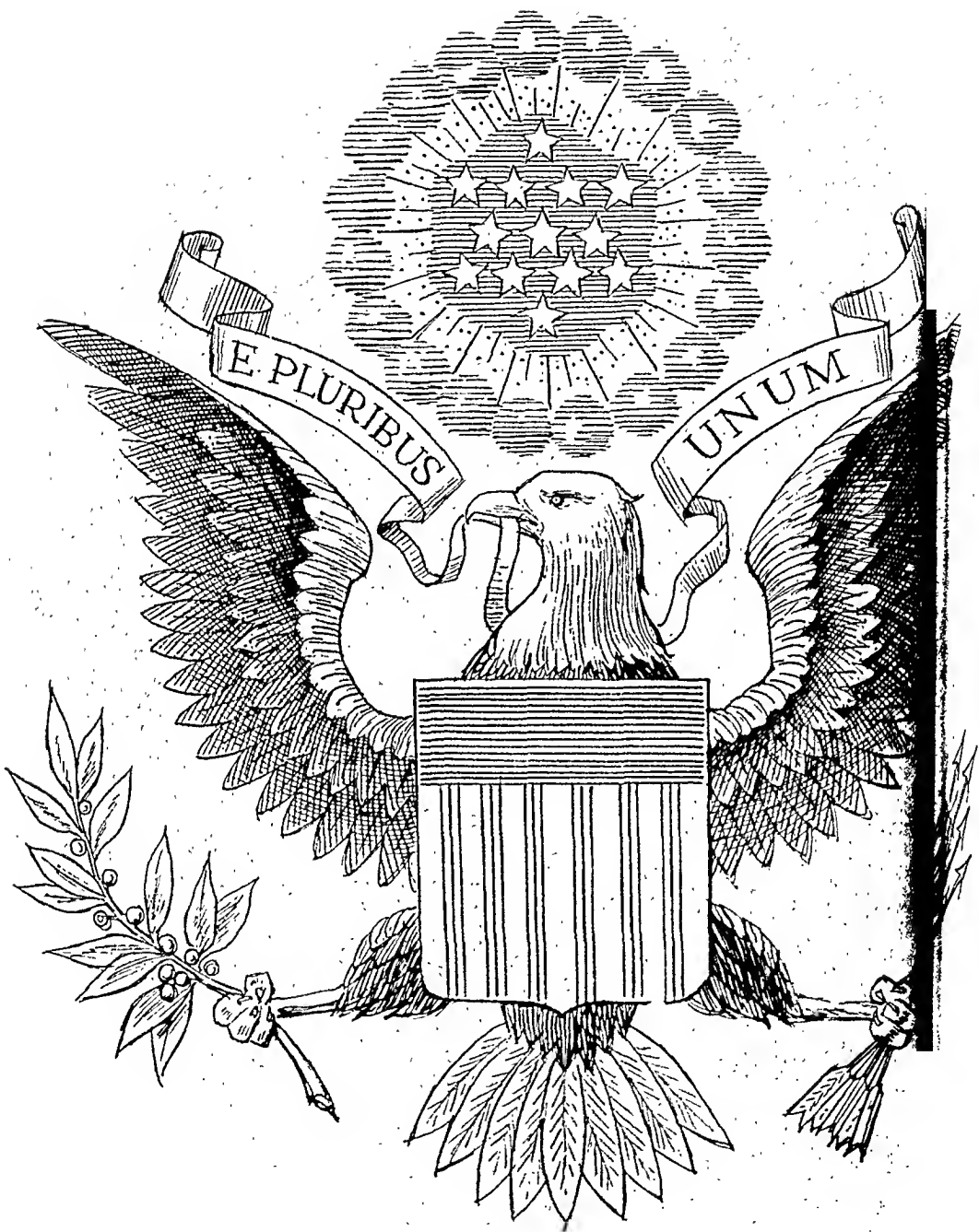


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# OUR NATION FROM ITS CREATION

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NATHANIEL PLATT and MURIEL JEAN DRUMMOND, both teachers in Newtown High School, New York City, have also coauthored *Our World Through the Ages*, published by Prentice-Hall, Inc.; *Our World: Renaissance to Modern Times*, published by the Ryerson Press of Canada; *New York: Our City of Progress*, published by Allyn & Bacon of Boston, a basic civics textbook in use for nearly twenty years; and *Nuestro Mundo a Través de las Edades*, a Spanish edition of *Our World Through the Ages*, translated by Dr. Antonio J. Colorado of the University of Puerto Rico. They have also published educational articles, served on syllabus and textbook committees, conducted surveys of community resources and educational practices, and held office in history teachers' associations.

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## ABOUT THIS BOOK

"We have carried forward a unique experiment in the forging of democracy; in the adjustment of capital and labor, and the subordination of both to government; and above all, in the development of a spirit of free experiment under conditions of liberty and fair equality of opportunity. No country has a story better worth reading than America's. . . ."

Like the famous American historian Allan Nevins, who wrote these lines, the authors of *Our Nation From Its Creation* look upon American history as a great and inspiring experiment. They have tried to build their book around this theme.

Following are some of the people whose sug-

gestions the authors found most helpful: William Miller, coauthor (with Richard Hofstadter and Daniel Aaron) of *The American Republic*; E. H. O'Neill, author of *A History of American Biography, 1800-1935*; Dr. Antonio J. Colorado, University of Puerto Rico; Hazel M. Korey, Chairman of Social Studies, Newtown High School, Elmhurst, New York; Jeanette Cokeley and Jack Paris, Newtown High School; John G. Kunit, Chairman of Social Studies, Jamaica High School, Jamaica, New York; and Louise Leak of the New York Public Library Picture Collection. The authors thank also the Prentice-Hall staff. Finally, they express their deep appreciation for the advice of Frederick Baum.

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### Our Nation From Its Creation

NATHANIEL PLATT • MURIEL JEAN DRUMMOND

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# SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A BASIC AMERICAN HISTORY LIBRARY<sup>1</sup>

## DOCUMENTS AND READINGS

- Angle, P. M., ed., *The American Reader* (Rand McNally).
- Barck, O. T., Jr., ed., *America in the World. Twentieth-Century History in Documents* (Meridian PB<sup>2</sup>).
- Bartlett, R. J., ed., *The Record of American Diplomacy* (Knopf).
- Berger, J. and D., eds., *Diary of America* (Simon and Schuster).
- Bieseke, R. L., and others, eds., *Readings in American History* (Houghton Mifflin).
- Billington, R. A., Loewenberg, B. J., and S. H. Brockunier, eds., *The Making of American Democracy* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).
- Bradford, N., ed., *Great Issues in American History A Documentary Record* (Vintage PB).
- Brockway, T. P., ed., *Basic Documents in United States Foreign Policy* (Anvil PB).
- Brown, R. G., ed., *The Human Side of American History* (Gunn PB).
- Commager, H. S., ed., *Documents of American History* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).
- , and A. Nevins, eds., *The Heritage of America* (Little, Brown).
- Craven, A. O., Johnson, W., and F. R. Dunn, eds., *A Documentary History of the American People* (Gunn).
- Current, R. N., and J. A. Garraty, eds., *Words That Made American History*, two volumes (Little, Brown PB).
- Goebel, D. B., ed., *American Foreign Policy A Documentary Survey 1776-1960* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).
- Hacker, L. M., ed., *Major Documents in American Economic History*, two volumes (Anvil PB).
- , and H. S. Zahler, eds., *The Shaping of the American Tradition* (Columbia University Press).
- Handlin, O., ed., *Readings in American History* (Knopf).
- Hart, A. B., ed., *American History Told by Contemporaries* (Macmillan).
- Heffner, R. D., ed., *A Documentary History of the United States* (Mentor PB).

- Hofstadter, R., ed., *Great Issues in American History*, two volumes (Vintage PB).
- Hollingsworth, J. R., and B. I. Wiley, eds., *American Democracy: A Documentary Record* (Crowell PB).
- Hurd, C. and E., eds., *A Treasury of Great American Letters* (Hawthorn).
- Hurd, C., ed., *A Treasury of Great American Speeches* (Hawthorn).
- Klingberg, F. W., ed., *A History of the United States from 1865 to the Present* (Meridian PB).
- Leffler, H. T., ed., *A History of the United States from the Age of Exploration to 1865* (Meridian PB).
- Leopold, R. W., and A. S. Link, eds., *Problems in American History* (Prentice-Hall).
- Letwin, W., ed., *A Documentary History of American Economic Policy from 1789* (Anchor PB).
- Morris, R. B., ed., *Basic Documents in American History* (Anvil PB).
- Pease, T. C., and A. S. Roberts, eds., *Selected Readings in American History* (Harcourt, Brace & World).
- Petersen, M., and L. Levy, eds., *Major Crises in American History. Documentary Problems* (Harcourt, Brace & World).
- Smith, J. M., and P. L. Murphy, *Liberty and Justice: A Historical Record of American Constitutional Development* (Knopf).
- Still, B., *The West: Contemporary Records of America's Expansion Across the Continent 1607-1890* (Capricorn PB).
- Williams, W. A., *The Shaping of American Diplomacy* (Rand McNally).
- Westmeyer, I. F., and J. M. Gambrill, *The Westward Movement. A Book of Readings on Our Changing Frontiers* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).
- Wrage, E. J., and B. Baskerville, *American Forum: Speeches on Historic Issues 1788-1900* (Harper & Row).

## COLLEGE-LEVEL TEXTBOOKS

- Baldwin, L. D., *The Stream of American History*, two volumes (American Book).
- Billington, R. A., Loewenberg, B. J., and S. H. Brockunier, *The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective, 1492-1947* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).

<sup>1</sup> See also recommended reading at the end of each of the seven units.

<sup>2</sup> PB means paperback

Carman, H. J., and H. C. Syrett, *A History of the American People*, two volumes (Knopf).  
 Curti, M. E., Shryoek, R. I., Cochran, T. C., and F. H. Harrington, *An American History*, two volumes (Harper & Row).  
 Dulles, F. R., *The United States Since 1865* (University of Michigan Press).  
 Hicks, J. D., *The Federal Union: A History of the United States to 1865* (Houghton Mifflin).  
 ———, *The American Nation from 1865 to the Present* (Houghton Mifflin).  
 Hofstadter, R., Miller, W., and D. Aaron, *The American Republic*, two volumes (Prentice-Hall).  
 Kraus, M., *The United States to 1865* (a companion book to the Dulles book—University of Michigan Press).  
 Malone, D., and B. Raueh, *Empire for Liberty*, two volumes (Appleton-Century-Crofts).  
 Morison, S. E., and H. S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, two volumes (Oxford University Press).  
 Owsley, F. L., Chitwood, O. P., and H. C. Nixon, *A Short History of the American People*, two volumes (Van Nostrand).  
 Perkins, D., and G. G. Van Deusen, *The United States of America*, two volumes (Macmillan).  
 Riegel, R. E., and D. F. Long, *The American Story*, two volumes (McGraw-Hill).  
 Williams, T. H., Current, R. N., and F. Freidel, *A History of the United States*, two volumes (Knopf).

## BOOKS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bailey, T. A., *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).  
 Bemis, S. F., *A Short History of American Foreign Policy and Diplomacy* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).  
 Blake, N. M., and O. T. Barek, *The United States in Its World Relations* (McGraw-Hill).  
 Ferrell, R. H., *American Diplomacy* (Norton).  
 Pratt, J. W., *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (Prentice-Hall).

## ECONOMIC HISTORIES

Bogart, E. L., and D. L. Kemmerer, *Economic History of the American People* (Longmans, Green).  
 Cochran, T. C., and W. Miller, *The Age of Enterprise* (Harper Torchbooks PB).  
 Dulles, F. R., *Labor in America* (Crowell).  
 Faulkner, H. U., *American Economic History* (Harper & Row).  
 Hacker, L. M., *Triumph of American Capitalism* (Columbia University Press).

Kirkland, E. C., *A History of American Economic Life* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).  
 Shannon, F. A., *America's Economic Growth* (Macmillan).

## AMERICAN ARTS AND SCIENCES AND CULTURE IN GENERAL

Andrews, W., *Architecture in America* (Atheneum).  
 Botkin, B. A., ed., *A Treasury of American Anecdotes* (Random House).  
 ———, ed., *A Treasury of American Folklore* (Random House).  
 Burlingame, R., *Machines That Built America* (Signet Key PB).  
 ———, *March of the Iron Men* (Universal Library PB).  
 Carner, C., *America Sings* (Knopf).  
 Chase, G., *America's Music (From the Pilgrims to the Present)* (McGraw-Hill).  
 Cheney, M., *Modern Art in America* (McGraw-Hill).  
 Clark, M., *Medicine on the March* (Funk & Wagnalls).  
 Dorson, R. M., *American Folklore* (University of Chicago Press PB).  
 Dulles, F. R., *America Learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).  
 Eliot, A., *Three Hundred Years of American Painting* (Random House).  
 Flexner, J. T., *The Pocket History of American Painting* (Pocket Books PB).  
 Garland, J., *Story of Medicine* (Houghton Mifflin).  
 Herzberg, M. J., *This Is America* (Pocket Books PB).  
 Howard, J. T., *Our American Music* (Crowell).  
 Hunter, S., *Modern American Painting and Sculpture* (Dell PB).  
 Ives, B., *Burt Ives Songbook* (Ballantine Books PB).  
 ———, *Songs in America; Our Musical Heritage* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce).  
 Jaffe, B., *Men of Science in America* (Simon and Schuster).  
 Kaempfert, W. B., *A Popular History of American Inventions* (Scribner).  
 Larkin, O. W., *Art and Life in America* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).  
 Laws, G. M., *Native American Balladry* (American Folk-Lore Society).  
 Lomax, A., *The Folksongs of North America* (Doubleday).  
 Mott, F. L., *American Journalism: A History* (Macmillan).

- Quinn, A. H., *A History of the American Drama* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).
- Sandburg, C., *American Songbag* (Harcourt, Brace & World).
- Sloane, E., *Americana* (Funk & Wagnalls).
- Spiller, R. E., and others, eds., *Literary History of the United States* (Macmillan).
- Trent, W. P., and others, eds., *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (Macmillan).
- Van Doren, C., *The Patnotic Anthology* (Doubleday).
- Van Wagenen, J., Jr., *The Golden Age of Home-spun* (Cornell University Press).
- Wilson, M., *American Science and Invention* (Simon and Schuster).
- Wish, H., *Society and Thought in Modern America* (Langmans, Green).
- Wood, J. P., *Magazines in the United States* (Ronald Press).

## AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

- Binkley, W. E., *American Political Parties, Their Natural History* (Knopf).
- , *President and Congress* (Vintage Books PB).
- Coyle, D. C., *The United States Political System and How It Works* (Signet Key PB).
- Hofstadter, R., *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (Vintage PB).
- Kelly, A. H., and W. A. Harbison, *The American Constitution. Its Origins and Development* (Norton).
- Konvitz, M. R., *The Constitution and Civil Rights* (Columbia University Press).
- Lubell, S., *The Future of American Politics* (Anchor PB).
- Rodell, F., *Nine Men* (Random House).
- Roseboom, E. H., *A History of Presidential Elections* (Macmillan).
- Rossiter, C., *The American Presidency* (Signet PB).
- Stone, I., *They Also Ran* (Doubleday).
- Swisher, C. B., *American Constitutional Development* (Houghton Mifflin).
- , *Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court* (Anvil PB).

## THE UNITED STATES THROUGH THE EYES OF FOREIGNERS

- Brogan, D. W., *The American Character* (Knopf, Vintage PB).
- Bruckberger, R. L., *Image of America* (Viking Press).
- Bryce, J., *The American Commonwealth*, two volumes (Capricorn PB).

- Commager, H. S., ed., *America in Perspective: The United States Viewed Through Foreign Eyes* (Mentor PB).
- Dickens, C., *American Notes* (Premier PB).
- Handlin, O., ed., *This Was America* (Harvard University Press).
- Joseph, M. F., ed., *As Others See Us: The United States Through Foreign Eyes* (Princeton University Press).
- Nevins, A., ed., *America Through British Eyes* (Oxford University Press).
- Probst, G. E., *The Happy Republic: A Reader in Tocqueville's America* (Harper Torchbooks PB).
- Sideman, B. B., and L. Friedman, *Europe Looks at the Civil War* (Collier PB).
- Tocqueville, A. de, *Democracy in America* (Mentor PB).
- Trollope, F., *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (Vintage PB).

## AMERICAN HISTORY IN PICTURES

- Adams, J. T., ed., *Album of American History*, five volumes (Scribner).
- American Heritage, eds., *The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places* (Simon and Schuster).
- Beebe, L., and C. Clegg, *The American West* (Dutton).
- Bonte, G. W., and S. E. Forman, eds., *America Marches Past* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).
- Brooks, E. M., *The Growth of a Nation* (Dutton).
- Butterfield, R., *The American Past* (Simon and Schuster).
- Davidson, M. B., *Life in America*, two volumes (Houghton Mifflin).
- Durant, J. and A., *Pictorial History of American Presidents* (Barnes).
- Durant, J., and O. Bettmann, *Pictorial History of American Sports* (Barnes).
- Gabriel, R. H., and others, *Pageant of America Series*, fifteen volumes (Yale University Press).
- Horan, J. D., *The Great American West* (Crown).
- Johnson, C. W., *The Lines Are Drawn: American Life Since the First World War as Reflected in the Pulitzer Prize Cartoons* (Lippincott).
- Kaplan, M., ed., *Presidents on Parade* (Macmillan).
- La Farge, O., *A Pictorial History of the American Indian* (Crown).
- Life magazine, *America's Arts and Skills* (Dutton).
- Lorant, S., *The Presidency: A Pictorial History of Presidential Elections* (Macmillan).

National Geographic Society, *America's History-lands*.

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Rogers, A., *I Remember Distinctly: A Family Album of the American People 1918-1941* (Harper & Row).

Rogers, A., and F. L. Allen, *The American Procession* (Harper & Row).

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Brown, R. H., *Historical Geography of the United States* (Harcourt, Brace & World).

Cochran, T. C., and W. Andrews, *Concise Dictionary of American History* (Scribner).

Golenpaul, D., ed., *Information Please Almanac Atlas and Yearbook* (Simon and Schuster).

Hansen, H., *The World Almanac and Book of Facts* (New York World-Telegram and Sun).

Johnson, A., and others, *The Dictionary of American Biography*, twenty-one volumes (Scribner).

Library of Congress, *A Guide to the Study of the United States of America*.

Lord, C. L. and E. H., *Historical Atlas of the United States* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).

Morris, R. B., *Encyclopedia of American History* (Harper & Row).

Paullin, C. O., *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (American Geographical Society).

Semple, E. C., *American History and Its Geographic Conditions* (Houghton Mifflin).

Toozee, R. A., and B. P. Krone, *Literature and Music as Resources for Social Studies* (Prentice-Hall).

Weber, O. S., ed., *Paperbound Books in Print* (Bowker).

Wesley, E., *Our United States: Its History in Maps* (Denoyer-Geppert PB).

## OTHER BOOKS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Armstrong, O. K., *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the United States* (Longmans, Green).

Barck, O. T., Jr., and N. M. Blake, *Since 1900: A History of the United States in Our Times* (Macmillan).

Billington, R. A., *The Westward Movement in the United States* (Anvil PB).

Collier, J., *Indians of the Americas* (Mentor PB).

Goldman, E. F., *The Crucial Decade: America 1945 to 1955* (Knopf).

Handlin, O., *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Little, Brown; Universal Library PB).

Hofstadter, R., *The Age of Reform* (Knopf; Vintage PB).

Kunstler, W. M., *The Case for Courage* (Morrow).

Link, A. S., *American Epoch: A History of the United States Since the 1890's* (Knopf).

Tyler, A. F., *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860* (University of Minnesota Press).

Williams, T. H., *Americans at War* (Louisiana State University Press).

Wittke, C. F., *We Who Built America* (Western Reserve University Press).



# SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF OUR NATION'S GEOGRAPHY AND SOME OF ITS INFLUENCES ON OUR HISTORY

There is a kind of rhythm in America's topography, and wide variety in its geography as a whole. Going from east to west, here, very roughly, is the rhythm of the topography of the United States, excluding Hawaii and Alaska:

- A narrow stretch of lowland plain (the Atlantic Coastal Plain)
- Some fairly long but not very high nor very broad ranges of mountains (the Appalachians)
- A very broad stretch of plain (including the Mississippi Valley and the higher and drier Great Plains)
- Some very long, very broad, and very high ranges of mountains (the Rockies)
- A very narrow stretch of lowland plain to the Pacific Ocean (the Pacific Coastal Plain)

The Appalachian system stretches south from Nova Scotia in Canada to Georgia and Alabama. Its ranges have such colorful names as the White Mountains of New Hampshire, the Green Mountains of Vermont, the Adirondacks and Catskills of New York, the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, and the Great Smokies on the boundary of North Carolina and Tennessee.

The Rockies, a thousand or so miles wide in Western continental United States, are part of a mountain system that extends all the way from Alaska to South America, where its ranges are called the Andes. Ranges in the United States that are popularly considered part of the Rockies are the Cascade, Sierra Nevada, and Pacific Coast Ranges.

Suppose that those who settled our Thirteen Colonies had been Asians, not Europeans, and had settled on the Pacific, not the Atlantic, coast. *Because of the smooth Pacific coast line*, they would have found few good harbors. It would have been difficult for them to migrate eastward, for the mountains come too close to the shore, and the high waterfalls and swift rapids make too few rivers running eastward navigable. Two such navigable rivers, however, are the Columbia, between the present states of Washington and Oregon, and the Sacramento in California. Those immigrants who might have faced still another obstacle: the high and dry Great Plains.

On the other hand, the European settlers on the Atlantic coast were much closer to their homeland than most Asians settling on the Pacific coast would have been. This meant that the settlers from Europe could get supplies and protection from home, and ship products home, much more easily. The irregular Atlantic coast line is made up of many inlets and bays, forming fine sheltered harbors. One reason why many small colonies—rather than one or two large colonies—were settled on or near the Atlantic coast was the natural water boundary that such inlets and bays gave many settlements. Many such an inlet was also the mouth of a river. Examples of big cities that eventually developed on such rivers are Boston on the Charles; New York on the Hudson; Philadelphia at the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill; Pittsburgh, where the Monongahela and the Allegheny join to form the Ohio; Baltimore on Chesapeake Bay, not far from the mouth of the Susquehanna; Savannah on the Savannah; and Charleston, into whose harbor the Ashley and the Cooper flow. The many navigable rivers enabled frontiersmen to ship goods, especially furs, from the interior to seacoast cities. This was especially important in an age when land transportation was very bad. The swiftly running rivers also in time provided water power for manufacturing.

In many ways the Appalachian Mountains were a blessing to the colonists. They were far enough from the ocean, especially in the South, so that there was sufficient level land for cultivation. They were high enough to keep the colonists settled in the East until they had built up permanent settlements. Yet they were not so high as to prevent colonists from migrating westward when the time was ripe. Moreover, there were fairly convenient passageways west, such as the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys in New York leading to the Great Lakes, and the Cumberland Gap in the mountains dividing what are today the states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The Mississippi River Valley stretches roughly 1,000 miles from the Great Lakes in the North to the Gulf of Mexico in the South. Here there are no geographic barriers to keep people hemmed in in small communities, as on the Atlantic coast. But there are long, navigable

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# UNIT ONE

## FOUNDATIONS FOR A GREAT EXPERIMENT: From the Founding Of the Colonies To the Framing Of the Constitution

**1**

A New World Gives the People  
Of the Old World New Hope

**2**

The Thirteen Colonies:  
Thirteen Laboratories from Which  
The Great Experiment Profited

**3**

Ways of Life in Colonial Days

**4**

The American Revolution:  
Friction with Britain Leads  
To a Declaration of Independence

**5**

The American Revolution:  
Independence Is Won on the Battlefield

## CHAPTER

# I

### *A New World Gives the People Of the Old World New Hope*

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#### **Why More Far-off Explorations Began About 1500 Than Earlier**

- A Gradual Change Takes Place in the Thinking of More People, Especially After the Crusades
- More People Exchange Ideas as Towns and Cities Grow in Europe
- Curiosity Is Encouraged by the Renaissance and Scientific Revolution
- European Businessmen, Determined to Smash a Monopoly, Inspire Explorations
- Co-operation of Businessmen with Kings Encourages Explorations

#### **Explorers Seeking New Routes to East Find New World in West**

- Portugal and Spain Pioneer in Exploration
- French, Dutch, and Swedes Challenge Spain's Monopoly
- England Deals Staggering Blows to Spain's Monopoly
- Spain Is Weakened During the Reign of England's Queen Elizabeth I
- Shifts Occur in the Relative Strength of Colonial Empires in the New World

#### **Spain, France, and Holland Influence the New World**

- Spain Makes Many Contributions, But Permits Few Freedoms
  - France, Too, Makes Contributions, But Permits Few Freedoms
  - The Dutch West India Company Rules New Netherland with an Iron Hand
- 

For thousands of years, people the world over longed to come to America. But until some 500 years ago, there was no place called America. The "America" people yearned for was any land where any man and his family would have enough to eat and a home to call their own. They yearned for a land where ability and hard work would advance a man, rather than privilege based upon noble birth, great wealth, or high mili-

tary position. In short, to many, the idea of "America" was that of any land where any man would have a chance to become a somebody, instead of a nobody.

A glorious opportunity to fulfill such hopes bloomed when America was discovered, the Thirteen Colonies were settled, and the United States began to take shape. This opportunity is sometimes called *The American Dream*. America itself has been called man's

*Last Best Hope* and, also, *The Great Experiment*.

To understand the importance of the Great Experiment, one must understand certain conditions that existed in the Old World.

In the Old World, most people for thousands of years *had been* nobodies. They had lived in poverty, had had almost nothing to say in their government, and could almost never rise above the class into which they had been born. Take, for example, the situation in Europe in the Middle Ages (from about 500 A.D. to about Columbus' time). Most people lived in separate, fairly self-sufficient communities called *manors*, each of which was ruled by a lord. Usually one lord received his land from a more powerful lord upon contracting to render him military and other services. Such a system of landholding is called *feudalism*.

Most of the people living on the manor were farmers called *serfs*. Serfs were bound to the land. Even if the land changed hands, they remained on it. To get married, or even to leave the manor temporarily, a serf had to get his lord's permission. Not only did the serf have few freedoms, but his lord might make numerous demands on him. The field he farmed from dawn to dusk was often the battleground for the frequent wars between lords. In any case, there was little chance of his putting anything away for a rainy day since most of the crop he raised had to be turned over to the lord. His drably dressed family shared their dark and dingy one-room hut with domestic animals. Under feudalism, the serf's position, as well as that of people in other social classes, was generally fixed.

However, all was not bleak for the serf. From the Christian church he received spiritual guidance and solace. Sometimes a bright serf might win a scholarship to a church school. From a material point of view, the serf could not be evicted and he received protection from his lord in a period when kings were weak. Yet, everything considered, his life was so hard that it was usually quite short.

By Columbus' time, feudalism had de-

clined, or even disappeared, in many parts of Western Europe. Much progress was being made in many fields, as we shall soon see. In fact, in England, some seeds of democracy had already been planted. But conditions for most people continued to be bad. Poverty was widespread; class distinctions were rigid; freedoms were few. Wars within countries and between countries made life miserable for many. With such an unhappy background, many who settled even very early in opportunity-rich America had the feeling that their new land really was man's "Best Hope." This feeling has been expressed throughout American history in many different ways by many statesmen, businessmen, writers, Americans in general, and even citizens of other countries. The poet Longfellow expressed it thus:

Humanity with all its fears  
With all its hopes of future years  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.<sup>1</sup>

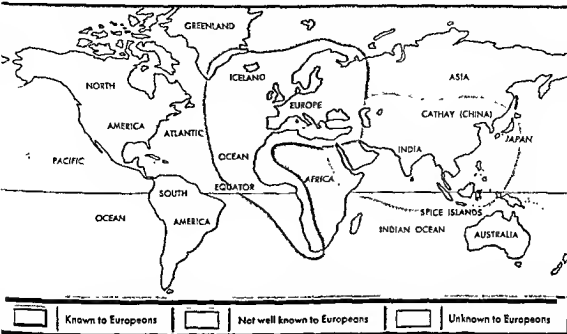
Except for the Indians already here and the Negroes brought here from Africa, practically all the colonists were of European origin. They brought with them their European heritage—languages, religions, skills, and so on, much of which Europe had acquired from earlier civilizations. Thus the dreamers of the American Dream built American civilization upon a foundation of European civilization and of other civilizations that had preceded it.

In every corner of the earth today, many peoples are trying to realize for their own lands a kind of American Dream. American technical advice, financial aid, and democratic ideals are playing an important part in helping them to do so. These nations, like the United States, have faced, and continue to face, many obstacles and threats—both internal and external—to their achievement of a better life. Their dreams, like the American Dream, are goals for which human

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<sup>1</sup> From "The Building of the Ship" by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

## THE WORLD KNOWN TO EUROPEANS BEFORE 1492



beings are perpetually striving. Americans undoubtedly have come closer to realizing their dream than any other people. But that dream still beckons. As the American novelist Thomas Wolfe put it in the 1930's:

*I think the true discovery of America is before us. I think the true fulfillment of our spirit, of our people, of our mighty and immortal land is yet to come. I think the true discovery of our own democracy is still before us. And I think that all these things are as certain as the morning, as inevitable as noon. I think I speak for most men living when I say that our America is Here, is Now, and beckons on before us, and that this glorious assurance is not only our living hope, but our dream, to be accomplished.<sup>1</sup>*

### Why More Far-off Explorations Began About 1500 Than Earlier

About the year 1000, the Viking Leif Ericsson explored the Northeastern coast of North America. Beginning in 1492, Columbus also explored parts of America. Columbus' voyages were followed by those of many other explorers; Ericsson's voyage was not. What developments between about 1000 and about 1500 help to explain this fact? Following are several major developments of many that could be stressed.

**A Gradual Change Takes Place in the Thinking of More and More People.** Most persons on a medieval manor probably never traveled more than a few miles from home in their whole lives. Trying to produce most of what they needed themselves, they depended little on trade with others. Isolated as they were, they had little opportunity to exchange ideas with others. Be-

<sup>1</sup> From *You Can't Go Home Again* by Thomas Wolfe. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

ginning in 1095, something happened that gradually made more and more people living on the manor much more curious about the outside world. In that year, the Christians of Western Europe began a series of armed pilgrimages, called *Crusades*. A main purpose of the Crusades was to recover the Holy Land (Palestine) from the Moslems, who were followers of the seventh-century religious leader Mohammed.

*Crusaders Discover That the East Has Much to Offer the West.* The Crusaders failed to recover the Holy Land. But on the Crusades they discovered that the East boasted great civilizations from which they could learn much. They marveled at the magnificence of the Moslem cities and of such Christian cities as Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire. Eastern products, such as perfume, opium, and spices, seemed highly desirable to them. The perfume they especially craved in an age when few Europeans bathed. The opium they sought to relieve pain in an age when European doctors knew little about medicine. And for preserving foods, spices seemed indispensable.

The Crusaders were similarly dazzled by such Oriental products as damask silk and velvet, rugs and tapestries, rubies and emeralds, such rare fruits as lemons and peaches, and fine steel swords and handsome leather goods. Some of these were products of the Moslems in the Middle East, others were brought in by Moslems from the Far East. Even in ancient times, some such goods had trickled into Europe from the Orient. But during and after the Crusades, they became familiar to more and more Europeans. And increasing numbers of Europeans wanted to know more about Moslem and Byzantine achievements in philosophy, art, medicine, and science.

*More and More People Exchange Ideas as Towns and Cities Grow in Europe.* The thirst of Europeans for Eastern luxuries stepped up trade between East and West. This increased trade encouraged the growth of towns and cities in Europe. Many serfs

escaped from the monotony of the manor to the excitement of such towns and cities. There they were able to exchange ideas with people from different places with different ideas and working at different occupations. There a bright former serf might even attend a university, for there was a revival of learning in the period following the Crusades that resulted in the founding of several universities. Students there often studied, among other subjects, mapmaking, navigation, and astronomy. Armed with such knowledge, many dreamed of setting sail for far-off places. In these towns and cities, the business class, which had been practically nonexistent before the Crusades, began to grow in numbers and importance. Not only did these merchants exchange goods with traders in distant lands, but ideas as well.

*A Spirit of Curiosity Is Encouraged by the Renaissance and a Scientific Revolution.* The European cities that became most prosperous in the late Middle Ages were the Italian city-states, such as Venice, Genoa, and Florence. Their prosperity gave their merchants leisure to cultivate their minds, and money to support culture. This is an important reason why, in such city-states, there occurred, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, a glorious revival of enthusiasm for the culture of the ancient Greeks and Romans. This revival, called the *Renaissance* (French for "rebirth") spread throughout Europe. During the early Middle Ages, it had been taught and believed by many that bodily comfort here on earth was relatively unimportant. The Renaissance attitude, like that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, was that life on earth should be a joy. Like these ancient peoples, Renaissance men had great curiosity about the wonders of the world all about them. It was natural that such men would be curious about the world's geography and want to embark on explorations, rather than concentrate their hopes on the hereafter.

In the early Middle Ages, learned men believed that such ancient scientists as Aris-



tole had recorded the correct answers to most scientific problems. But in the late Middle Ages, some scientists began to question this blind acceptance of ancient authority. They stressed instead the need for observing, investigating, testing, and experimenting, before accepting any theories. In short, a *Scientific Revolution* began. The application of a scientific spirit resulted in many discoveries and inventions. Gradually, many nonscientists adopted a similar scientific spirit, which encouraged them to experiment with new ideas in painting, music, literature, education, and business, among other fields.

About 1450, printing with movable type came into use in Europe. This development further stimulated the spirit of curiosity. Now that many books could be printed more cheaply, more people could learn the ideas of others. Thus many more people could learn about the explorations of such men as Columbus than ever learned about Leif Ericsson's voyage 500 years earlier.

Like the thinking of many men of the Renaissance period, the thinking of sailors had also changed. Previously, many had been afraid to sail far from shore because usually their ships were frail and their maps and navigational instruments far from accurate. But they gained confidence when larger ships were built with more sails and with rudders for steering, and when better maps became available. They gained confidence, too, when such navigational instruments—new to Europe—as the compass and the astrolabe came into use. The astrolabe helped sailors determine their latitude. Guns and gunpowder also were developed in Europe in the late Middle Ages. Possessing these munitions gave explorers greater courage in their voyages.

Thus the Crusades, the growth of towns and cities, the Renaissance, and a Scientific Revolution encouraged a gradual change in the thinking of more and more people.

**The Determination of European Businessmen to Smash a Monopoly Inspires Explorations.** When Marco Polo of Venice and

others returned from China in the late thirteenth century, they dazzled Europe with their tales of its riches. In the slowly growing towns and cities at this time, some European businessmen had grown fairly wealthy. They were eager to increase their wealth by trading in China's riches, so much desired in Europe. But the trade in China's silks, tea, jewels, chinaware, and fine handicrafts was monopolized by Moslem Turks and merchants in the Italian city-states. So was the trade in spices, drugs, and perfumes from other Far Eastern areas. Europeans who imported Eastern luxuries had to pay high prices because of high transportation rates, tolls, and tariffs. Much of this revenue went to the Moslem and Italian monopolists. And the high prices drained off to the East much of Europe's gold and silver.

Sometimes goods never reached their destination. Bandits would attack caravans crossing Asia to eastern Mediterranean Moslem cities. Pirates would attack Italian ships that picked up goods at the Moslem cities for transportation to Europe.

Why should we obtain Eastern products by way of the Mediterranean through Moslem and Italian middlemen? Why should we not find a direct, all-water route to India, China, and the Spice Islands?<sup>1</sup> Such were the questions asked by businessmen in the then infant nations of Portugal, Spain, France, and England. The desire to find a direct, all-water route to the Far East was the main motive of European explorers in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

**The Co-operation of European Businessmen with Kings Encourages Explorations.** Under feudalism, individual lords living on their isolated manors had neither the money nor the power to outfit expeditions to explore new lands. Only when kings, in the late Middle Ages, were able to build unified national states such as Portugal, Spain, France, and England were sufficient power and

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<sup>1</sup> The Spice Islands were for a long time the Netherlands East Indies. Now they are the Republic of Indonesia.

money available. These kings increased their power by destroying feudal lords or winning their allegiance.

In striving toward their goal of weakening feudalism and strengthening their national states, these kings secured the support of businessmen. Businessmen preferred a strong national state under a strong king to feudalism. Under feudalism, it was difficult to conduct business because each manor had its own laws, taxes, and tolls, and feudal lords constantly waged war. Strong kings might build national roads, strong armies to protect merchants from bandits, and strong navies to protect them from pirates.

Kings could not have hired and equipped such armies and navies without the money contributed by businessmen. With the military protection thus afforded, kings were no longer dependent upon the military service of feudal lords and knights. This alliance between kings and businessmen made possible many explorations and discoveries. By having their flags planted in foreign lands, kings hoped to add to their personal glory, spread their religions, and obtain gold, silver, and other treasures. Businessmen hoped that such explorations and discoveries would yield valuable raw materials and increased markets.

### **Explorers Seeking New Routes To the East Find and Explore A New World in the West**

Sponsored by kings, businessmen, or both, many would-be heroes from various European countries sailed forth to seek an all-water route to the Far East. They sailed uncharted seas in arctic and tropical waters, scaled mountains, hacked their way through thick forests, waded through swamps, and engaged in fierce battles with natives and competitors. Many never saw their homes again.

Many of these men were tough and even cruel. But many were also courageous, inspiring leaders who, in their search for an

all-water route to the East, made valuable explorations and discoveries.

**The Pioneering Portuguese Find a New Route to the East.** Every so often in the fifteenth century, ships would leave Portuguese ports and sail fearfully down the west coast of Africa. After traveling a fairly short distance, they would fearfully turn back. However, each successive expedition would go a little farther. In time, Portuguese seamen explored not only the west coast of Africa but also the Azores and the Madeira Islands in the Atlantic Ocean.

Gradually, the Portuguese began to lose their unfounded fears of sea monsters and boiling hot tropical waters. Knowledge tends to reduce superstition and fears and Portuguese seamen gained knowledge in a school for navigators set up by Prince Henry of Portugal.

Prince Henry hoped to convert heathen Africans to Christianity, to battle the Moslems in Africa, and to obtain gold, ivory, and Negro slaves. Gaining ports on the west coast of Africa, he thought, would help him achieve his goals. He also hoped to find a new route to the Far East around Africa.

After the death of this father of maritime exploration in 1460, the process of inching down the long coast of Africa continued. In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz sailed around the southern tip of Africa, but then turned back to Portugal. In 1498, Vasco da Gama sailed beyond this point, up Africa's east coast, and across the Indian Ocean to India. He returned home a hero with a cargo of precious gems and spices worth sixty times the cost of his expedition. He had found a new route to the profitable trade of the East.

The Portuguese expeditions that followed Da Gama's lead established trading posts along the African and Indian coasts, and in Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, and the Spice Islands. The Portuguese also traded with the Chinese and Japanese and converted some of them to Christianity. Now, at last, the Moslem-Italian monopoly on trade with the Far East had been broken.

In the seventeenth century, most of Por-



## VASCO DA GAMA REACHES THE EAST BY SAILING EAST



- Diaz  
1486 - 1487
- Vasco da Gama  
1497 - 1498
- Magellan  
1519 - 1522

## MAGELLAN REACHES THE EAST BY SAILING WEST

tugal's empire in the East was conquered by the Dutch, and some of it by the English. However, Brazil, which a Portuguese navigator, Pedro Cabral, had discovered in 1500, remained a Portuguese possession until the nineteenth century.

**Spain Replaces Portugal as the Leading Exploring Nation.** Portugal's explorations made proud Spain jealous. It, too, decided to sponsor exploring expeditions.

**Courageous, Persevering Columbus Fails to Achieve His Goal, But Achieves Much More.** "Weep for me, you who love charity, truth, and justice," Christopher Columbus once wrote. His life, as we know, was filled with heartaches. We know how long it took him to get a ruler to support his expedition. We know that he, like many learned men of his own day and even certain ancient Greeks and Romans, was convinced that the earth was round. It was Columbus' theory that, by sailing west, he would finally reach the spice-rich Indies in the East. He believed that such a route would be shorter

than the one the Portuguese were trying to find by sailing eastward around Africa. But Columbus did not know that North and South America blocked an all-water western route to the Far East. Nor did he have any idea how far to the west of Europe the Asian continent lay.

With three ships sponsored by Queen Isabella of Spain, and with a letter of introduction from her to the Chinese emperor, Columbus set sail. Both he and the queen hoped to derive profit and glory from the expedition, in addition to the conversion of many non-Christians. On October 12, 1492, Columbus landed—not in the East Indies in the Far East, but in the West Indies in the New World. Ironically, the very sailors who had threatened to throw him overboard on the discouraging ten-week-long voyage now threw themselves at his feet to beg his pardon.

Columbus made three other voyages, always believing that the new lands he discovered were on the outskirts of the Far



*Vespucci arriving in the New World (by the sixteenth-century Flemish illustrator Theodore de Bry). Many scholars no longer believe that Vespucci's accounts of his voyages to the New World were largely fiction. Find out why some even place him among the great explorers.*

East. When he found mud huts and naked savages instead of the golden cities described by Marco Polo, he was ridiculed as the "admiral of the mosquitoes." He also suffered sickness and imprisonment. Even the New World he discovered was not named after him. After Columbus' death, a Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci, won this honor because in a letter he had described "the New World," which he had visited in about 1500.

Nevertheless, Columbus' career might be called one of the most successful failures in history. Although he never reached Asia, his voyages paved the way for making the Atlantic a great sea lane, instead of a great barrier. Moved by them to sponsor other explorers, Spain soon became the leading exploring nation, replacing Portugal. More permanent testimonials to Columbus are the many republics of the Western Hemisphere and their Christian civilization.

**Cortes and Pizarro Inspire a Gold Rush.** One day in 1519, a delegation from Monte-

zuma, Aztec ruler of Mexico, offered Hernando Cortes, a Spanish explorer, many lavish gifts, including a helmet filled with pure gold. Montezuma hoped thereby to bribe Cortes and his 600 soldiers to get out of Mexico. But the gifts only whetted Cortes' appetite for more of Mexico's gold and silver. By 1521, Cortes had captured Montezuma's capital (Mexico City today), plundered it of its treasures, massacred thousands of Aztecs, destroyed the temples in which the Aztecs had sacrificed human beings, and made Mexico part of Spain's empire. To his king, Cortes is said to have boasted: "I have gained you more provinces than your father left you towns."

Mightier and richer even than the Aztec Empire was the Inca Empire, which stretched along the western coast of South America. It included what is now Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and northern Chile. Tales of the fabulous gold and silver mines of the Inca Empire entranced Francisco Pizarro. Pizarro had been with Vasco Núñez de Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean in 1513.<sup>1</sup> In 1535, after several years of fighting, he and his soldiers conquered the Inca Empire. After capturing the emperor, Pizarro promised to free him if paid a big ransom in gold and silver. But when the ransom was paid, the emperor was strangled.

From Mexico and Peru to Spain sailed ships heavy-laden with gold and silver. Such a gold fever developed and such a gold rush followed that some towns in Spain and some Spanish settlements in the New World became virtually deserted villages. Some of the gold-seekers explored the southern part of what is now the United States. They hoped not only to find gold but a passage through North America to the Far East, and also to build empires. What are now our Southeastern states were explored by a party led by Hernando de Soto. What

<sup>1</sup> Balboa's discovery made it clear that the American continent was truly a New World, and not part of Asia.



*A Currier and Ives print of the discovery of the Mississippi by Hernando de Soto. Many aspects of a way of life are pictured here. What aspects?*

are now our Southwestern states were explored by a party led by Francisco Coronado. Neither explorer found gold or a north-west passage to the Far East. But they *did* help to enlarge Spain's New World empire. In 1541, De Soto discovered the Mississippi River. Coronado, instead of the cities of gold he had been seeking, discovered some Indian villages of clay huts.

**Magellan Finds a Route Around the New World to the Far East.** The man who was first to find a way around that annoying obstacle, the American continent, was Fernando Magellan. In the service of the King of Spain, Magellan, a Portuguese, sought a western water route to the Spice Islands in 1519. Sailing southwestward from Spain, he rounded the southern tip of South America and then sailed northwestward across the wide Pacific. Magellan himself was killed in the Philippines. Only one of

his five ships reached home after a three-year voyage. This ship, the *Victory*, was the first in history to sail around the world. At last, a route westward to the Far East had been found.

**Spain Monopolizes Much of the World.** "I should like to see the clause in the will by which Adam, our first ancestor, divided up the world between Spain and Portugal." This sarcastic comment was made by King Francis I of France after the Pope, in 1493, had drawn a *Demarcation Line* dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal. This Demarcation Line was shifted somewhat the following year by a treaty between these two countries. The newly discovered lands east of the Demarcation Line, including Brazil, were acknowledged as Portuguese. Most of the lands west of the line, including most of South and Central America, were assigned to Spain. The explorations



*La Salle landing in Texas (faesimile from a drawing by Hennepin). Louis Hennepin accompanied La Salle and, in his writings, claimed credit for much for which La Salle has been given credit. Investigate.*

of such men as Cortes and Coronado strengthened the Spanish belief that most of the New World belonged to Spain.

Spain's king, Philip II, in 1580 became King of Portugal as well.<sup>1</sup> Technically, then, he gained control of Brazil, of Portugal's colonies in Africa, India, and the East, and of the Portuguese trade route to the East. With these new holdings added to its already vast empire in Europe, Spain became the leading world power of the sixteenth century. No wonder the other European nations, which had not yet any permanent settlements in the New World, looked upon Spain with deep envy.

**The French, Dutch, and Swedes Challenge Spain's Monopoly.** King Francis I of France challenged the Spanish monopoly by sponsoring the voyage of a Florentine, Giovanni da Verrazano, to the New World. Because Verrazano, in 1524, sailed along part of the Atlantic coast of North America, France laid

its first claim to parts of North America. Ten years later, France sent Jacques Cartier to search for gold and a northwest passage to Asia. He sailed up the St. Lawrence River to where Montreal now stands. But no permanent settlement resulted from this voyage. Finally, in 1608, Samuel de Champlain established the first permanent French settlement in the New World at Quebec.

The explorations of Cartier and Champlain were the main basis for France's claims to Canada. France's claim to the vast Mississippi River Valley was based mainly on the explorations of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, who, paddling down the Mississippi, reached the Gulf of Mexico in 1682.<sup>1</sup>

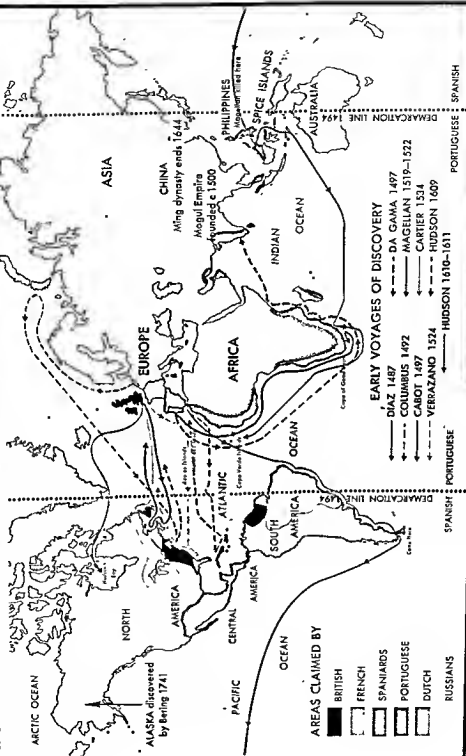
<sup>1</sup> Earlier, in 1673, Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit priest, and Louis Jolliet, a fur trader, had paddled down the Mississippi as far as the Arkansas River. They came back convinced that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. It had been believed that the Mississippi flowed westward into the Gulf of California. Their discovery proved the possibility of traveling almost entirely by water from the St. Lawrence River to the Gulf of Mexico.

<sup>1</sup> In 1640, the Portuguese regained their independence from Spain.

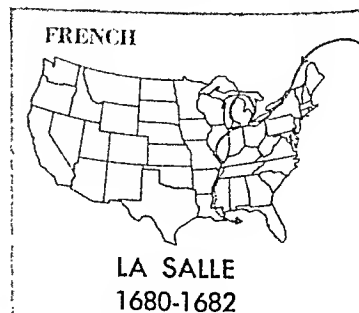
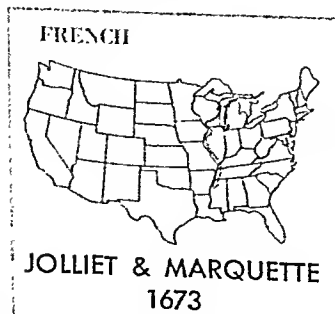
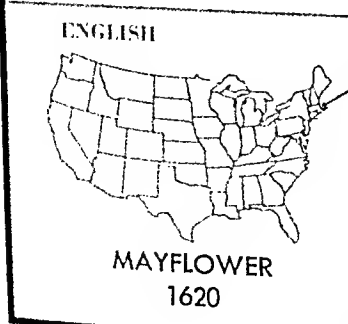
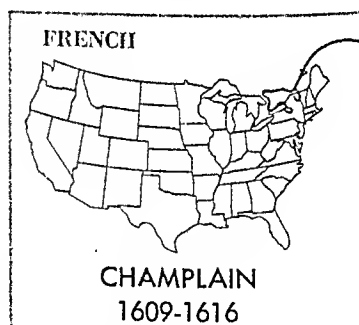
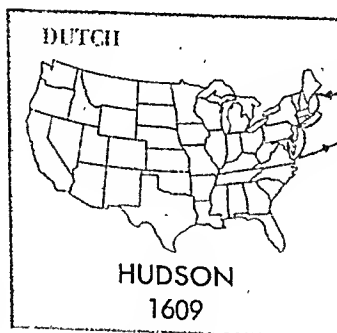
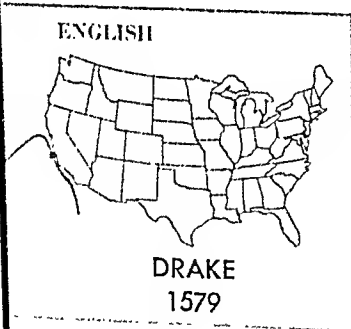
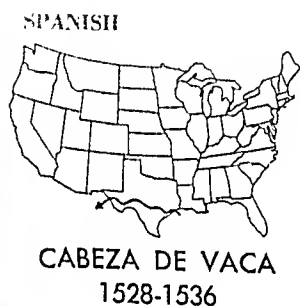
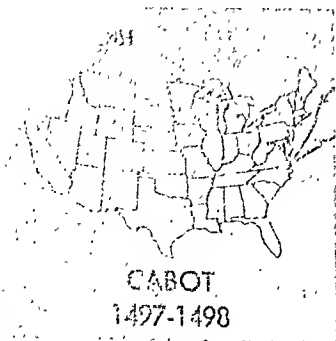


# EXPLORATION

EXPLORERS FROM THE OLD WORLD OPEN THE NEW WORLD



## EXPLORERS WHO OPENED WHAT BECAME OUR NATION





La Salle proudly named the entire valley "Louisiana," in honor of his king, Louis XIV. Defying the Spanish monopoly, the French also acquired, in the seventeenth century, such sugar-producing islands in the West Indies as Martinique, and some trading posts in Africa and India.

The Dutch also defied Spain, from which they had won their independence in 1581. They seized from Spain in 1632 such valuable West Indian islands as Curaçao. They also put an entry—an English seaman named Henry Hudson—into the race to discover a northwest passage to Asia. In 1609, Hudson discovered the river and bay named after him. As a result of his exploration, a Dutch colony, New Netherland, was established in the region of what is now New York and New Jersey. Nearby, in the Delaware River Valley, Sweden established a colony that was seized by the Dutch in 1655.

**The English Deal Staggering Blows to the Spanish Monopoly.** To reach "the island of Cipango [Japan] and the lands from which Oriental caravans brought their goods to Alexandria [Egypt]" was the goal of a Venetian seaman, John Cabot. Sponsored by King Henry VII of England and financed by English merchants, his ship reached the region of present-day Nova Scotia in 1497. Not much is known about his second voyage, in 1498. However, because of Cabot's explorations, the English claimed North America. But like the French, and unlike the Spanish, the English made no permanent settlements in America until the seventeenth century.

**Why English Colonization Was Delayed So Long.** Henry VII had come to the throne after a long period of civil wars in England. It took time for him and his successors to unify the nation and to consolidate their own power. Henry's son, Henry VIII, concentrated on playing off one nation against another on the continent of Europe. Thus he hoped to prevent any one of them, or group of them, from becoming so powerful as to be a threat to England. This was

called England's *balance-of-power policy*. Henry VIII was also the king who broke with the Pope, thereby laying the foundations for the Church of England (*Anglican Church*). His balance-of-power policy and break with the Pope kept him too occupied to give much thought to colonization.<sup>1</sup>

However, Henry VIII did sponsor some expeditions, mainly for trading purposes. And he, as had his father previously, built up England's navy and merchant marine. For, like his father and most English merchants, he realized that England's location gave it a great advantage, now that the bulk of world trade was shifting from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. And this shift naturally induced more and more Englishmen to leave agriculture for trade.

**Spain Is Weakened During the Reign of England's Queen Elizabeth I.** By the time Henry VIII's daughter, Queen Elizabeth I, came to the throne, in 1558, England was bursting with national pride and determination to smash the Spanish monopoly in the New World. In public, Elizabeth warned English sea captains that it wasn't nice to raid Spanish treasure ships. As long as England and Spain were at peace, such raids were piracy. In private, Elizabeth accepted her share of the plunder and praised the raiders, called *sea dogs*. Sea dogs John Hawkins and Francis Drake were even knighted.

Drake, called by the Spaniards "the master thief of the Western world," had not only plundered many Spanish galleons but had raided many Spanish coastal towns in the New World. To escape capture, Drake was compelled to sail across the Pacific to get home to England, arriving there in 1580. His thus became the second ship—Magellan's was the first—to sail around the world.

England's sea dogs made Spain's King Philip II extremely angry. He was also angry because Elizabeth had supported the

<sup>1</sup> Internal dissension and religious conflicts also explain in part France's delay in establishing permanent colonies.

Dutch when they revolted against Spain in 1566. His anger increased as England increased its overseas trade in competition with Spain. A staunch Catholic, Philip was also shocked at England's break with the Pope. All this helps to explain why Philip sent a huge fleet, called the *Spanish Armada*, to invade England and seize the throne for Philip in 1588. To the surprise of the Spanish, and probably to the surprise of many Englishmen as well, the great Spanish Armada was defeated.

This event marked the beginning of the decline of the Spanish Empire. It helped to make England mistress of the seas and enabled the English to go on from there and build the largest empire in all history. It was only after the defeat of the Spanish Armada that the English, the French, the Dutch, and the Swedes were able to establish lasting settlements in the New World.

*Shifts Occur in the Relative Strength of Colonial Empires in the New World.* Commercial rivalry, overlapping colonial claims, and religious friction helped to bring about several wars among colonial powers in the New World. These struggles were only parts of major wars being waged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Old World. When the last of these wars ended in 1763 (page 61), Great Britain had practically evicted France from North America. After the Revolution of the Thirteen Colonies, Britain gave up, in 1783, its claim to all land east of the Mississippi. Britain still retains ties to Canada, and the British flag still waves over Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras, and certain West Indian islands.

Spain long remained dominant in Central and South America,<sup>1</sup> in Mexico, in Florida, in the West Indian islands, and in much of present-day United States west of the Mississippi. In the early nineteenth century, however, Spain began losing its New World

possessions. By the century's end, it had lost them all.

## Spain, France, and Holland Influence the New World

**Spain Makes Many Contributions, But Permits Few Freedoms.** The New World's first printing presses, libraries, and universities were gifts of Spain. Into *New Spain*, as Latin America<sup>1</sup> was called, Spaniards introduced their language, literature, architecture, handicrafts, domestic animals, such as horses and cattle, and fruits such as oranges and bananas. Indians, accustomed to human sacrifice, were converted by the Spanish to Christianity. Many parts of what is now the United States felt Spanish influences. St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest city in the United States (founded 1565), Santa Fe, New Mexico; San Antonio, Texas; San Francisco, California—these are a few of the numerous scattered settlements that were established by Spanish missionaries or soldiers.

**FOREIGNERS NOT WELCOME!** This might well have been the warning hung over the gates to the Spanish colonies in the New World. Even the number of Spaniards who could come was limited. Colonial immigrants had to be native-born Spaniards and Roman Catholics.

Almost every phase of life in the colonies was strictly controlled by the government. The governors sent by the king to rule the colonies permitted the people no voice in the management of colonial affairs. All officials, even in the army, were aristocrats who had been born in Spain. The king had turned over most of the land in large estates to these aristocrats, who ruled them much like medieval feudal lords.

Indians were compelled to work on these estates, which raised sugar, cotton, and to-

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<sup>1</sup> Except in Brazil, which Portugal held until the 1820's.

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<sup>1</sup> The name "Latin America" is commonly applied to the area south of the United States because the lands there were settled by peoples who spoke languages derived from Latin (Spanish, Portuguese, and French).

bacco, or in the mines. It was hoped that, through such contacts with the colonists, the benefits of civilization might more easily reach the Indians. For this reason, too, the government encouraged intermarriage between its soldiers and Indian women. Both the government and the church urged that Indians working on the estates and in mines be well treated. Nevertheless, many were mistreated and thousands died as a result. Thousands of Negroes were imported from Africa and enslaved to take their place. Missionaries such as the dedicated Bartolomé de las Casas labored many years to get better treatment for the Indians. But he despaired in his writings of his lack of success.

From Spain came strict orders concerning trade in the colonies. Spain's colonial subjects were ordered what to produce and to trade only with Spain. In fact, the attitude seemed to be that the colonies existed in order to enrich Spanish royalty and nobility with gold, silver, and high taxes.

Thus, despite its many contributions to Latin America, Spain transplanted there age-old absolutism in government, a kind of medieval feudal system in agriculture, and a rigid control over trade and industry. All of these elements were characteristic of the Old World in early modern times. Such a heritage helps to explain why political democracy and economic progress have made slow headway in Latin America.

**France, Too, Makes Contributions to the New World, But Permits Few Freedoms.** Some of the great cities in the United States today were once French forts, missions, or trading posts. Missouri's St. Louis, Michigan's Detroit, Indiana's Vincennes, and Louisiana's New Orleans are examples. Even today, Quebec in Canada is a bit of France in the New World.

During the colonial period, many a black-robed priest risked, or even sacrificed, his life in an effort to convert the Indians to Christianity. Missionaries also tried to prevent unscrupulous French traders from getting Indians drunk and cheating them out of their furs.

Actually, most Frenchmen in New France<sup>1</sup> got along quite well with the Indians, except for the Iroquois tribe.<sup>2</sup> In fact, many a French trapper and trader lived more the life of an Indian than he did the life of a Frenchman. He married an Indian squaw and often lived with the tribe. Fur trading and fishing, rather than farming, occupied most Frenchmen in New France. This pleased the Indians, who did not want their hunting grounds cleared for agriculture.

In New France, as in New Spain, the government kept strict control over almost every phase of life. A Frenchman who engaged in the fur trade for his own profit was breaking the law, for the fur trade was considered a government monopoly. The King of France had turned over most of the land in New France to aristocrats and other favorites. These landlords ran their big estates with almost as much power over their tenants as medieval feudal lords on their manors had over their serfs. Thus there was little incentive for the average farmer in France to come to New France. Nor, as in New Spain, was there much encouragement of industry. For these economic reasons, and because only Roman Catholics were allowed to settle in New France, the population by 1750 was only about 70,000.

The governor appointed by the king to rule New France from the capital at Quebec was all-powerful. Certain governors, such as Louis, Count de Frontenac, were outstanding men. However, so absolute was the government that the settlers had almost no opportunity to gain experience in democratic practices.

**The Dutch West India Company Rules New Netherland with an Iron Hand.** "We derive our authority from God and the Company

<sup>1</sup> New France consisted of scattered French settlements along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi.

<sup>2</sup> Some blame the bad relations between the French and the Iroquois on Champlain's shooting of some of their warriors. Others say that the Iroquois wanted to sell to the English and the Dutch the furs sought by the French.



*The English tear down a Dutch coat of arms in New Netherland and contemptuously substitute a caricature.*

[the Dutch West India Company] and not from a few ignorant subjects. If the people were permitted to govern themselves, then each would vote for one of his own kind: a thief for a thief, . . . a drunkard for a drunkard, a smuggler for a smuggler, so that each would have full opportunity to practice his vice or commit his crime." This was the contemptuous response of the last governor of the Dutch colony of New Netherland when the people demanded a voice in the government. That governor was hot-headed, iron-willed, one-legged Peter Stuyvesant. Stuyvesant and the governors who preceded him were employees of the Dutch West India Company, which Holland had chartered. The company's main purpose in running New Netherland was to profit from monopolies, such as that over the fur trade.

When, in 1664, the English conquered this thirty-eight-year-old colony, many of the inhabitants were happy. They were weary of the stern and autocratic policies of the Dutch governors. Although Holland at this time encouraged greater religious toler-

ation than any other nation, Stuyvesant personally practiced religious persecution. It is to his credit, however, that he tried to prevent the sale of rum and guns to Indians.

A kind of feudal system of landholding existed in New Netherland, just as it did in New Spain and New France.<sup>1</sup> On big estates along the Hudson River, wealthy Dutch landlords (*patroons*) had their own laws, their own courts, and what amounted to their own temporary serfs. For the tenants who worked their land were forbidden to leave it for ten years after their arrival in New Netherland.

Thus, neither in Spanish America, nor in French America, nor in Dutch America was there much hope for realizing the American Dream. It was in English America that the prospects for its realization seemed bright. The next chapter will provide an explanation of why this was so.

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<sup>1</sup> Yet feudalism had died out in Holland many years earlier.

# STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 1

## ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

American Dream	the Azores	Francisco Coronado	Anglican Church
manor	Prince Henry of Portugal	Fernando Magellan	Elizabeth I
feudalism	Bartholomew Diaz	Pope's Demarcation Line	sea dogs
serfs	Vasco da Gama	Giovanni da Verrazano	Francis Drake
Leif Ericsson	Pedro Cabral	Marquette and Jolliet	Spanish Armada
Crusades	Amerigo Vespucci	Jacques Cartier	St. Augustine, Florida
Moslem	Montezuma	Samuel de Champlain	Bartolomé de las Casas
Byzantine	Hernando Cortes	La Salle	Peter Stuyvesant
Renaissance	Francisco Pizarro	Henry Hudson	patroons
Scientific Revolution	Vasco Núñez de Balboa	John Cabot	
astrolabe	Hernando de Soto	balance-of-power policy	
Marco Polo			
Spice Islands			

## ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Prove that in the Old World for thousands of years most people had few rights or privileges.
2. Medieval serfs arouse our sympathy. Give reasons why.
3. The serf's life was not all dark. Prove.
4. Why, beginning in the sixteenth century, did many in the Old World feel that America was man's "Last Best Hope"?
5. In what ways were the Crusades an education for Europeans?
6. What benefits did many an average person gain from the growth of towns and trade?
7. In what ways was the spirit of the Renaissance different from the spirit of the Middle Ages?
8. Prove that in the late Middle Ages the scientific spirit was growing.
9. For what reasons were many European businessmen eager to find a direct all-water route to India, China, and the Spice Islands?
10. Concerning the alliance that developed between kings and businessmen in the late Middle Ages, indicate (a) for what reasons it was formed and (b) what each ally hoped to gain from it.
11. How did (a) the decline of feudalism, (b) the Scientific Revolution, and (c) the Renaissance influence exploration?
12. What obstacles faced explorers in early modern times?
13. Prove that the Portuguese in general and Prince Henry in particular pioneered in exploration.
14. For what reasons was Vasco da Gama hailed as a hero?
15. What were Columbus' (a) aims and (b) achievements?
16. For what reasons were (a) Cortes and (b) Pizarro acclaimed in Spain?
17. In the exploration of what is now the United States, why are the following important: (a) Balboa, (b) De Soto, (c) Coronado?
18. What effect did the Pope's Demarcation Line have upon territorial claims?
19. For what reasons could it be said that

- Spain was the leading world power of the sixteenth century?
20. By giving specific explorers as examples, prove that France challenged Spain's monopoly of the New World.
  21. Show how the Dutch challenged Spain's monopoly in the New World.
  22. In what ways did the English help to smash Spain's monopoly in the New World?
  23. How did the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the Old World affect colonization in the New World?
  24. Prove by examples that Spain made (a) material, (b) spiritual, and (c) cultural contributions to the New World.
  25. Prove that (a) political and (b) economic freedoms were interfered with in the Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies.
  26. What contributions did many missionaries make to Indian life in the French colonies?

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. "As a state of mind and a dream, America had existed long before its discovery." Explain this statement and its significance.
2. In a sense, the American Dream is a world dream. Explain.
3. Social classes in the Old World were fixed even long after the period of explorations. For what reasons is such a situation bad for (a) the individual and (b) society?
4. Prove that "Americans have come closer to realizing their dream than any other people in the world."
5. In what respects are Americans today (a) living up to the American Dream, (b) failing to do so?
6. "I think the true discovery of America is before us." What is meant by this statement?
7. In what ways did both the Crusades and the Renaissance encourage a spirit of curiosity?

8. In what sense was each explorer indebted to the explorers who preceded him?
9. For what reasons does the story of Columbus' voyages stir the emotions?
10. If Columbus had not discovered America, someone else probably would have, and at about the same time. What conditions in Europe explain why this statement is true?
11. There are Columboes today, too, but not necessarily on the high seas. Explain, giving examples.
12. Explain fully whether you consider (a) Cortes and (b) Pizarro admirable men.
13. Give reasons why you consider Columbus' contributions greater than those of Magellan or vice versa.
14. Prove that the various exploring nations had little respect for the claims of one another.
15. Which do you consider the most important reason why English colonization was delayed so long? Give reasons.
16. The life of the sea dog Francis Drake had many elements of a good movie. What were they?
17. How might the history of the New World have been different if the English had not defeated the Spanish Armada?
18. If you had been adviser to the Governments of (a) Spain (b) France or (c) the Netherlands, what changes would you have recommended in colonial policy?

### ★ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. For your own Hall of Fame of outstanding personalities in American history, select two from this chapter and record in your notebook reasons for your selections. Cite your sources.
2. To express your idea of the American Dream, the Great Experiment, or America as man's Last Best Hope, (a) write

- a poem or a scene for a play, or (b) draw a cartoon or other illustration.
- 3 After reading Joaquin Miller's poem "Columbus," write your impressions of it.
  - 4 Write an imaginary dialogue between (a) Cortes and Bartolomé de las Casas or (b) Elizabeth I and Philip II
  - 5 Write a speech such as Montezuma might have given urging the Aztecs to resist the Spanish invaders.
  - 6 Make a chart on all the explorers mentioned in the text or on the maps of this chapter. In Column 1, give the name of the explorer, in Column 2, the country he sailed for, in Column 3, the dates of his explorations, in Column 4, the area he explored, in Column 5, the significance of his explorations.
  - 7 From Chapter 1 of *The American Reader*, edited by P. Angle, select any article on any explorer for an oral report.
  8. Select ten dramatic events from this chapter and make a dramatic newspaper headline for each.
  9. Find out what was happening in various areas of the world at the time the New World was being explored. (A convenient source for this information is *An Encyclopedia of World History* by W. L. Langer.)
  10. Draw a freehand map of the New World and indicate on it the approximate areas in which each of the colonizing nations established settlements.
  11. In a special section of your notebook, start keeping a glossary of historical terms, beginning with those in this chapter. Use your textbook and a dictionary as references.
  12. Read and report on the significance of one of the following: "History and How to Write It" (*American Heritage*, August, 1957), "Was America Discovered Before Columbus?" (*American Heritage*, April, 1955), or "What America Meant to J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur," from *Letters from an American Farmer* by Jean de Crèvecoeur.
  - 13 As a member of the class Current Events Committee, secure evidence that explorations and discoveries are still being made today in many fields.
  14. As a member of the class Bibliography Committee, prepare a list of the most interesting books that your school or local library has on the topics discussed in this chapter. Annotate your bibliography.
  15. As a member of the class Testing Committee, prepare a list of ten multiple-choice type questions based on the information in this chapter.

## CHAPTER

# 2

### *The Thirteen Colonies: Thirteen Laboratories from Which The Great Experiment Profited*

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#### **Motives Inspiring English Colonization**

- The Poor Seek Security • Businessmen Seek Raw Materials and Markets • The Government Backs Colonization for Patriotic Reasons and to Solve Some Home Problems • Certain Aristocrats Seek Better Status • Religion Plays a Vital Role • The Struggle Between Parliament and King Causes Many to Migrate

#### **The Virginia and New England Colonies**

- Virginia Founds the Mother of Colonial Representative Assemblies • Plymouth: Devout Pilgrims Set Some Sterling Examples • Massachusetts Bay: Church and State Are United • Rhode Island: Church and State Are Separated • Settlers from Massachusetts Bay Found Connecticut and Rhode Island

#### **Proprietary Colonies**

- Maryland Is Founded as Lord Baltimore's Grand Plan • Carolina: Eight Nobles Find Introducing Feudalism Frustrating • Many Dutch Approve as Dutch New Netherland Becomes Two English Proprietary Colonies, New York and New Jersey • 'A Holy Experiment' Is Proprietor Penn's Grand Plan for Pennsylvania • Delaware Becomes a Proprietorship, Too • Georgia Is Founded for Humanitarian, Military, and Business Reasons

#### **English Colonies Enjoy More Freedoms, Including Some Freedom of Enterprise**

As in Spanish, French, and Dutch America, so too in English America were certain aspects of feudalism introduced. But almost from the start, evidences of self-government

were present as well. There wasn't the rigid royal control that existed in New Spain and New France. In general, in the English colonies, the doors were not closed to immigrants from many lands, as they were in New Spain and New France. In the colonies, as in England at this time, somewhat more opportunity was provided than elsewhere for



a laborer, for example, to become a merchant. Moreover, in England and in the English colonies, there seemed to be greater respect for the dignity of labor. This helps to explain the colonists' greater spirit of initiative and self-reliance. Too many of the Spanish and French aristocrats in control in the New World felt that labor was fit only for the lower classes or slaves.

Many immigrants were attracted to the English, rather than the other, colonies because there the independent farmer had a better chance of getting land. As we know, in the non-English colonies, most land was held in large estates. The opportunity for greater security, therefore, is an important reason why, by 1750, there were more than 1,200,000 people in the English colonies.

Unfortunately, in their passion for more land, the English settlers often treated the Indians brutally. Many settlers and Indians were massacred in the ceaseless attempt to drive the Indians westward. Nor was there much intermarriage with Indians, as there was in New Spain and New France.

The English colonies were established by private corporations or rich individuals. Since there was no fixed common policy stemming from the king for all thirteen, each became a kind of laboratory for working out its own problems. By drawing from the experiences of these thirteen "laboratories," the United States was to learn a great deal.

## Various Motives Inspire English Colonization

**The Poor Seek Security.** Gold and silver were pouring into England by 1600. Some had been seized from Spanish treasure ships by sea dogs like Drake. Some constituted profits made by English merchants from their steadily increasing trade. Yet, curiously enough, these riches made the average Englishman poorer. The increased gold and silver caused prices to rise, thus pushing up his cost of living. Even the boom in English industry itself hurt the average Englishman.

A good portion of this boom occurred in the woolen industry. The demand for woolen cloth had become so great that landlords had converted their big estates into sheep pastures. It took only one man to guard sheep on a big estate, which had formerly been worked by many farmers. This left many former farmers unemployed.

When King Henry VIII of England broke with the Pope in 1535 and seized the lands of the Roman Catholic Church, he turned them over to court favorites. This further restricted opportunities for the small farmer. The ranks of the unemployed were swelled by soldiers and sailors when conflicts declined after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Many of the unemployed wandered about begging. A considerable number even became pickpockets or highway robbers in their desperation.

No wonder many an average Englishman in these times came to look upon the English colonies in America as his "best hope." How attractive was the prospect of obtaining fertile land, perhaps even free land, which would enable him to raise his family's standard of living! Reports of Indian massacres, famine, and disease in the New World no doubt discouraged many. But many others came on, even though it meant sailing in frail, vermin-infested, overcrowded vessels, eating rotting food, and drinking stale water on the long voyage over.

**Businessmen Seek Raw Materials and Markets.** The sheep raising that had cost many farmers their jobs in England brought great wealth to the owners of the pastures and to the manufacturers of woolen goods. Many such wealthy people and many of those who had for some time been making money in foreign trade felt that investment in colonies would yield big profits. They were envious of the great profits that Spaniards were reaping from their colonies. Through establishing colonies themselves, they hoped to get necessary raw materials and to sell English cloth to the colonists and to the Indians, when civilized. They also hoped that in the colonies they would find

## THE THIRTEEN COLONIES BEFORE THE REVOLUTION



the long-sought northwest passage and, perhaps, "gold, silver, copper, leade, and pearls."

To spread the risks in founding colonies, some businessmen organized what are called *joint-stock companies*. In such a company, many persons bought shares of stock and shared both the risks and the profits. Certain colonies, however, were founded by rich individuals, called *proprietors*. Eventually, control of some of the *joint-stock company*

*colonies* and some of the *proprietary colonies* was taken by the king. Then they were called *royal colonies*.

**The Government Backs Colonization for Patriotic Reasons and to Solve Some Home Problems.** "... this sceptred isle, this earth of majesty, . . . this preeious stone set in the silver sea, . . ." <sup>1</sup> These patriotic words of Shakespeare, who lived during the Elizabethan Age, express the sentiments of many Englishmen who lived about 1600. Patriotism was an important reason why businessmen's plans for establishing colonies won the backing of the Government. Patriotic Englishmen felt that colonies supplying raw materials and buying England's manufactured goods would help to make England self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency would mean that England would not have to depend upon other countries for goods, especially in time of war. A bigger colonial empire than that of hated Spain was the dream of many a proud Englishman. To carry passengers and manufactured goods to the colonies and raw materials back to England would require more merchant ships. More merchant ships would require more sailors. More sailors would then be available for the navy, if war should break out.

Furthermore, the Government wanted to reduce England's population. Why did it want to, since the population of London, for example, in 1600 was only a fraction of what it is today? There were so many Londoners unemployed that the Government considered the city "overpopulated." Emigration, it believed, would help to solve this so-called "overpopulation" at home and increase the number of laborers so much needed in the colonies. Emigration also seemed a convenient way of reducing the number of paupers and criminals in England.

**Certain Aristocrats Seek Better Status in the Colonies.** According to English law, the first-born male child inherited the entire

<sup>1</sup> From *Richard II* by William Shakespeare, Act II, Scene 1.

family estate. This practice is called *primogeniture*. Younger sons, feeling disinherited, would sometimes go to America in the hope of obtaining a big estate there. Thus they might enjoy the social status they thought their aristocratic birth entitled them to. Far more influential in inspiring colonization, however, was another social motive: that of religion.

**Religion Plays a Vital Role in the Settlement of the English Colonies.** In England, in the early part of the seventeenth century, it was illegal to belong to any church but the Church of England. Both Roman Catholics and certain Protestant sects were hostile to this *established church*.<sup>1</sup> Roman Catholics opposed it because, to them, its rituals were too Protestant and the ruler of England, not the Pope, was its head. Certain Protestants thought that the Church of England was too much like the Roman Catholic Church. Because such Protestants asserted that they wanted to purify the Church of England of its Catholic rituals, they were called *Puritans*. One group of Protestants wanted to separate itself entirely from the Church of England. These were called *Separatists*.

To avoid persecution and to be able to worship as they pleased, many Puritans and Separatists, as well as some Roman Catholics, migrated to the colonies. Democracies today, including Great Britain, believe that permitting freedom of worship is a sign of a country's strength. But in the 1600's, when European Roman Catholics and Protestants waged a horrible war, largely for religious reasons, persons were often looked upon as traitors if they refused to conform to the established church. Thus the Government was usually glad to see such nonconformists go to the colonies. There were also many English Christians who went to the colonies in the hope of converting Indians.

**The Struggle Between Parliament and King in England Causes Many to Migrate to the Colonies.** In seventeenth-century England, there was a bitter struggle between Parliament and the ruling family (the Stuarts, page 46). Parliament was supported by small landowners and businessmen, many of whom were Puritans. The Stuart kings were supported by aristocrats, most of whom were members of the Church of England (called *Anglicans*). The Stuarts, who claimed to rule by the will of God (*divine right*), wanted to tax the people at will and to rule without Parliament. Many supporters of Parliament went off to the colonies, hoping that there they would have a voice in the government.

Besides all the above-mentioned groups who were interested in colonization, there were the curious and the adventurous. Such people had been stimulated enough by the tales they had heard of the New World to want to find out for themselves what it was really like.

### The Virginia Colony Faces Great Obstacles, But Survives

A ship set sail from Jamestown, Virginia, one day in 1610. On board were sixty weary and downhearted survivors of the roughly 900 men and boys who had come there since the establishment of the colony in 1607. They had given up and were on their way home. Suddenly, they sighted a number of ships bringing desperately needed supplies and more settlers.<sup>1</sup> Thus Jamestown, Virginia, the first permanent English settlement in America, was saved from extinction, as if by a miracle.

Almost from the day of their arrival,

<sup>1</sup> In a country that has an established church (or state church), all people are required to pay taxes to support that church. Sometimes its members have special privileges not granted nonmembers.

<sup>1</sup> Relief ships had arrived in 1591 to save another colony, which had been established by Sir Walter Raleigh. But no trace was found of this colony, at Roanoke Island off North Carolina's coast. Nor to this day is it known what happened to it. The first child of English parents to be born in America, Virginia Dare, vanished with the "lost colony."

to the Pilgrims themselves was their many-times governor, the learned William Bradford. Bradford's wisdom and efficiency did much to save the Plymouth colony from destruction.

**The Massachusetts Bay Colony: Church and State Are United.** From old England to New England, in 1630, sailed a small fleet of ships. They carried a mixed group of clergymen, doctors, merchants, craftsmen, and farmers. Their leaders called themselves "soldiers of Christ." These people, mainly Puritans,<sup>1</sup> wanted to build in the New World what they described as "a city of God on earth." They were weary of the English king's autocratic rule, his heavy taxation, and his persecution of Puritans. Their emigration, like that of the emigrants to Jamestown and Plymouth, was financed by a trading company. This company, the *Massachusetts Bay Company*, chartered in 1629, was made up of well-to-do Puritan businessmen, who had a profit motive, as well as a religious motive, for founding the colony. They hoped to make money from the fur trade, from fisheries, from lumbering, and, possibly, from gold mining.

Within a few years after their arrival in 1630, the Puritans had founded such present-day communities as Boston, Lynn, Roxbury, and Dorchester. They were convinced that theirs was the only true faith. To permit others to worship as they pleased, they believed, would be a threat to the purity of their church. Church attendance was compulsory for all. Everyone, including non-Puritans, had to pay taxes to support the Puritan church. All were expected to live up to the strict rules of conduct laid down by Puritan ministers.

These ministers, usually brilliant men, were considered by Puritans to be the spokesmen of God. People were expected to accept their advice on governmental and

business affairs, as well as on church matters. The government itself was in the hands of a group of representatives, at first small, usually rich and well-educated. Non-Puritans were barred from voting or holding office. It was feared that rule by the majority would be a threat to the purity of the Puritan church. Thus, in the Massachusetts Bay colony, church and state were practically one.

The outstanding leader of the colony was the conscientious and forceful Governor John Winthrop. He firmly believed that it was his sacred duty as one of the God-chosen leaders of the colony to determine its policies and to look out for the welfare of its people. Just as firmly, he believed that it was God's will for the great majority of the people, who had not been so chosen, to obey. Winthrop once said of government by the people:

The best part is always the least [a minority] and of that best part, the wiser part is always the lesser [a still smaller minority].

Personally, Winthrop was a kind man. He was convinced, however, that those who disagreed with the religious or political policies of the colony's leaders were both enemies of God and traitors to the state. This explains why he and other Puritan leaders had some such persons imprisoned, exiled, whipped, or even hanged.

Such policies toward nonconformists were common in seventeenth-century Europe as well. In any case, the Massachusetts Bay colony merits praise for developing early a system of representative government that, like Virginia's, served as a model for other colonies.

By the opening of the eighteenth century, church and state were separated, at least in theory (footnote, page 48).

**The Rhode Island Colony: Church and State Are Separated.** A rebel, a devil, "a dangerous agitator"—these were names applied to Roger Williams by the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay colony. Williams was a Puritan minister in the colony. He be-

<sup>1</sup> Although the original Puritans wanted only to purify and not to leave the Church of England, the Puritan churches in the Massachusetts Bay colony became as separatist as those of the Pilgrims in the Plymouth colony.



*On his banishment from Massachusetts, Roger Williams lived among the Narragansett Indians, where he was "sorely tossed for fourteen weeks in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed meant."*

believed that the particular religious sect to which a person belonged was not important. What was important, according to Williams, was that people of all races and religions should work together in the spirit of brotherhood to build a happier society. He felt that people should not be converted by threats or force, but through the teachings of Jesus Christ. He felt further that a government should not punish a person for his ideas or opinions, but only for acts that injure others. He strongly attacked the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay colony for interfering with religious and political freedom. It was his opinion that the land of the colony really belonged to the Indians, whose property rights were being violated. For such "new and dangerous opinions," Williams was exiled in 1635.

The settlement he founded near Narragansett Bay, in 1636, was called Providence. It joined with later settlements, founded by such other Massachusetts exiles as religious non-conformist Anne Hutchinson, to form the Rhode Island colony in 1663.

The government of Rhode Island under Roger Williams did not favor one religion over another. No one was required to attend any church or to pay taxes to support any church. Religion was considered a personal matter in which the government could not interfere. In short, Rhode Island practiced the principle of separation of church and state, just as the United States has traditionally done.

In Rhode Island, Williams respected the Indians as brothers. He paid them for the land. The government he established was based on the consent of the people. As the years rolled on, many individuals, seeking religious and political liberty, came to Rhode Island. Its enemies, seeing this mixture of peoples of different religious beliefs, called Rhode Island "Rogues' Island" and "that sewer."

**Land Hunger and Hunger for More Voice in the Government Spur Settlement of the Connecticut Colony.** The Connecticut River Valley seemed almost like a Garden of Eden to many a man in the Massachusetts Bay

plain why Carolina was split into North and South Carolina in 1712. The proprietors, disgusted with the resistance of the people, gave up. By 1729, both Carolinas had become royal colonies.

**Many Dutch Approve as Dutch New Netherland Becomes an English Proprietary Colony, New York.** For some time, the English had been looking upon Dutch New Netherland with envious eyes. They envied the Dutch their magnificent harbor at New Amsterdam (later New York City). They envied them the control of the routes along the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers to the rich fur trade of what is today northern and western New York state. The English had defeated their chief trade rival, Spain, in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, Holland had become England's chief trade rival. English capture of New Netherland would be an important victory in this commercial struggle. Moreover, New Netherland cut English America in two, separating the New England colonies from the others.

It was for such reasons that the English seized New Netherland in 1664 (page 14). Now a person could travel from Maine to Carolina without once leaving English soil. New Netherland was renamed New York after King Charles II's brother, the Duke of York, who became its proprietor.

Many Dutch settlers, fed up with Governor Stuyvesant's despotic policies, were pleased by the change. Under English rule, the settlers were permitted local self-government, freedom of worship, and the right to retain their lands. However, as under the Dutch, the colony continued to have an aristocratic tone. For the Duke of York granted extensive lands and power to his friends. This policy was to contribute to a rebellion in 1689.

**Part of New York Becomes New Jersey.** The friendship of John, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret with the Duke of York paid off. In 1664, he made them proprietors of what is today New Jersey but what had originally been part of New Netherland. Cheap and fertile land, religious freedom,

and a voice in the government attracted many settlers to the colony.

However, the proprietors had many arguments with the people's assembly over taxes and with the colonists over the payment of quitrents. In time, Berkeley despaired and sold out his share of the proprietorship to Quakers. So, later, did Carteret's heirs.

**'A Holy Experiment' Is Proprietor Penn's Grand Plan for Pennsylvania.** Beatings, imprisonment, or deportation were the fate of many Quakers in seventeenth-century England. Quakers (members of the *Society of Friends*) were a religious group who were considered odd by others. They were considered odd because they believed, among other things, that no true Christian should go to war or take an oath of any kind, even one of allegiance. It was their conviction that an individual's conscience should be his guide. Consequently, in religious matters, they refused to recognize the authority of government, priests, or ministers. They refused, too, to pay tithes to support the established Church of England. In their simple meeting-houses, all women, as well as all men, were encouraged to stand up and speak their thoughts. Because they believed that all men and women were equal in God's eyes, they refused to remove their wide-brimmed hats before high officials.

An outstanding Quaker was William Penn, a rich and handsome aristocrat. For his religious beliefs, he was whipped by his father, expelled from his college, and imprisoned. Yet, he clung courageously to his faith. In 1681, Penn was given a superb opportunity to help his fellow Quakers. To repay a debt King Charles II owed Penn's father, the king gave Penn a huge land grant north of Maryland. As a refuge for Quakers, "a holy experiment," as Penn described it, he established there in 1681 a colony called Pennsylvania. From the practical standpoint, he hoped that by selling land to land-hungry Europeans, by collecting quitrents, and by cultivating his own estates he would make Pennsylvania personally profitable.

All were welcome who believed in God,

but at first, at least, Catholics and Jews did not have full freedom of worship. Penn aimed to make Pennsylvania a place in which men would be happy to live. The heart of the colony was the city of Philadelphia (meaning "City of Brotherly Love"). Its rectangular street plan became the model for most American cities. Every house had its garden.

Only two crimes, treason and murder, were punishable by death in Pennsylvania. In England at this time, more than two hundred were. Unlike the vermin-infested torture cells of seventeenth-century Europe, Penn's clean prisons were designed to reform criminals, rather than merely punish them. Both Penn and the Indians kept their promise to deal fairly with each other. Penn warned fur traders, for example, not to attempt to demoralize the Indians with rum ("firewater," as the Indians called intoxicating liquors).

Penn's agents carried on an advertising campaign throughout Europe to attract settlers. Religious toleration, cheap land, and a government in which the people had much to say were appeals they made. Thousands poured in and helped to make Pennsylvania the most prosperous of the Thirteen Colonies.

However, there were rumblings of discontent. Non-Quaker settlers in western Pennsylvania complained that they were defending the entire colony against Indian attacks. Yet, they said, the people with most of the money, the war-hating Quakers, refused to vote funds to help them. Some also protested that it was unfair for the vast estates of the Penn family to go untaxed.<sup>1</sup>

Back in England, Penn was jailed for debt because of the dishonesty of an employee. He was, in addition, jailed several times for

treason, owing to his friendship with the Roman Catholic King James II, who had been overthrown. Penn's son caused him many heartaches, too. For these and other reasons, Penn's last years were sad ones.

**Georgia Is Founded for Humanitarian, Military, and Business Reasons.** Rich, learned, and devout, James Oglethorpe not only felt sorry for people in trouble but wanted to do something to help them. He was shocked at the wretched conditions in English prisons, especially in debtor's prisons. There men—often good and honest men—who could not pay their debts were treated as common criminals. To help those imprisoned debtors who had reputations for being "sober, industrious, and moral," Oglethorpe and like-minded friends established a colony in what is now Georgia.<sup>1</sup> This was in 1733, 126 years after the founding of the first colony at Jamestown. The British Government encouraged the founders because it expected Georgia to serve as a kind of buffer state between South Carolina and Florida. (At this time, South Carolina was being attacked by Spaniards from Florida.) The founders forbade Negro slavery and the sale of intoxicating liquors. To prevent big plantations from crowding out the small independent farmer, no man was allowed to own more than 500 acres of land.

However, when the colony failed to attract many settlers, such restrictions were removed. Nor were the founders' dreams of developing successful silk and wine industries realized. For some time, they governed without a legislature. But protests forced the calling of one in 1751. Shortly thereafter, disappointed with the results of their efforts, the founders turned over their colony to the king.

<sup>1</sup> Delaware, which had been settled by Swedes in 1638, then captured by the Dutch, next seized by the English, became an independent colony in 1703, also under the proprietorship of the Penn family.

<sup>1</sup> Actually, the percentage of debtors among Georgia's original settlers was small.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 2

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

joint-stock company	Jamestown,	William Bradford	quitrents
proprietary colony	Virginia	Massachusetts	Maryland
royal colony	John Smith	Bay colony	Toleration Act
primogeniture	John Rolfe	John Winthrop	Huguenots
established church	House of Burgesses	Roger Williams	New Netherland
Puritans	Plymouth colony	Anne Hutchinson	Sir George Carteret
Separatists	Pilgrims	Thomas Hooker	Quakers
Anglicans	Mayflower	Fundamental Orders	William Penn
divine right	Compact	of Connecticut	James Oglethorpe
	Samoset	Lord Baltimore	

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

- Mention three freedoms permitted in the English colonies but not in the non-English colonies.
- In what way was there greater economic incentive for the average man in the English colonies than in the non-English colonies?
- For what reasons were unemployment and the cost of living on the rise in England by 1600?
- Prove that (a) profits, (b) patriotism, (c) primogeniture, and (d) politics affected English colonization.
- Show specifically why emigration to the English colonies appealed to (a) some Roman Catholics and (b) certain Protestants.
- For what reasons did the Jamestown colony almost die in its infancy?
- What three events made 1619 a fateful year in the history of the Jamestown colony?
- For what reasons did the Pilgrims (a) exile themselves from England and (b) leave Holland?
- Concerning the Puritans, give (a) specific reasons why they settled in the New World and (b) their attitude toward non-Puritans.
- Give examples to prove that there was no separation of church and state in the Massachusetts Bay colony.
- Mention (a) one religious, (b) one political, and (c) one economic viewpoint of Roger Williams.
- Give facts to prove that there was no established church in the Rhode Island colony.
- Tell how (a) Rhode Island, (b) Connecticut, (c) Maryland, (d) Carolina, (e) New Jersey originated.
- Mention one distinctive characteristic of each of the colonies mentioned in Question 13.
- For what reasons did the founders of Carolina meet with resistance from settlers?
- England wanted to seize New Netherland from the Dutch for (a) geographic and (b) economic reasons. Prove.
- For what reasons did many Dutchmen in New Netherland prefer English rule to Dutch rule?
- Define "nonconformists." In what ways were the Quakers nonconformists?
- With respect to Pennsylvania and Georgia, give (a) the aims of the



founder and (b) the policies he established for the colony.

★ **Questions for Thought and Discussion**

1. Which do you think was the most important freedom permitted in the English colonies? Give reasons for your choice.
2. What adjectives best describe the English businessmen who encouraged the establishment of colonies? Justify your adjectives.
3. Founding colonies in faraway places would have been most difficult without the joint-stock company. Why?
4. Arrange the reasons for English colonization in what you consider the order of their importance.
5. What lessons might be learned from a study of the early days of the Jamestown colony?
6. Give your views of the leadership qualities of (a) Captain John Smith, (b) Governor John Winthrop, (c) Roger Williams, (d) Thomas Hooker, (e) Lord Baltimore, (f) Peter Stuyvesant, (g) William Penn, or (h) James Oglethorpe.
7. In what way did (a) the Virginia House of Burgesses and (b) the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut establish precedents?
8. Prove by examples that the Pilgrims were people of iron will.
9. To what extent was the Mayflower Compact a manifestation of democracy?
10. For what reasons is the story of the Pilgrims stressed in schools?
11. To be fair, we ought to study John Winthrop in terms of his times. Explain.
12. Compare the views of John Winthrop and Roger Williams.
13. In the long run, the religious policy of the Rhode Island colony was a safeguard for all religions. Explain to what extent you agree.
14. Which personality discussed in this chap-

ter do you think had the clearest vision of the American Dream? Give reasons for your choice.

15. Certain aspects of the American Dream appear in (a) the migration led by Thomas Hooker and (b) the resistance to feudalism in Carolina. Discuss fully what aspects.
16. Show that Lord Baltimore was both idealistic and practical.
17. Explain whether you consider the seizure of New Netherland by the English unethical.
18. What was democratic about certain practices of the Quakers?
19. What men today have qualities of a Penn or an Oglethorpe? Justify your choices.

★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Write an advertisement such as a proprietor or a joint-stock company might have published urging Europeans to settle in a particular English colony.
2. Investigate in several sources and report on the differences between the ways the English and the French treated the Indians.
3. Draw a cartoon showing why the English colonies seemed like a magnet to various groups in England.
4. Using the library card catalog, list books that deal in whole or in part with the subject of English colonization in the New World. After glancing through these books, tell which ones seem most informative and interesting. Give reasons.
5. Investigate and make a report on conditions in England about 1600 that led many average Englishmen to think of migrating to the colonies.
6. Write a poem expressing how a Virginian must have felt on seeing the ships bringing desperately needed supplies to Jamestown in 1610.

7. Write a page in an imaginary diary by Captain John Smith expressing his feelings about the people and problems of Jamestown. See, for example, abstracts from primary sources, such as those in *The Heritage of America*, edited by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins.
8. In committee, write a television script on the trials and tribulations of any one of the Thirteen Colonies.
9. Write a list of items you think might have appeared on the agenda of the legislature of one of the Thirteen Colonies.
10. Compile a list of questions for an imaginary interview with any one of the personalities mentioned in this chapter.
11. After consulting at least two sources, write a speech such as (a) John Winthrop or (b) Roger Williams might have written justifying his views.
12. Find out and report on what incidents in the life of (a) Anne Hutchinson, (b) Peter Stuyvesant, or (c) William Penn might make a dramatic movie.
13. Imagine yourself a Dutch settler in New Netherland. Describe your feelings on its conquest by the English in 1664.
14. Report to the class on the highlights of the Dutch patroon system in New Netherland. Consult, for example, *Documents of American History*, Vol. I, edited by H. S. Commager.
15. For each of the Thirteen Colonies mention two scenes of historic interest dating to colonial times that you would recommend to a tourist. See, for example, publications of various chambers of commerce or the district booklets of the American Automobile Association.
16. In committee, investigate and report on the experiences of pioneer settlers in your state that might be comparable to those of settlers in the Thirteen Colonies.
17. As a committee research project, compile a list of significant quotations of the various founders of, or leaders in, the Thirteen Colonies. Ask the class to comment on each.
18. As a member of the class Testing Committee, prepare a list of ten questions—Who, Where, When, or What questions—on the contents of this chapter.
19. After re-examining the paragraph headings and the illustrations in this chapter, write a summary of the chapter.

## CHAPTER

# 3

### *Ways of Life in Colonial Days*

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#### **Culture in the Thirteen Colonies**

• Religious Feeling Is Strong Early, But Becomes Less Intense in the Early 1700's • Education Is Strongly Influenced by Religion • Historical Writing, the Theater, Almanacs, and Newspapers Develop • Science Slowly Makes Progress • Colonists Prove Creative in the Practical Arts, But Mainly Imitative in the Fine Arts

#### **Colonists Play Hard, Work Hard, and Find Travel Hard**

• Fun Is Generally a By-product of Work • Co-operation in Work Is the Keynote of Family Life • Lives Grow Richer as Colonists Expand the Area in Which They Exchange Goods, Services, and Ideas • Manufacturing Is Not a Major Factor in Making Contacts with Far-off Places • Transportation and Communication Are Troublesome

#### **Some Seeds of Democracy in the Colonies**

• Contributions of English Tradition, the Character of the Settlers, Colonial Environment, and British Neglect • Colonial Assemblies Gain Power • The Zenger Case Advances Freedom of the Press • Less Religious Intolerance Prevails Than Anywhere Else at the Time • Why Some Colonists Felt That Colonial Life Was Not Democratic Enough • Social Classes Are Not as Rigid as in the Old World

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### **The Role of Religion in the Colonies**

**Religion in Puritan New England.** To cook, to conduct a funeral, to drink at an inn, to travel, to do business of any kind, to stay home from church, to whistle, to hold parties, to play games, or even to converse in groups in the streets was unlawful and considered sinful. So it was on Sundays in Puritan New England in early colonial times. Sunday, the devout Puritans believed,

was a day when every thought and action should be concentrated on God. However, on no day could New Englanders legally play cards or dance with members of the opposite sex. In Massachusetts, women were forbidden to wear dresses with short sleeves. Puritans felt that it was their duty to keep a close watch on their fellow Puritans to make sure that they lived upright lives and did not go astray.

Puritans believed that sober and simple

living was most pleasing to God. They also believed that only a certain few, chosen by God at birth (and called *elect*), were eligible to enter the kingdom of heaven. No one knew for certain who the elect were. It was felt that by leading a righteous life, free from sin, one might be recognized as a member of the elect. Puritans urged that people have faith in God's righteousness and gain an understanding of God's will as revealed in the Bible. They warned that, just as the righteous might be rewarded in heaven, the wicked were sure to be punished in hell. As we have seen, the early Puritans considered those who disagreed with their religious beliefs dangerous to their community and sometimes punished them severely. Like the Massachusetts Bay colony, the other Puritan colonies supported a strong union of church and state.

Yet not all Puritans were solemn persons who thought of life merely as a preparation for the hereafter. In fact, the Puritan meetinghouse was a combined news center, so-

cial club, and headquarters for the discussion of foreign problems, as well as a place of worship. And many Puritan ministers took strong stands against what they considered England's interference with colonial liberties. One of the Puritans' greatest fears was that England planned to establish the Anglican Church in all the colonies.

Some Puritans dressed in gaudy colors, overate, imbibed too much rum, joined with others in songfests, and spent much time trying to win the affections of the opposite sex. Thanksgiving was an especially festive occasion in New England. And material success meant much to Puritans, too. Few colonists were as hard-working and frugal as they toward this goal.

Recent researchers have praised the Puritans for their moral strength, respect for education, and practical qualities, and even for their relish for many of life's pleasures.

**Religion Outside New England.** Religious feeling was strong in all the colonies, especially in the seventeenth century, though

*The Puritan John Eliot was called "Apostle to the Indians." Find out specific acts of his that earned him this title.*



perhaps nowhere as intense as in Puritan New England. Certain other colonies made what they called "frivolous pastimes" illegal because they considered them irreligious. Pennsylvania, for example, in 1682, banned cockfighting, horse racing, card playing, and the theater. The two branches of the Puritan faith (Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches) were established throughout New England, except in Rhode Island. But it was the Anglican Church that was established in New York and the Southern colonies. There, too, church attendance was required. Voting and officeholding were restricted to Anglicans. In such *Middle colonies*<sup>1</sup> as New Jersey and Pennsylvania, no one sect was strong enough to become the established church. Scattered throughout the colonies before the American Revolution were about 25,000 Roman Catholics and about 2,000 Jews.

**Religious Feeling Becomes Less Intense In the Early Eighteenth Century.** By the eighteenth century, business was thriving in the colonies. This prosperity led to an increase in the numbers and influence of merchants and lawyers. Soon their influence equaled or surpassed that of clergymen in many colonies. About this time, religious feeling weakened in both England and the colonies. Especially in the South, and even in Puritan New England, church attendance began to fall off. Couples were seen courting in the streets on Sunday. And women began wearing clothing that strict Puritans considered immodest. Worried about these trends, some reformers launched, in the 1730's, a religious revival known as the *Great Awakening*.

**The Great Awakening Shakes the Colonies.** The revivalists who led the Great Awakening felt that too many people were busy seeking money and material wealth, instead of God and spiritual wealth. They pleaded for a return to the deep religious feeling that had prevailed earlier. Many of

the revivalist ministers, such as New Englander Jonathan Edwards, appealed to thousands in open-air audiences. The preachers tried to make their listeners aware of their sinfulness and to create in their hearts fear of God's punishment in the hereafter. Dramatically, they urged them to confess their sins, promise to lead good lives, pray to God directly, and become truly converted. Some of the congregation would sing with joy at the prospect of winning God's mercy by their conversion. Others wept or fainted as they sometimes heard such warnings as:

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as any one holds a spider . . . over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked, his wrath towards you burns like fire.

The Great Awakening failed to restore the tremendous religious influence of the earlier colonial period and even antagonized some by its sensational character. It did, however, inspire a greater interest in religion. Thousands got to know one another better at the huge revival meetings. They began to show a deeper interest in one another's problems, in converting Indians, and in improving the lot of unfortunates, such as slaves. With the addition of so many different sects to the numerous existing ones, retaining an established church became difficult. Each sect, wishing religious toleration for itself, had to accept it for the others.

### **Colonial Education Is Strongly Influenced By Religious Traditions**

Thousands of persons in the colonies had to sign their names with a cross, for illiteracy was widespread. Yet European visitors to the colonies wrote that, in general, the colonists were much better educated and much more interested in education than the average European. It is truly remarkable how many colonists with limited opportunities did learn how to read and write.

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<sup>1</sup>The Middle colonies were New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania.

**Education in Puritan New England.** Puritan New England made more progress in education than either the Middle or the Southern colonies. The Puritans wanted their children to be able to read and interpret the Bible. It was simpler for New Englanders to set up schools since most of them lived close together in towns instead of scattered settlements, and since most of them attended the same church. A main purpose of the establishment of the first college in the Thirteen Colonies, Harvard, in 1636, was to train boys to become ministers.

Massachusetts, in 1647, passed a law requiring towns of fifty or more families to provide a teacher to teach children how to read and write. However, many towns disobeyed the law. Most schools were free only to the very poor. Nevertheless, Massachusetts deserves much credit for establishing the principle that the community as a whole is responsible for the education of every child in the community.

Most of New England soon followed Massachusetts' educational example. For most children, instruction was limited to simple reading, writing, and arithmetic. Good conduct was often enforced by a whip fashioned from a birch branch. The most widely used of the few textbooks available was the *New England Primer*. Colonies outside New England adopted it, too. It was composed of alphabet rhymes, with a picture of a Biblical scene alongside each. This "little Bible of New England" was intended to develop deep religious feeling, good manners, respect for elders, and industrious habits.

As a preparation for college, a small number of boys studied mainly Latin and Greek in what was called a *grammar school*. Those who could afford to go on to college did so at about the age of fifteen. There they continued studying Latin and Greek. In addition, Hebrew, oratory, logic, philosophy, and church history were stressed in preparing youths for the ministry. As time passed, the colleges also tended to emphasize such practical subjects as science, politics, and business problems.

**Education Outside New England.** Outside New England, especially for poor people, it was harder to get an education. Public schools founded by towns were few. Some towns had so-called *pauper schools*. There, the very poor were given a smattering of learning to help them support themselves. In general, in the Middle colonies, education was left up to the many religious groups or to parents. Most religious schools taught the three R's, as well as a fourth, religion. To these schools, only a few of the very poor were admitted free.

Sons of Southern planters were taught either by tutors at home or in private schools, with Anglican churchmen often the teachers. Many went on to colonial colleges or to universities in England. Parish as well as pauper schools provided some education for some of the poorer people. But most Southerners received an extremely narrow education, or none at all.

**Some Acquire an Education in the 'School of Hard Knocks.'** The colonists had to do for themselves many of the things that people today are accustomed to having done for them. Consequently, many of them got an education in the school of experience. Some earned positions as craftsmen, doctors, or lawyers by serving as apprentices to people in these occupations or professions. Many colonists, knowing that education never stops, daily devoted many hours to reading books in many fields of learning. Some of these self-educated men—and women, too—were as well educated as the most learned scholars of England. And some of them were to become leaders in the movement for independence and in launching the new nation, the United States of America.

**The Success Story of a Largely Self-Educated Colonist: Benjamin Franklin.** "Doing an injury puts you below your enemy; revenging one makes you but even with him; forgiving it sets you above him." . . . "If men are so wicked as we now see them with religion, what would they be if without it?"

Scores of such statements appear in the writings of the best-known American colo-



Printer and author Benjamin Franklin once said that if he were granted a second life, he would ask "the privilege of an author to correct in a second edition, certain errors of the first."

nist, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790). A philosopher, journalist, scientist, inventor, musician, medical pioneer, and diplomat, Franklin was largely self-educated. Tolerant and even-tempered, he was always willing to listen and, if necessary, to compromise.

Franklin wanted it said of him that "he lived usefully." In helping to educate and to broaden the outlook of his fellow men, he certainly did so. He took the lead in founding, in 1751, an institution that, in 1791, became the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> The practical Franklin saw to it that this institu-

tion taught subjects that would be useful in daily life, including agriculture, surveying, navigation, and history.

In his *Poor Richard's Almanack*, filled with witty maxims, Franklin praised thrift, hard work, and the ability to adapt oneself to changing circumstances. He founded a magazine that eventually became the *Saturday Evening Post*. His *Pennsylvania Gazette* had more influence than any other newspaper in the colonies. Even its advertisements frequently reflected Franklin's sense of humor. One, asking the return of a Bible stolen from a church, urged the thief to open it and read the Eighth Commandment!

In Europe in the eighteenth century, French intellectuals such as Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot were writing that if people would use their reason and co-operate

<sup>1</sup> Among the other American universities founded prior to the Revolution were Harvard, 1636, William and Mary, 1693, Yale, 1701; Princeton, 1746, Columbia, 1754, Brown, 1764, Rutgers, 1766, and Dartmouth, 1769. In each case, a religious sect played a major role in the founding.

with one another, they could make great progress in building a happier community. Because of their ideas, the period in which they wrote is called the *Age of Reason* or the *Enlightenment*. In the spirit of the Enlightenment, Franklin established in his community, Philadelphia, in co-operation with his fellow citizens, a circulating library, police, fire, and sanitation departments, and a hospital. He helped to form the first antislavery society in the colonies. With his inquiring mind, he conceived many inventions that made life more comfortable for many (page 40). For these inventions, he sought no patents, as he sought no copyrights for his numerous writings, desiring all to enjoy their benefits.

Before the Declaration of Independence, Franklin represented several colonies in Britain. After the Declaration, he was one of three commissioners assigned to win French recognition of the infant United States. In the presence of European royalty, dressed in powdered wigs, silks, and laces, the small, gray-haired, bespectacled old man of humble birth more than held his own. When he saw the widespread corruption in the aristocratic Governments of Europe, he became an even stronger supporter of government by *all* the people. He boasted that in America one does not ask of a person: "What is he?", but: "What can he do?"

### Colonial Literature Is Strongly Influenced By Religious Traditions

Not romance, nor the beauties of nature, but religion was the most common theme of colonial literature.

Though husband dear be from me gone,  
Whom I do love so well:  
I have a more beloved one<sup>1</sup>  
Whose comforts far excel.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Meaning God.

<sup>2</sup> Spelling modernized by authors.

These lines were written by Anne Bradstreet in about 1650. They are exceptional, both because they were written by a woman in the colonial period, when few women wrote, and because they express human affection, as writing then seldom did. But even here, religion prevails over romance. The finest poet of the colonial period was the Puritan minister Edward Taylor. In a style rich with emotion, Taylor sings of the glories of God. But unlike so much other colonial writing, there shines through Taylor's poems a deep appreciation of color, beauty, and worldly pleasures.

More typical colonial writers in their almost exclusive emphasis on religion were John Cotton, Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards (page 35), and Michael Wigglesworth. Wigglesworth, for example, in his 1662 poem about Judgment Day, "Day of Doom," expressed some Puritan ideas (pages 33-34) thus:

You sinners are, and such a share as sinners  
may expect,  
Such you shall have, for I do save but my  
own Elect.

However, there were some writers, such as the liberal minister Jonathan Mayhew, who asserted that God was a God of love—not an angry God who punished sinners. His writings also indicate that he felt that it was a Christian's duty to rebel against tyranny. A Quaker writer, John Woolman, felt "universal love to my fellow creatures." To him, they were not doomed sinners but people who might work out their own salvation. Woolman's writings condemned slavery, cruel treatment of Indians, and war, and supported reduced rents and a shorter working day.

### Historical Writing, the Theater, Almanacs, and Newspapers Develop

Among colonial historians, Captain John Smith threw much light on the heartaches of the Jamestown colony; William Bradford,

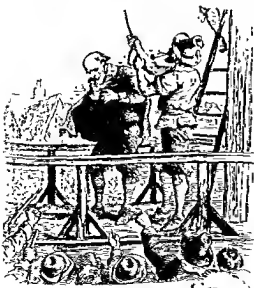


on those of the Plymouth colony, and John Winthrop, on those of the Massachusetts Bay colony. Perhaps the best representative of the South in colonial literature was William Byrd II (page 53). Writing in a witty, conversational style, this eighteenth-century aristocrat kept diaries that remain of great historical value. Life among the poor whites of North Carolina and Virginia amused him. He wrote, for example,

They make their Wives rise out of their Beds early in the Morning, at the same time that they lie and snore

The theater was frowned upon as sinful by Puritans and Quakers, among other sects. Perhaps this explains why there were no important colonial playwrights. Going to the theater did begin to gain respectability by the time of the American Revolution in most of the cities outside Puritan New England. By this time, too, religious writing was less in vogue. More essays on politics and business, and more fiction, plays, and worldly poetry were being published.

*An aged victim of the witchcraft craze. Witches were believed to ride through the air on broomsticks. William Penn freed one accused of being a witch, explaining that "there was no law in Pennsylvania against riding on broomsticks."*



Most colonial literature was *by* and *for* scholars only. Most colonists who could read had little time to read anything but their Bibles and their almanacs. An almanac was a hodgepodge, including a calendar, weather predictions, proverbs, agricultural and medical advice, jokes, and a little history.

There was no successful colonial newspaper until 1704, when the weekly *Boston News-Letter* was first published. However, by the time of the American Revolution, practically every colony had a few newspapers. Colonial newspapers were small, and so was their circulation. Most newspaper owners were their own editors, printers, and even newsboys. Their papers featured letters from readers or travelers in Europe, notices of rewards for the capture of runaway slaves or horses, poems, serialized histories, and local items.

## Science in the Colonies Slowly Makes Progress

**Superstition Hinders Scientific Progress.** More than 300,000 persons accused of witchcraft were executed in Europe in the 300-year period between 1480 and 1780. The accused, usually old women, were believed to have entered into a conspiracy with the devil to accomplish evil aims. In the colonies, too, many people believed in witches. In Salem, in Puritan Massachusetts, the year 1692 saw nineteen persons hanged, one eighty-three-year-old man pressed to death, fifty-five persons tortured, and hundreds imprisoned as witches.

Many of those thought to be witches were persons whose ideals or habits seemed different from the general run, or whose neighbors did not like them. Salem's brief witchcraft craze came to an end after some very important persons, including the wife of the governor, were added to the list of the accused.

Other examples of superstition in the colonies included the widespread belief, even among the educated, in magic signs and

fortunetelling. Such superstition naturally hindered the progress of science.

**Some Trail-Blazing American Scientists.** A major exception to colonial scientific backwardness was the work of Benjamin Franklin. Franklin carried on experiments, made careful observations, and drew conclusions based upon these experiments and observations. In other words, he used the *scientific method*, thereby arriving at many scientific conclusions and inventions. To keep the heat from a fire in a room instead of allowing most of it to escape up the chimney from a fireplace, he invented the Franklin stove. To prevent fires caused by bolts of lightning, he invented the lightning rod. To help people who needed eyeglasses both for reading and for seeing distant objects, he invented bifocal eyeglasses. To promote scientific research and to encourage the exchange of information among scientists, he founded the *American Philosophical Society* in 1743.

A number of other colonists shared Franklin's interest in science. Among those who left their mark were John Bartram, known as the "father of American botany," and the astronomer and mathematician David Rittenhouse. In general, colonial scientists were interested in practical, rather than theoretical, science.

**What Colonial Medicine Was Like.** Barbers practiced surgery. Grocers dispensed drugs. Indians sold herbs that were supposed to have magic curing properties. Many a patient who needed a blood transfusion was bled of what blood he had left on instructions from so-called doctors—most of whom had obtained their training as apprentices of other so-called doctors.

Proper diet, sanitation, and a pure water supply were essentials of hygiene practically unknown to the colonists. Hogs and buzzards did the work of garbage collectors. No wonder epidemics were frequent!

But by the outbreak of the American Revolution, two medical schools had been established in the colonies in which anatomy was studied not merely from textbooks but by dissecting corpses. Frequently, the corpses

were stolen from graveyards. By this time, too, a number of doctors who had studied abroad were practicing in the colonies. One such, Dr. Benjamin Rush, was ahead of his time in stressing the importance of diet, sanitation, and the influence of mental and emotional states on physical health. Although important persons warned that vaccination to prevent smallpox would "promote immorality," some brave doctors, by 1800, were inoculating their patients. And superstition had experienced a sharp decline in the intervening years.

### Colonists Prove Creative In Practical Arts, Mainly Imitative in Fine Arts

Many hard-working colonists felt that even art should serve a practical purpose. This attitude helps to explain why colonial America made great contributions to the practical arts of the craftsman but not to the fine arts of the painter and sculptor. It is to acquire the simple but beautiful products of early American craftsmen that many persons today spend a great deal of time and money in antique shops. They prize such items as handsomely carved cabinets and graceful silver teapots. Colonial craftsmen also produced original designs on tavern signs and weathervanes. Their fan doorways and carved mantelpieces have been widely imitated.

Colonial America did not produce a single important painter until shortly before the American Revolution. The five who then did make names for themselves lived part of their lives in England and painted very much in the English style. One of them, Charles Willson Peale, painted portraits of many famous Americans, including Washington and Franklin.<sup>1</sup>

The colonists borrowed most of their architectural ideas from the Swedes, the

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<sup>1</sup> The other four were John Singleton Copley, Benjamin West, Gilbert Stuart, and John Trumbull.

Dutch, and the English. From the Swedes came the idea of the log cabin, so common in eighteenth-century colonial America and all over the frontier as people pushed westward. From Holland, the earliest settlers in New York brought the idea for building "Dutch colonial" houses, with the narrow side facing the street and with step-like gabled roofs. From England came ideas for the earliest thatched cottages, the simple "salt-box" farmhouses of New England, and stately Georgian mansions. These last were named in honor of the four kings named George whose combined reigns lasted from 1714 to 1830. After the American Revolution, some homes and public buildings were constructed in the classic style on ancient Greek and Roman models. It was in the classic style that Thomas Jefferson designed his own beautiful home at Monticello.

### **Colonists Play Hard, Work Hard, Find Travel and Communication Hard**

#### **Fun Is Generally a By-product of Work.**

Hosts in the colonies often had to keep a sharp eye on their guests to make sure they did not whittle away the furniture, so popular a pastime was whittling in colonial America. Some attribute the whittling habit to the general feeling that everybody, even in his spare time, ought to keep busy. There was so much to be done that wasting time seemed a crime. Much work was done and much fun was had, for instance, when a group of backwoodsmen got together to help a man build his house or harvest his crops, or when their ladies met for a quilting bee.

Business was also combined with pleasure at colonial fairs. Visitors there could market or purchase goods, exchange political views, small talk, or tall tales; watch acrobats; take part in contests; bet on horse races or cockfights; or have their fortunes told. Socializing also took place at church gatherings, revival meetings, court sessions, weddings, and funerals.

Training with the militia was like be-

longing to a social club. The drills would often be followed by an evening session at the village tavern, where militiamen would discuss business and politics, read newspapers, or engage in group singing. Unfortunately, some also gambled away their savings at dice, cards, or billiards, or got drunk on hard cider or rum.

In Puritan New England, however, playing dice or cards was banned. There, singing popular songs and ballads was discouraged, but singing psalms and hymns was encouraged.

The colonies were a fisherman's and hunter's paradise. With woods abounding in bear, deer, and wild turkeys, with skies heavy with birds, and with waters teeming with fish, the bag or catch of even the poorest sportsman was likely to be full. Even among the Puritans, where having fun was generally considered a waste of time, hunting and fishing were sanctioned as productive activities.

That brutal sport, cockfighting, promoted on the sly by some New Englanders, was openly promoted in the South. Like aristocratic Englishmen, the aristocratic and worldly planters of the South owned racing stables, staged fox hunts, and held elaborate balls and house parties. Many of them attended the theater or concerts at cultured and colorful Charleston, the largest city in the South, just as the prosperous merchants of the Middle colonies enjoyed similar entertainment in New York or Philadelphia.

In the backwoods regions, recreation was rugged. A wrestler might even gouge out the eye of his opponent or bite off his ear. A man had to be a good shot to win a shooting match that required him to drive a nail into a tree with one bullet. The highly competitive spirit was also evident in spelling bees, foot races, and tomahawk-throwing, dancing, and public-speaking contests.

**Co-operation in Work Is the Keynote of Colonial Family Life.** Many a colonial boy or girl married as young as fifteen and had as many as fifteen children. A large family seemed desirable since making a decent living depended to a great extent upon the

size of the family. It also depended upon co-operation among the members of the family and upon co-operation among families. Land was cheap, but labor was expensive. Most people had small farms on which they made with their own hands practically everything they needed. They had to do so because it was difficult to get crops to market and thus get money to buy goods. Everybody in the average family had to pitch in to get the day's work done.

Besides performing the usual household chores, the colonial housewife spun thread and wove cloth, made soap and candles, preserved food for winter use, and sometimes acted as her children's teacher as well. In spite of her many contributions, she had few rights (page 270). However, because of the shortage of women in the New World, she usually had more prestige than women in the Old World. Besides being a farmer, her husband also had to be a builder, a blacksmith, a harness maker, a veterinarian, and a furniture, tool, and utensil manufacturer. As a rule, children were not babied but treated as little adults. They worked far more than they played. In colonial towns and cities, as in Europe, they were sometimes apprenticed to a craftsman, such as a carpenter or tailor, at as young an age as ten. Often—especially on the frontier—the whole family co-operated with other families in harvesting crops, in putting up buildings, and in defending one another against Indians.

Some colonial farm families did not have to live lives of almost complete self-sufficiency. Throughout New England and in some Middle colonies, farm families lived in little villages centering in the church and the village green. Here they met and exchanged goods, services, and ideas with their neighbors.

**Colonists' Lives Grow Richer as They Expand the Area in Which They Exchange Goods, Services, and Ideas.** Frontiersmen and villagers were not the only ones who saw the advantages of exchanging goods, services, and ideas. The benefits of such exchanges

were far more obvious to Southern planters and to merchants and shipbuilders in seaboard cities. They realized that, if they wanted to secure a high standard of living, they would have to trade with people not only in other colonies but in other lands. Such goods as furs and fish, tobacco and wheat, ships' and naval stores,<sup>1</sup> rum and lumber were shipped to foreign ports. For some of these products, the West Indies were the colonists' best customers. Others were shipped mainly to Europe—especially to England.

With the money they obtained, farmers, such as the Southern planters, and city merchants imported silverware, furniture, fine cloth, guns, books, tea, hardware, china, and musical instruments. Most of these imports came from England. Merchants would frequently sell such imports to peddlers who traveled from colony to colony with their wares.

**Certain Southern Planters Live Like English Aristocrats.** Along the tidewater (coastal region) of the South stretched big plantations covering hundreds, even thousands, of acres, and worked by hundreds of slaves. Their owners sold to Europe—largely to England—rice, indigo,<sup>2</sup> and, especially, tobacco. Actually, however, there were far more small farmers in the South than there were big planters.

In an age when fertilizer and rotation of crops were seldom used, the land was exhausted quickly. Tobacco, in particular, robs the soil of valuable minerals. Big planters could keep on buying more land and more slaves. Small farmers could not. Moreover, big plantations tended to remain big because of the law of primogeniture. When the price of tobacco fell, the small farmer often had to sell out to the big planter. Then he would move inland from the rich tidewater

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<sup>1</sup> Naval stores are tar, pitch, and resin, used to plug gaps between planks to make vessels more seaworthy.

<sup>2</sup> Indigo is a blue vegetable dye, important to the growing textile industry of England at a time when there were no synthetic dyes.

soil to the less fertile backwoods area. For all these reasons, a small group of plantation families had most to say in the South. In their homes, their clothing, their amusements, and their education, they bore a strong resemblance to English aristocrats.

**Farmers of the Middle Colonies Make Contacts with Other Colonies and Far-off Lands.** With far fewer slaves than in the South, but with certain other types of farm laborers (page 53), the farmers of the Middle colonies raised fruits, vegetables, livestock, and, especially, wheat and corn. So abundant were their grain crops that the Middle colonies were called the *bread colonies*. Much of this grain was sold in the West Indies, New England, and the South.

In New York, as a heritage from the days of the Dutch patroonships, there were some large holdings. But, as a rule, farms in the Middle colonies were middle-sized—neither as small as those in New England nor as large as Southern plantations. It was also easier to obtain good land in the Middle colonies than elsewhere. This explains in part why aristocratic families in the Middle colonies never attained as much influence as those in the South.

**New Englanders Make Contacts with Far-off Places, But Not So Much Through Farming.** Nine out of ten colonists were farmers. But compared with the other colonies, fewer New Englanders were farmers. The growing season in colder New England was short. Its

*A people who could develop men as hardy, courageous, and adventurous as these American whale hunters was not to be trifled with, a member of Parliament, Edmund Burke, warned the British Government.*



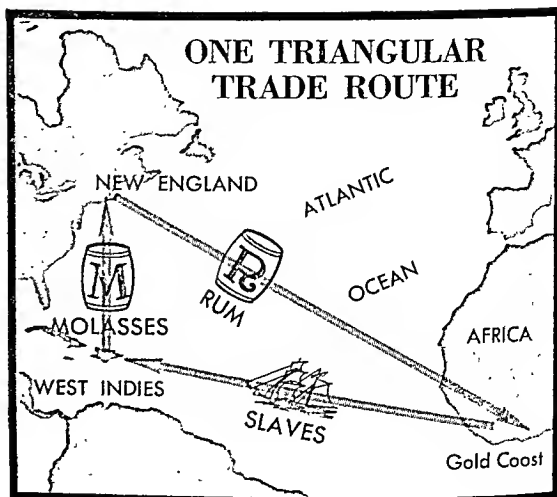
soil was filled with boulders left by glaciers. Most of the farms were small and were usually worked by the families themselves. Most of the grains, fruits, and vegetables they raised were consumed at home. Thus it was not mainly through its agricultural products that New England made its contacts with faraway places.<sup>1</sup>

One important way in which New England did make foreign contacts was through the sale of fish. Thousands of daring New Englanders would venture in fishing fleets even beyond their fish-filled coastal waters to the waters off Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Drying and salting fish at seaboard towns such as Gloucester became an industry in itself. European importers got the better-quality fish. The poorer quality was sold in the West Indies, where it was fed to slaves.

Even more daring than such fishermen were the seamen who would set out from such ports as New Bedford and Nantucket on dangerous whaling expeditions in seas around the globe. Sometimes it was years before a fleet returned. Whale oil was used for lamps or to make candles. Whalebone was used for whips and for stiffening ladies' corsets.

In the sale of lumber and its well-built ships, New England was also able to make valuable contacts with foreign customers. To a lesser degree, so were the other colonies.

**Colonial Manufactures Are Not a Major Factor in Making Contacts with Far-off Places.** The colonists did not manufacture enough to export much. Manufacturing as a leading occupation developed slowly in the colonies. It was difficult to get skilled workers. In those days, the actual process of manufacturing goods was such a slow one that results were a long time in coming. Many felt that they could get rich more quickly by investing in natural resources,



such as fish, furs, or land, or by becoming merchants. And most persons preferred to buy land, which was cheap, and become independent farmers. Furthermore, England, fearful of colonial competition, tried to discourage the manufacture of certain products.

However, by the 1700's, there were many small factories, mills, distilleries, shipyards, and craftsmen's shops. Iron, leather, glass, and textile products were being turned out, as well as lumber and rum. Rum was manufactured in New England from molasses obtained in the West Indies. A good portion of it was consumed by the colonists themselves. Rum was also used in bartering with the Indians for furs and by slave traders in bartering with slave hunters for slaves in Africa. The slaves obtained were usually sold in the West Indies, where more molasses was obtained to be taken to New England to be manufactured into more rum. This trade, linking the West Indies, New England, and Africa, has been called the *triangular trade*.<sup>1</sup>

By the time of the American Revolution, the colonists were manufacturing more than fifty per cent of what they needed. Increasingly, this competition, especially in the textile, hat, and iron industries, was causing the British concern. By this time, too, colonial business in general had expanded

<sup>1</sup> They *did* make some such contacts by shipping some salted meats, wheat, dairy products, and livestock to such places as the West Indies.

<sup>1</sup> This is only one of several so-called triangular trade routes.

to such an extent that many colonists felt quite economically independent of Britain.

**Trials and Tribulations in Colonial Transportation and Communication.** Today a ship can make the transatlantic run from New York to England in fewer than five days. In colonial times, the voyage took at least eight weeks, and usually more. Postal service, where there was any, was so unreliable that three copies of a letter would often be sent at different times or by different routes. Sometimes not one of them would arrive. By 1776, transportation and communication had improved somewhat. Yet it was a month before word of the Declaration of Independence reached Charleston from Philadelphia.

Until about 1800, most travelers sailed in little vessels that went along the coast or up the rivers as far as possible. Water travel was uncomfortable and dangerous, but it was popular because land travel was so costly and filled with obstacles. In fact, traveling to Europe was probably less troublesome than traveling to another colony by land. Many roads were mere Indian trails. Travel by foot, horseback, pack train, or carts—the most common forms of land travel—had widened some of these. Streams usually had to be forded.

About 1750, stagecoaches began to make regular trips between such cities as Boston and New York, and New York and Philadelphia. By this time, roads were somewhat improved. Yet passengers would still often have to get out and help lift the coaches out of the mud or ruts. In the Deep South and inland from the seaboard cities, most roads remained mere paths throughout the colonial period.

Toll bridges and toll ferries, like stagecoaches, appeared about 1750. Travel was speeded. But even then, it took three days of travel all day and a good part of each night to make the run between Boston and Philadelphia. A stagecoach traveler would spend his brief night's rest in a tavern in a town. The food was often vile, the bed sometimes filled with vermin and shared with one or more fellow travelers.

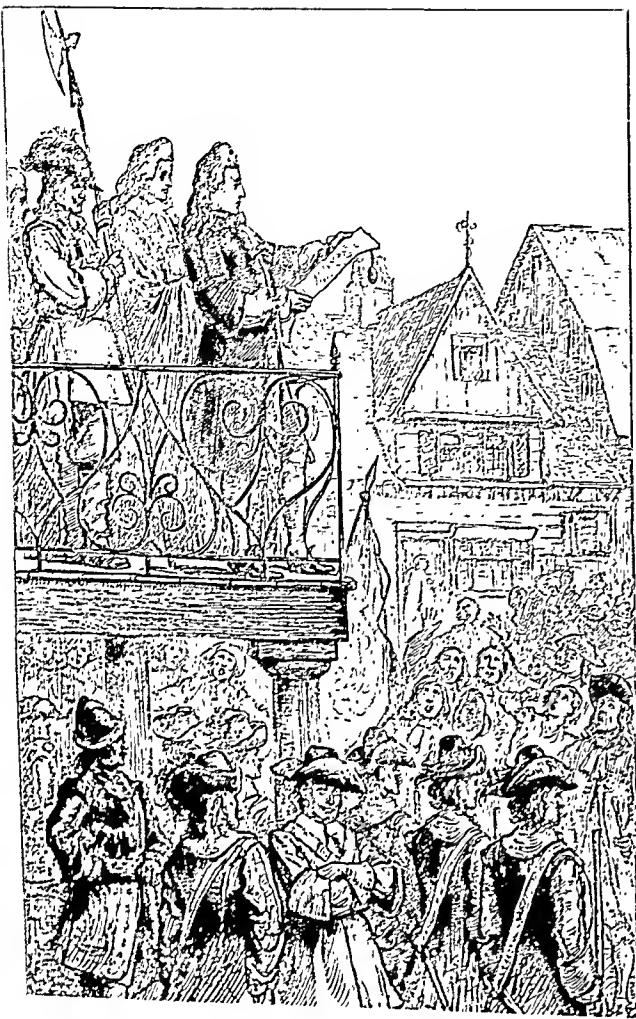
Many a tavern served as a kind of post office. A ship captain, or any traveler, might act as a kind of letter carrier, dropping off mail there. However, there was no organized postal system among the colonies until 1691. After Benjamin Franklin was appointed one of the two postmasters general for the colonies in 1753, service became somewhat faster. Yet it was a known fact that post riders, to relieve their boredom, would open letters and read them en route. This explains why many businessmen and government officials wrote their letters in code.

## **Some Seeds of Democracy In the Colonies**

**Many Seeds of Colonial Democracy Were Planted in England.** The same rights, privileges, and liberties as were enjoyed by persons living in England—this is what many colonial charters promised the English colonists. Many colonial governors conveniently forgot this promise. But many colonists, by word and action, persistently reminded them of it.

By 1700, colonists, like Englishmen at home, felt entitled to trial by jury, freedom from unjust imprisonment, and a representative assembly to make laws and to check the taxing power of the king or governor. It had taken Englishmen a long time to win these rights. Nor do they appear in any one document or constitution. At first, they were granted only to small privileged groups, later, they were extended to others. Some of them were repeated in subsequent documents after it became necessary for the English people to win anew rights they had won previously. Let us glance at the English struggle for rights, privileges, and liberties.

**Magna Carta Means More to More People as Years Roll On.** Back in 1215, English nobles had rebelled against their king, John. In the famous Magna Carta they compelled him to accept, he agreed that no free man should be imprisoned, except after a trial by his equals. However, the entire Magna



A colonial leader announces the deposition of Governor Andros. Find out some similarities and differences between the uprising against Andros and (a) a rebellion in North Carolina led by John Culpepper, or (b) a rebellion in New York led by Jacob Leisler.

self as governor. This plan, James felt, would have many advantages. It would enable him to check the growing power of the colonial assemblies. It would give him, through Andros, absolute power over the combined colonies. He would also be able to tax at will. James felt, too, that his proposed consolidation of the colonies would result in greater unity and stronger resistance against attacks by the French or Indians. It was his

object, moreover, to get the combined colonies to shift their emphasis from commerce and manufacturing to the production of raw materials for British factories.

Disregarding charters, James combined the New England colonies, New York, and New Jersey into one big colony, known as the *Dominion of New England*. Capable, but tactless and dictatorial, Governor Andros abolished colonial assemblies, colonial courts, and town governments. He taxed at will. He demanded and collected rents from people who claimed to own their land by asserting that all the land belonged to the king. The Puritans of New England were especially angry when he tried to promote the Anglican religion.

But then the colonists learned that James had been overthrown and had fled into exile in 1688. The people of Boston rejoiced at this opportunity to imprison Andros. Uprisings in other colonies, too, helped bring an end to the Dominion of New England. England's efforts to increase political and economic control of the colonies did not end, however. In fact, many of the colonies were turned into royal colonies.<sup>1</sup> And, as we shall see, England's attempt to enforce new and stricter laws was to be a major cause of the American Revolution.

**The Principle of Self-Government Is Recognized.** In a small town with a small population, all the citizens can assemble, elect officials, and pass laws for the community. In the small towns of New England in colonial days, as in some today, citizens were able to do this. Thus, instead of voting for a representative to make laws for him, each citizen became a lawmaker himself. And thus the *New England town meetings* were examples of *direct*, or *pure*, democracy, rather than of representative democracy. In these town

<sup>1</sup> But even in royal colonies there were democratic features. In the Massachusetts Charter of 1691, for example, the king required Massachusetts to permit all males owning enough property to vote—instead of only Puritans. And all Protestant groups were promised the right to worship freely.



meetings, citizens obtained valuable experience in democratic practices.

The principle of self-government was also recognized, as we have already learned, in the Virginia House of Burgesses and other colonial assemblies, in the Mayflower Compact, and in the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut. So, too, in the Quaker meetinghouses, where women were treated as men's equals and no class distinctions were drawn, were seeds of democracy planted.

**The Zenger Case Advances the Cause of Freedom of the Press.** One day in 1735, in the city of Philadelphia, cannon roared a welcome to a returning lawyer named Andrew Hamilton. Hamilton had just won a legal victory in the courts of New York that had been cheered by lovers of freedom in all the colonies. Hamilton's client, John Peter Zenger, had been on trial for using his newspaper to criticize the governor of New York. Zenger had criticized the governor for removing a judge whose decision he did not like. The governor had ordered Zenger's newspaper burned and Zenger jailed. But from his jail cell, Zenger had continued to dictate editorials. These had been delivered by clerks to his wife, who had kept the printing press running.

During the trial, Hamilton had pointed out to the jury that the case was much more significant than "the cause of a poor printer." He had said:

In a free government the rulers should not be able to stop people's mouths when they feel themselves oppressed.

The real issue at stake, according to Hamilton, was

the liberty of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing the truth

Hamilton sent Zenger no bill for his services. But, for the services of both Zenger and Hamilton in laying the basis for freedom of the press in America, all Americans should

be eternally grateful. The victory in the Zenger case tended to bring about greater freedom of the press in Britain as well.

**Less Religious Intolerance Prevails in the Thirteen Colonies Than Anywhere Else at the Time.** For laying the basis for freedom of religion in the United States, Americans, we have seen, should be grateful to such men as Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore, and William Penn. Roger Williams introduced complete religious freedom in Rhode Island, with no exceptions. Lord Baltimore introduced religious freedom in Maryland, except for Jews, Unitarians, Deists, and atheists.<sup>1</sup> William Penn granted virtual religious freedom in Pennsylvania, except to atheists. It is true that such colonies as Virginia had an established Anglican Church, to which all paid taxes. Nevertheless, non-Anglicans, especially Protestant non-Anglicans, were accorded a fair degree of religious toleration by the frequent failure of officials to enforce the law against non-Anglican worship.

In many of the colonies, there were settlers of so many different religious sects that no one group, even if it desired to, dared to persecute the others. Furthermore, in desperate need of laborers, many colonies welcomed newcomers, regardless of their faith. At this time, when Jews were still being persecuted in most European countries, some colonial towns, such as Newport, Rhode Island, and New Amsterdam, permitted them to build synagogues and worship there. True, there were many examples of colonial religious intolerance. Yet, all in all, there was more religious toleration in the Thirteen Colonies than anywhere else in the world at the time.

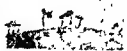
**Why Some Colonists Felt That Colonial Life Was Not Democratic Enough.** In New England's town meetings, it is true, citizens practiced local self-government. But many

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<sup>1</sup> A Unitarian is a Christian who believes "in the love of truth and the spirit of Jesus," but not in the divinity of Jesus. A Deist believes in God, but does not believe in formal church worship. An atheist does not believe in God.

## Some Highlights Of Colonial History

1607



- Jamestown founded

1612

- Rolfe begins tobacco cultivation in Virginia

1619

- House of Burgesses established • Girls arrive to marry Jamestown settlers • First Negroes brought to Jamestown

1620



- Pilgrims land near Plymouth • Mayflower Compact signed

1624

- Dutch West India Company founds New Amsterdam in New Netherland

1629



- Massachusetts Bay Company chartered

- First settlers arrive in Maryland

1634

- Roger Williams founds Providence • First colonial college, Harvard, founded • Connecticut towns settled

1636

1639



- Fundamental Orders of Connecticut

- Massachusetts requires each town of fifty families or more to provide a teacher

1647

1649

- Maryland passes Toleration Act

1655



- New Sweden, in Delaware, captured by the Dutch

1663

- Carolina chartered

1664

- English seize New Netherland • New York and New Jersey created out of New Netherland

1676

- Bacon's Rebellion suppressed

1679

- New Hampshire becomes an independent colony

1681



- Proprietor Penn founds Pennsylvania

1686

- Andros arrives to govern the Dominion of New England

1690

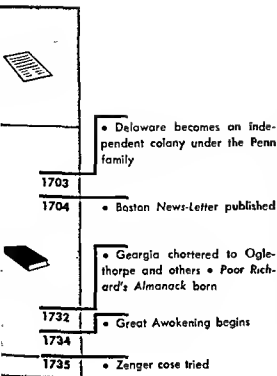
- New England Primer published about this time

1691

- Colonial postal system created • Massachusetts male property owners granted the vote

1692

- Salem witchcraft craze



New Englanders were not considered citizens because they were not church members or did not own enough property. Only in Rhode Island and Connecticut were the governor and his council elected by the voters. And any law passed by the colonial assemblies could be vetoed by either the governor and his council in the New World or by the king and his council in the Old World.<sup>1</sup> In the South, it was the governor who appointed county<sup>2</sup> officials, usually selecting them from the families of wealthy planters or merchants.

To vote in most of the colonies, a person had to be male, white, a property owner, a Christian (but not a Catholic, Unitarian, or

Quaker), and a regular churchgoer.<sup>1</sup> To hold office, a person had to own a considerable amount of property. Then, as now, there were many eligible voters who did not bother to vote. This negligence, and the limitations on the right to vote, enabled a small minority to control colonial assemblies. This minority was made up largely of politically minded lawyers and well-to-do planters and merchants residing along the coast. The small farmers, craftsmen, and frontiersmen who outnumbered this minority had fewer representatives in the colonial assemblies.

Westerners Resent Domination by Easterners. "Had we let him alone, he would have hanged half the country." The *he* in this quotation was Sir William Berkeley, governor of colonial Virginia. When and why was this comment made about Governor Berkeley?

In 1676, an armed rebellion was waged against Berkeley. Nathaniel Bacon, although of conservative, upper-class background, was its leader. The hot-tempered and domineering Berkeley was accused of discriminating against the poor farmers and frontiersmen in the wilderness inland and of favoring the rich planters on the coast. At a time when the price frontiersmen received for their tobacco dropped, the aristocratic coastal planters who controlled the assembly put through heavy taxes. These taxes favored such planters over frontiersmen. The frontiersmen were also furious because Berkeley gave tremendous tracts of the colony's land to personal friends. They accused him of refusing to defend frontier settlements against Indian attacks because he and his friends were making money from the fur trade with the Indians. Other complaints against Berkeley were that he postponed elections, denied

<sup>1</sup> Actually, considering the number of laws passed, relatively few bills were vetoed.

<sup>2</sup> The unit of local government in the South was the large county, rather than the small town.

<sup>1</sup> Recent research suggests that probably more people had the right to vote in some colonies than was formerly supposed. Since most men were farmers who owned land, property qualifications did not bar significant numbers. However, voters tended to elect men of wealth and education, for whom they generally had great respect.



*Bacon before the Virginia Council. Bacon's Rebellion has been described as the "first democratic uprising in American history." Find out as many arguments as you can for and against this point of view.*

the landless the right to vote, and persecuted Puritans and Quakers.<sup>1</sup>

Taking matters into their own hands, Bacon and a few hundred frontiersmen launched successful attacks against the Indians. Bacon even seized control of Virginia's government. But when he died soon after, Berkeley recovered control and hanged many of the leaders of *Bacon's Rebellion*. He would have hanged more had not the House of Burgesses stopped him. This explains the comment of a member of the House of Burgesses that introduced our

story. King Charles II subsequently recalled Berkeley to England. He canceled most of the reforms put through while Bacon was in control. In time, however, Virginia's people gradually gained a greater voice in their government.

Not only in Virginia but in other colonies as well—and for similar reasons—serious friction existed and clashes occurred between western and eastern areas. Issues other than those mentioned were also involved in many of these clashes. Many frontiersmen were debtors. They accused the colonial assemblies of sponsoring financial policies that gave an advantage to creditors. And frontiersmen, who usually believed in equality, did not like being looked down on by aristocratic Easterners, who considered them virtual barbarians.

**Why Some Felt That Life in the Colonies Was Socially Undemocratic.** Along the seaboard especially, a person's influence depended to a great extent upon his wealth

<sup>1</sup> Recently, some historians have questioned this traditional explanation of Bacon's Rebellion. They question whether Bacon was such a hero who represented the democratic spirit of the New World; whether Berkeley was such a villain representing the aristocratic spirit so typical of the Old World; whether Berkeley really refused to fight the Indians because his friends were profiting from the fur trade. These historians even suggest that the frontiersmen wanted to pick fights with the Indians in order to seize their land.

and his family's social importance. For example, a person of wealth and high social position was assigned a better pew in church. If he committed a crime, he received more lenient punishment than others. In one colony, a law forbade women who were considered inferior to wear silk. In fact, several colonies had laws stating that "men and women of mean condition" were forbidden to "take upon them the garb of gentlemen." But such laws were not easily enforced.

In such colleges as Harvard and Yale, a student was ranked not scholastically or alphabetically but according to his family's social position. There were very few free schools. Moreover, women had few legal rights. As we shall see, there was forced labor for many whites and most Negroes. Furthermore, as we know, a main reason why many persons came to the New World was to practice their religion as they saw fit. But, forgetting the Golden Rule, some of them violently opposed certain others who wanted the same right.

**Social Classes Are Not as Rigid as in the Old World.** William Byrd II of the Virginia colony owned an estate of nearly 200,000 acres, manned by thousands of slaves. He had inherited a fortune made in the slave trade, in trading trinkets for furs with the Indians, in cultivating tobacco, and in speculating in land.

Byrd was an author (page 39) who regularly read the Bible and books in Hebrew, Greek, and Italian. His library, probably the largest in the colonies, included nearly 4,000 volumes.

Planters like Byrd practically controlled the governments of the Southern colonies. They considered themselves aristocrats with the right to command the respect of other groups, such as frontiersmen, craftsmen, and owners of small farms.

In all the colonies, big landowners like Byrd were considered members of Social Class Number One. So were the king's appointees, the families of proprietors who had founded colonies, and wealthy merchants. One wealthy and well-educated merchant

was Samuel Sewall of Massachusetts. Like Byrd, the conservative Sewall believed that the upper, ruling class had certain responsibilities for promoting the welfare of the lower, ruled classes. For example, just as Byrd felt that men of his class should look out for the welfare of their Negro slaves, so Sewall felt a responsibility for attacking slavery. Like Byrd, he opposed changes in "church or state."

Wealth and education were not the only factors that gave this aristocratic group prestige. The length of time their families had lived in the colonies and how much political influence they had also counted.

In the colonies in 1775, there were about two and one-half million people. Most of them, as we know, were small, independent farmers since, despite the big plantations, most of the farms at this time—even in the South—were small. These farmers were considered members of the middle class, or Social Class Number Two. Many of them were industrious, thrifty, and eager to make enough money and gain enough social prestige to marry into, and thus rise to, Social Class Number One. Also included in the middle class were professional men, ship captains, small shopkeepers, and such self-employed craftsmen as carpenters, soap makers, rope makers, millers, and blacksmiths.

Included in Social Class Number Three were poor farmers, hired farm laborers, wage earners, seamen, and a special group called *indentured servants*. Let us see how the indentured-servant group came into being.

**The Status of the Indentured Servant and the Slave.** Labor was scarce in the colonies (page 42). Free laborers preferred saving their money and buying their own farms to working for someone else. To meet the demand for labor, some curious techniques were adopted. Ship captains were sometimes paid to kidnap men, women, and children in the Old World and bring them to the New World. Shipped over also were many prisoners of war, criminals, orphans, and paupers. Many of these persons were turned over to an employer for whom they were

compelled to work for a period of years, usually five or seven. Then there were those who wanted to come from the Old World to the New World but could not afford to do so. In return for their passage, they, too, bound themselves to a period of service under colonial employers. All such groups bound to a master for a number of years of service were called indentured servants. The master's permission was required before an indentured servant could marry or work for someone else.

Some employers took good care of their indentured servants. Some branded them so that if they ran away, they could be easily identified. After his term had expired, the indentured servant was declared free and often received a small amount of land or cash.

At the bottom of the ladder of colonial society were the slaves, mainly Negro, but some Indian. Slaves found it impossible, even if granted freedom, to gain much wealth or influence. Slavery existed in all of the Thirteen Colonies. But, of the 500,000 slaves there prior to the American Revolution, most

were workers in the tobacco and rice fields of the South.

*Some Reasons Why Social Classes Were Not Rigid.* Because of the abundance of cheap land and natural resources, it was possible for everyone in the colonies, except a slave, to make a fortune. Then, as throughout American history, people had great admiration for the man who could make good on his own. Consequently, such a man found it easy to move up to a higher class. Furthermore, very few of noble birth settled in the colonies. Most who came to stay were people of moderate means. Since they were all of pretty much the same class, many resented having anyone lord it over them.

This attitude helps to explain why the idea of rigid hereditary class distinctions never made headway here. Indeed, some former indentured servants achieved great wealth and prestige. Two even signed the Declaration of Independence. Throughout our history, Americans have taken pride in the fact that a man of intelligence and initiative need not feel doomed to remain in a certain, fixed class.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 3

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Middle colonies	Anne Bradstreet	scientific method	English common law
Great Awakening	Edward Taylor	John Bartram	
Jonathan Edwards	John Cotton	David Rittenhouse	power of the purse
<i>New England Primer</i>	Cotton Mather	Benjamin Rush	Sir Edmund Andros
pauper schools	Michael Wigglesworth	Charles W. Peale	Dominion of New England
Benjamin Franklin	Jonathan Mayhew	triangular trade	
<i>Poor Richard's Almanack</i>	John Woolman	Magna Carta	New England town meeting
Pennsylvania Gazette	William Bradford	Puritan Revolution	Zenger case
Age of Reason	William Byrd II	Habeas Corpus Act	Bacon's Rebellion
	<i>Boston News-Letter</i>	England's Bill of Rights	Samuel Sewall
	witchcraft craze	frontier	indentured servants

★ **Questions to Check  
Basic Information**

1. Prove that the Puritans tried to regulate standards of behavior. For what reasons did they do so?
2. To what extent was there also regulation of behavior in non-Puritan colonies?
3. What did the revivalists of the Great Awakening (a) condemn and (b) demand?
4. Religion and the location of settlements explain why it was easier to get an education in the New England colonies than in the other colonies. Discuss.
5. Describe the curriculum in colonial New England schools.
6. Whatever schooling many colonists got was outside of school. Prove.
7. Largely self-educated, Benjamin Franklin helped to educate thousands. In what ways?
8. Show that religion strongly influenced colonial (a) poetry and (b) prose.
9. Indicate three highlights in colonial education outside New England.
10. Give proof that Benjamin Franklin (a) used the scientific method, (b) made important inventions, and (c) encouraged scientific research.
11. Prove that (a) colonial medicine was extremely backward and (b) some medical progress had been made by 1800.
12. "Art should serve a practical purpose," colonists felt. Explain and illustrate.
13. There was much work in play and much play in work in colonial America. Prove.
14. Which aspects of colonial recreation do you consider (a) good and (b) bad?
15. The housewife in colonial America was indeed a heroine. In what ways?
16. Give reasons why the small farmer in the colonial South had difficulty making a living.
17. With respect to colonial manufacturing, mention (a) obstacles facing it and (b) progress made in it.
18. Show that the West Indies were a fine market for many colonial products.

19. Mention some of the more serious obstacles to colonial transportation and communication.
20. What rights, privileges, and liberties did the colonists feel entitled to by 1700? Connect this feeling with certain documents and events in the history of England.
21. How did the colonists often make use of "the power of the purse"?
22. How did the colonial assemblies promote democracy?
23. King James II's plan to combine the Thirteen Colonies into one had (a) good and (b) bad features. Explain.
24. How did (a) the New England town meeting and (b) the Zenger case promote democracy?
25. Prove that there was considerable religious toleration in the Thirteen Colonies.
26. Give (a) the causes, (b) some highlights, and (c) the results of Bacon's Rebellion.
27. Give examples of (a) political, (b) economic, and (c) social flaws in colonial democracy.
28. Describe the main social classes in the colonies.
29. Mention some ways in which persons became indentured servants.

★ **Questions for Thought  
and Discussion**

1. To what extent do we today regulate standards of behavior? Discuss fully.
2. Depending upon which facts one selects, a case could be made for the contention that the Puritans were (a) excessively solemn or (b) not so solemn. Discuss.
3. For what reasons do you think many were sturred by the Great Awakening?
4. Compare colonial education with education today with respect to (a) obstacles and (b) curriculum.
5. Compare colonial education in the South with that of the (a) New England and (b) Middle colonies.

6. The colonists were participants, rather than spectators, in sports, while today the reverse is true. To what extent do you agree?
7. Which of Benjamin Franklin's character traits might be used to form a check list for a model citizen?
8. Which of the colonial writers mentioned in this chapter interests you most? For what reasons?
9. To what extent are the aims of the *New England Primer* stressed in schools today?
10. What lessons can we learn from the accusations made during the witchcraft craze?
11. Considering the status of colonial medicine, a person who became sick then was truly taking his life in his hands. Explain fully.
12. Do you agree with the colonists that all "art should serve a practical purpose"? Give reasons.
13. "Work is the condition of our existence" might well have been a colonial motto. Discuss.
14. There is greater need for co-operation in work today than in colonial times. To what extent do you agree?
15. Even the so-called self-sufficient colonists found that isolation was impossible. Explain and illustrate.
16. Compare methods of making a living in the Southern colonies with those in the New England colonies.
17. A movie about the triangular trade would have many elements needed for success. What elements?
18. There would not have been a Habeas Corpus Act or a Bill of Rights had there not been a Magna Carta. To what extent do you agree?
19. Which principle of English common law do you consider most important? For what reasons?
20. Which of the factors contributing to colonial democracy do you consider least important? For what reasons?
21. Under what circumstances might a rep-

resentative democracy be superior to direct, or pure, democracy?

22. For what reasons do you think there was greater religious toleration in the New World than in the Old World?
23. It would be unfair to criticize the flaws in colonial democracy without studying the status of democracy elsewhere at the time. Explain why.
24. Social classes were not rigid in the Thirteen Colonies. Connect this fact with America as man's "best hope."

### ☆ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. In committee, prepare, after careful research, an assembly program on the influence of the Puritans on American Life.
2. Prepare an oral report entitled "A Day in Colonial Boston" (or New York or Philadelphia or Charleston).
3. Read selections from three colonial writers and write a report on how they differ from modern writers in style and content.
4. As a research project, find out the status of such minority groups as Roman Catholics and Jews in the colonies.
5. Write an account of a revival meeting during the Great Awakening as a modern news correspondent might report it.
6. Compile a list of the sayings of Franklin that appeal to you most. Tell why in each case.
7. In *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link, or another source, read Mayhew's "The Christian's Duty to Resist Tyrannical Rulers." Report on the main points he makes and tell to what extent you agree with his views.
8. After an investigation of the Salem witchcraft craze, write an imaginary speech by (a) an accuser or (b) an accused.



- 9 Write an essay entitled "Superstition and Science in the Colonies" or "I Was a Doctor in Colonial America."
10. After a careful check of his contributions to humanity, write a speech recommending Dr. Benjamin Rush for a distinguished service award.
11. For illustrations in a book on colonial (a) recreation or (b) transportation, draw some sketches in your notebook.
12. Write an imaginary conversation between a colonial husband and his wife in which the wife complains that she is not appreciated enough.
13. Write a page in his diary or a short poem such as a youth on a whaling expedition might have composed on his return from a three-year voyage
- 14 Suppose King James II had succeeded in making one big colony out of the thirteen. Write an essay on how you think our history might have been affected.
- 15 After further investigation of the Zenger case, outline scenes for a play on it.
16. As a member of a Committee on Humanitarian Progress, investigate and report on what was done in the colonies for the poor, the aged, the mentally ill, orphans, slaves, and Indians.
17. Pretend you are a released colonial indentured servant. Use the flashback technique to tell how you became one and describe your experiences as one.
18. Visit a museum or your community's historical society. Obtain there material for a report on the life and customs of the early settlers in your community, whether or not your state was one of the Thirteen Colonies.
19. As a member of the Bulletin Board Committee, obtain display material from Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, the old whaling port at Mystic, Connecticut, or any other colonial restoration project.
20. In Column I in your notebook, list the main problems facing people in colonial days. In Column II, list the main problems facing Americans today. Then sum up your conclusions concerning this comparison.
21. Report on (a) "Venturesome Journey of a Boston Schoolma'am" or (b) "A Judge Atones for the Sin of Salem," from *A Diary of America*, edited by J. and D. Berger. Sum up the morals taught.
22. Summarize either (a) "The Music of the Puritans" (*American Heritage*, December, 1956) or (b) "When Cotton Mather Fought the Smallpox" (*American Heritage*, August, 1957).
23. Outline the highlights of "The American Scene in Late Colonial Days, as Described by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur," in L. Hacker's *The Shaping of the American Tradition*.
24. Investigate at least three of the so-called colonial triangular trade routes. Referring to a map, report to the class on (a) the areas involved and (b) the products exchanged.
25. In order to keep a running record of American achievements, join a class committee on either (a) painting, sculpture, and architecture, (b) music, (c) literature, (d) science and medicine, (e) education, (f) religion, (g) manners, diet, and clothing, (h) recreation, or (i) occupations. Submit the material you have accumulated and organized to your committee's secretary for the colonial period. Do likewise for later periods as we study them.
26. Make sketches for a mural entitled "Life in Colonial Days"

## CHAPTER

# 4

### *The American Revolution: Friction with Britain Leads To a Declaration of Independence*

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#### **Certain Underlying Causes Lead to the Break with Britain**

• A Subconscious Spirit of Independence Slowly Develops • After Victory in the French and Indian War, Britain Begins to Rule with a Heavier Hand • Mercantilism Is More Strictly Enforced • The Writs of Assistance and the Proclamation, Sugar, Quartering, Stamp, Townshend, Intolerable, and Quebec Acts of Britain Arouse Anger Among Colonists • Samuel Adams Leads in Stirring Resistance

#### **Certain Immediate Causes Lead to a Declaration of Independence**

• The First Continental Congress Shows Its Power • The Battles of Lexington, Concord, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Bunker Hill • The Olive Branch Petition Is Rejected • The British Hire Hessians • Paine's Proclamations Make Sense to Many

#### **The Declaration of Independence Illuminates the American Dream**

• Attitudes Toward the Declaration Differ • The Declaration Studied by Means of Questions and Answers • Jefferson's Ideas in the Declaration Are Not New • Why It Took Courage to Sign the Declaration, or to Be a Loyalist After Its Signing • The Declaration Evaluated

I have never heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation from England.

Thus remarked Benjamin Franklin in 1774. Yet, in 1775, the opening shots of the American Revolution were fired. And, in 1776, the Declaration of Independence was signed.

Most of the forces making for a spirit of independence had begun slowly evolving long before this two-year period. They had been building up "in the hearts and minds" of many people since the founding of the colonies. But so subtle was the influence of such forces on the individual that most colonists continued to think of themselves as good British subjects.

About 1763, Britain began strict enforcement of certain unpopular policies. Then the long-standing, subconscious spirit of independence became gradually more evident and toughened the spirit of the minority that resisted British controls. Yet, even when independence was declared, many colonists were puzzled as to how the break with Britain had come about.

### **Certain Forces Subconsciously Nourish a Spirit of Independence**

Monarchy and militarism were hateful to many colonists. They associated them with the Old World, including England. Moreover, in their "hearts and minds," certain colonists came here with little love for England. This was surely true of many of those who were forced out of England because of their religious beliefs, or who had been oppressed in one way or another. It was also true of some of the thousands who came from parts of Europe other than England.<sup>1</sup> Some colonists were resentful because they felt that the British at home looked down upon them as inferior and not sufficiently cultured. Certain religious sects feared that England might make the Anglican Church the established church in their colonies, as it was in the Southern colonies. In all the colonies, other sects outnumbered the Anglicans. To these other sects it seemed unfair for the majority to have to pay taxes to support the church of the minority.

Geography, too, helped to inspire the subconscious spirit of independence. Three thousand miles separated the colonies from Britain. This great distance, in an age of poor oceanic transportation, tended to weaken the ties with the mother country. Also contributing to an independent spirit were the seeds of colonial democracy that had been planted in England, the character of

many of the colonists, the colonial environment, British neglect of the colonies, the resistance of colonial assemblies to royal and proprietary governors and to the king, and the wide experience the colonists had gained in self-government (page 47).

In time, this subconscious spirit of independence produced a degree of colonial unity. Slowly, this unity gained strength as roads and the postal system improved and colonial newspapers were exchanged. Ever-increasing business and social contacts among the colonies helped, too. This growing colonial unity tended to create a mild spirit of colonial nationalism, which was associated with a feeling of confidence in America as the land of the future. John Adams, a leading colonial statesman who later became President of the United States, expressed this feeling this way:

A more equal liberty than has prevailed in other parts of the earth must be established in America.

The hatred of monarchy and militarism, the growing spirit of nationalism, and the concept of the American Dream are all summed up in a poem written after the Revolution was over. Part of the poem, by Philip Freneau, so-called poet of the American Revolution, follows.

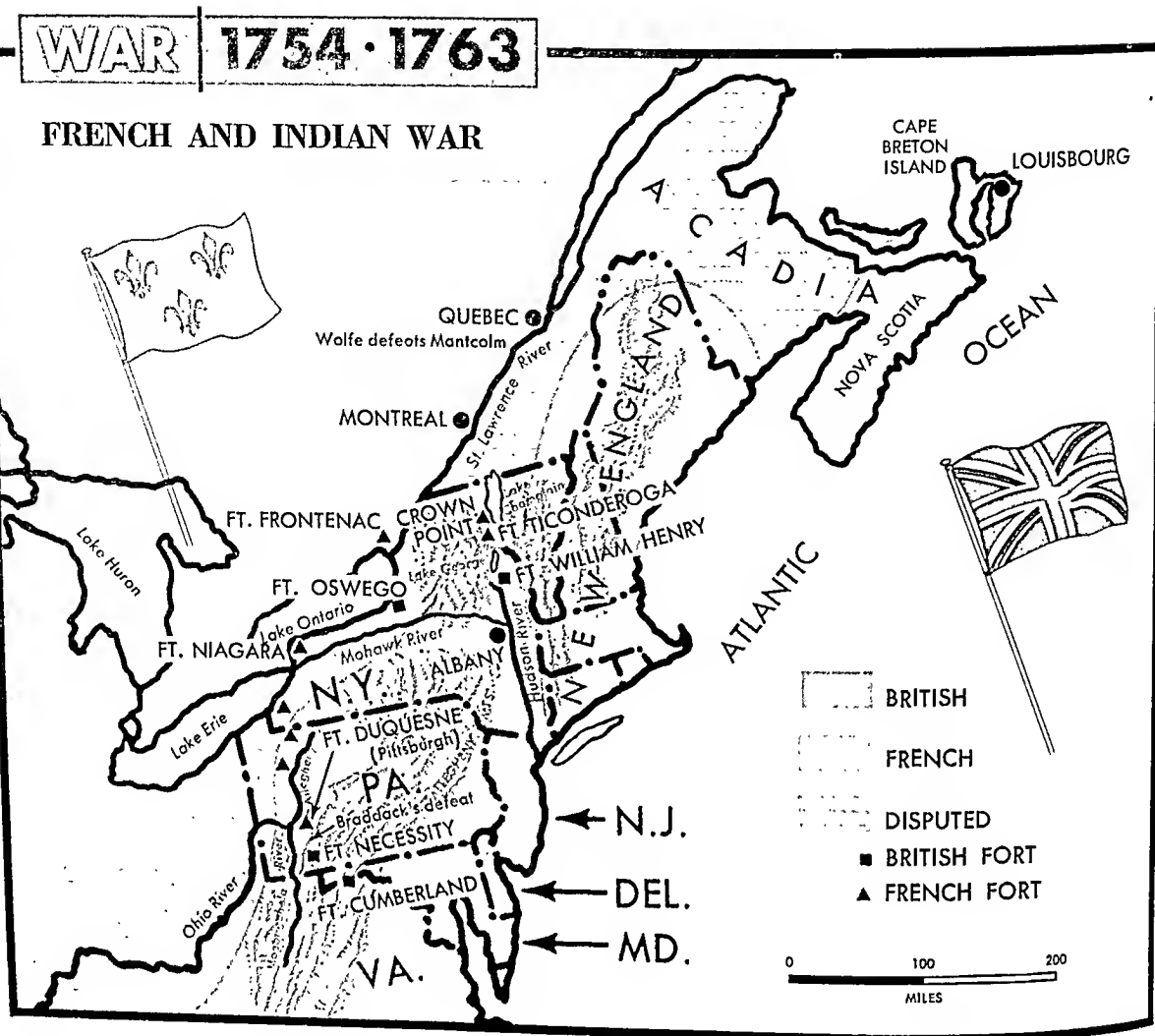
Columbia, hail! immortal be thy reign,  
And this great lesson teach—that kings  
are vain,  
That warring realms to certain ruin haste,  
That kings subsist by war, and wars are  
waste.  
So shall our nation, form'd on Virtue's  
plan,  
Remain the guardian of the Rights of  
Man . . .

### **Winning the French and Indian War Paves the Way for England's Loss Of the Thirteen Colonies**

The French and Indian War Is Part of a World-wide Conflict. By 1763, off and on

<sup>1</sup> By the outbreak of the Revolution, probably seventy per cent of the colonists were of English origin.

## FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR



for over a hundred years, the British and French had engaged in a titanic, world-wide struggle. Competition for domination of Europe, of the world's water routes, and of world trade, and competition over colonies had been the main causes of this struggle, which encompassed four colonial wars. The last, most important, and most decisive was the *French and Indian War* in America (called the *Seven Years' War* in Europe and recently renamed the *Great War for the Empire*).

**Causes of the French-British Conflict in America (The French and Indian War).** The Thirteen Colonies felt crowded along the Atlantic seaboard. Land-hungry colonists wanted to ex-

Mountains into the fertile Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys. But the French in Canada had forts and fur-trading posts along the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. They wanted to keep the English colonists bottled up east of the Alleghenies. Both the English and the French wanted the furs and fish, as well as the land and lumber, of the tremendous domain between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. As a result of this competition, the French and Indian War broke out. Control of all of North America was the possible prize for the victor.

**Summing Up the Action in the French and Indian War.** A group of English colonists, beginning in 1749, engaged in a business



venture to sell land in the Ohio Valley to farmers. The French tried to prove their ownership of the Ohio Valley by posting notices on the trees and building forts in the area. They then disregarded a protest from the English brought to them in 1753 by a young officer named George Washington.

While Washington and a group of colonial troops were building a fort in the Ohio Valley in 1754, they were attacked and defeated by the French and their Indian allies. Although the French won this first battle and many others, the final victory went to the English. In between, the courageous British General Edward Braddock lost an important battle and his life. . . . By 1757, the English had lost every one of their forts in the St. Lawrence and Ohio Valleys. . . . The determined William Pitt, as head of the British Cabinet, inspired the British to fight on. . . . In 1759, victory came when British General James Wolfe and his men scaled the hills of Quebec and defeated the forces of French General Louis de Montcalm.

In 1759, too, the British won great victories over the French in India and in Europe.

**Britain Virtually Ousts France from the Western Hemisphere.** The Treaty of Paris of 1763 brought the French and Indian War to an end. Its terms recognized Great Britain as master of great land masses in many areas of the world and as mistress of the seven seas. To Britain France had to surrender Canada, and its claim to all territory east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans. France also had to yield to Britain practically all of its claims in India. The French Empire was weakened still further when it relinquished the tremendous territory west of the Mississippi, called Louisiana, to France's ally, Spain. This left the French Empire without any territory on the mainland in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Off the mainland, France still held two small fishing islands near Newfoundland and, in the Caribbean Sea, Haiti and the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

**Britain Plots Tighter Controls Over the Colonies After the French and Indian War.** As a result of the war, Britain had a greatly enlarged empire, of which the Thirteen Colonies were only a small part. The British Government resolved to bind the entire empire together by more rigid rules more rigidly enforced. It decided that the Thirteen Colonies should be taxed to pay for the trade benefits and protection they enjoyed as members of the British Empire.

At the same time, many British officials pointed out that, while Englishmen at home had been taxed heavily to pay the heavy costs of the war, the colonists had contributed relatively little in money or men. They therefore demanded that the colonists now help to pay through taxation some of the war's costs. They felt especially justified in this demand since some colonists had made rich profits from the war. Certain individuals, in Pennsylvania, New York, and New England, had even sold meat and wheat to the French enemy in Canada. Such dealings with the enemy, it was argued, had prolonged the war, thereby adding to Britain's heavy war debt. Finally, there were demands that the colonists also be taxed to support a standing army for protecting the vast conquered territory against an anticipated renewal of attacks by the French or Indians.

Aside from Britain's tax demands, the British Parliament believed that it should not have to go begging to each individual colony for money to meet war or other emergencies. It wanted a uniform taxing policy for all the colonies. During the war, each of the colonies had gone pretty much its own way, and the war effort had been hampered by the frequent quarrels that had broken out between colonial assemblies and royal governors.

For some time, many colonists had engaged in widespread smuggling, which had been further encouraged by weak enforcement of British trade laws. After 1763, however, Parliament decided to enforce these laws more strictly. Still another reason for

the stricter controls at this time was Parliament's determination to teach the colonists obedience to its laws.

**The French and Indian War Strengthens Colonial Resistance to Tighter Controls.** The French and Indian War had made the colonists quite cocky. Many of them thought that, with stricter controls, Britain would be treating them like juvenile delinquents who needed discipline. They felt they had conducted themselves like adults during the war. They boasted that some colonial officers, such as George Washington, had proved to be as capable as any British officer. And with the valuable military experience they had gained, they felt fully capable of defending themselves against any possible renewed attacks from the defeated Indians and French or from Spaniards in the South.

Instead of having to obey more and stricter rules laid down by the mother country, the colonists considered themselves sufficiently mature to be entitled to more self-government. Indeed, they had become accustomed to so much self-government that they naturally wanted more, not less. They insisted that colonial assemblies had the final say as to how much authority the king and the Parliament could exercise in the colonies. If more taxes were needed, they said, these should be levied by their own colonial legislatures, not by a Parliament 3,000 miles away, in which they were not even represented.

To many Englishmen, the colonists' claims seemed ridiculous. They pointed out that the great majority of people in England did not have the right to vote and therefore did not have the right to elect representatives to Parliament. By these standards, most Englishmen for centuries had been subject to taxation without representation. British leaders argued further that members of Parliament represented Englishmen everywhere—abroad, as well as at home.

The American colonists did not accept this idea of *virtual representation*. What they wanted was *actual representation*. They asked: How can we be virtually represented

by lawmakers thousands of miles away who know nothing about our problems?

## **Britain Begins Tighter Rule Just When the Colonists Want a Freer Hand**

**British Leadership Fails When Most Needed.** The British Government had no desire to oppress the colonies. But it has been accused of making some serious mistakes. What were these mistakes, according to Britain's critics? The British Government, while retaining sufficient control of policies affecting the entire empire, such as war and foreign affairs, should have allowed the colonies increased control in local affairs. British officials should have consulted more with colonial officials on the relations of the home Government with the colonies. Parliament passed certain laws after 1763 that seemed to favor English traders, land speculators, and taxpayers. These laws antagonized similar groups in the colonies. Antagonized, too, were colonial debtors who felt that their English creditors were being favored over them.

Time and again, the British would introduce strict colonial policies, which colonists would protest. Then Parliament would back down. This inconsistent, blundering British behavior steadily weakened the authority of Parliament in the colonies.

**Why Wise Leadership Was So Much Needed.** In all fairness, Britain's problems in 1763 were difficult ones. One of these, as we have seen, was obtaining revenue to pay the huge debt resulting from the French and Indian War. Nor was it easy to govern the varied peoples in the now greatly expanded British Empire. And it had become particularly hard to satisfy all the Thirteen Colonies, when they did not always agree among themselves.

Britain's major empire problem was how best to divide powers between the central Government controlling the entire empire and local governments within the empire.

This sort of problem has troubled nations, as well as empires, throughout history. If the central Government is given great powers, local governments often complain that their rights are being trampled upon. If local governments are given great powers, the central Government is often too weak to establish uniform policies for the benefit of all. This same problem of dividing powers was to be a major issue facing the United States after the American Revolution was won (Chapter 6).

**Who Were the British Leaders Who Failed?** George III, who became King of England in 1760, was not an evil man. Nor was he a tyrant. In fact, he was conscientious, well-intentioned, patriotic, and hard-working. But, unfortunately, he was a mediocre man without imagination. He stubbornly refused to change his positive views—even when faced with facts that clearly dictated the need for flexibility. At this crucial time, when wise statesmanship was called for, he talked too much, and his words were seldom wise. From his infancy, his mother had practically hypnotized him by repeating the refrain: "George, be king!"

To be a king with real power, he was determined to make Parliament his puppet. But he remembered that, in the seventeenth century, one English king had been beheaded for trying to rule without Parliament. Therefore, George decided to rule with Parliament, but to try to control it. He bribed some of its members. These bribed members were called the *King's Friends*. They usually supported the king in his efforts to control the colonies more strictly. In fact, most members of Parliament wanted to control the colonies more strictly. Many such politicians were actually the tools of various corrupt groups who sought special privileges.

**The Wise Advice of Some Members of Parliament Goes Unheeded.** There were, however, a few statesmen of vision in Parliament at this time. Two such were Edmund Burke and William Pitt, both sympathetic to the colonies. Urging conciliation toward

the colonies, Burke reminded Parliament that "All government . . . indeed every human benefit . . . is founded on compromise." And Pitt urged Parliament, with respect to colonial America:

Be to her faults a little blind;  
Be to her virtues very kind.

But such friends of the colonies had little influence.

**Mercantilists Assert Colonies Exist for the Benefit of the Mother Country.** Many people today believe that their own country's prosperity cannot last long if most other countries are poor. But in seventeenth-century England, as in other European countries in the same period, the attitude of ruling groups was precisely the opposite. While trying to increase their own nation's wealth, they did everything in their power to prevent other nations from acquiring wealth. By wealth, they meant gold and silver.

According to the strategy of these European countries, colonies would help them acquire gold and silver and also contribute to national self-sufficiency. The colonies supplied raw materials for the home factories and bought the manufactured goods of the mother country. They were prohibited from, or limited in, manufacturing goods to compete with the manufactured goods of the mother country. Their trade with foreign countries was strictly limited. In the mother country, exports were encouraged and imports discouraged, so that foreign customers would have to pay the difference in gold or silver. When a country exports more than it imports, it is said to have a *favorable balance of trade*.

A country desiring gold and silver also encouraged home industries by lowering taxes. These industries could then export goods in return for gold and silver. Meanwhile, to discourage the purchase of foreign goods, the Government kept tariffs high against them. As a result, the flow of gold and silver out of the country in payment for such goods was curbed. The policy of obtaining gold and silver by regulating trade

and industry is called *mercantilism*. Britain's belief that colonies existed mainly for the benefit of the mother country throws light on many of the causes of the American Revolution.

**Mercantilism Is Weakly Enforced Before 1763.** More than a hundred years before the American Revolution, the English had passed laws regulating colonial trade and industry. Certain of these laws were intended to prevent foreign countries, such as Holland, from getting a share of the trade of the American colonies. Foreign goods could be bought by the colonists and colonial goods could be sold to foreigners, but only if they were shipped through English ports and in English or colonial ships. Thus England would be able to collect import taxes and make money from carrying increased quantities of goods in English ships. And the English shipping and shipbuilding industries would prosper.

Other laws stipulated that certain colonial products could be sold only in England. Among these were tobacco, sugar, wool, and furs.

The specific laws regulating trade and shipping were called the *Navigation Acts*, the first of many of which was passed in 1651. The Navigation Acts made it possible for English merchants to make big profits. As middlemen, they could sell the colonial tobacco, for example, in Europe. In the 1700's, certain goods that competed with English goods could be legally manufactured in the colonies, but only on a limited scale. Among these were hats, linens, woollens, and iron products. In general, however, the Navigation Acts were weakly enforced. Many colonists ignored them. Many smuggled in goods from foreign ports, thus avoiding payment of import duties to England.

**Weak Enforcement of the Molasses Act Encourages Smuggling.** Few persons at any time would willingly pay a high price for something in one place that could be had for a lower price elsewhere. For this reason, New England was in the habit of buying molasses for its rum distilleries from the

French, Spanish, or Dutch West Indies. Molasses producers in the British West Indies protested to England. They wanted the business, and they had much influence in Parliament. As a result, the British Government, in 1733, put a tax on all molasses imported into the colonies, except that from the British West Indies. But the British West Indies did not produce enough molasses for the needs of New England's distilleries. Many a New England producer of rum would have gone bankrupt had this law been enforced.

Such laws angered many colonial manufacturers and merchants. They hated to see English manufacturers and merchants making money at what they felt was their expense. But, bitter though they were, they had no thought of revolution; for they lost business more in theory than in practice. As has been noted, enforcement of the laws was so weak that wholesale smuggling was practiced.

The Molasses Act, particularly, might serve as a lesson to governments. An unwise law only encourages evasion. Moreover, it tends to encourage lawbreaking in general, which, in turn, encourages disrespect for government.

The colonists, of course, were not the only ones guilty of smuggling. Many an Englishman at home smuggled—for example—silks from France.

**Why Many Englishmen Considered the Colonists Ungrateful.** Indeed, many Englishmen regarded England's mercantilism as a great help to the colonists. Shipyards hummed with activity in all the colonies, especially in New England. This was due to the law that required goods to be carried only in English or colonial ships. To encourage colonists to produce certain needed products, such as indigo, tar, and turpentine, the English Government actually gave them sums of money. It also gave money to British manufacturers to enable them to reduce certain prices to colonial consumers.

Furthermore, the Government created a monopoly in England for colonial tobacco planters by placing a high tariff on Spanish



tobacco and forbidding the English and the Irish to grow tobacco. In fact, in English markets, many colonial products met with almost no competition.

Many Englishmen thought, too, that the colonists ought to be grateful for the protection of the British Army and Navy. Some Englishmen began to feel that the mother country had been too easy on the colonists. This feeling grew much stronger, as we know, after the French and Indian War.

**Stricter Enforcement of Mercantilism After 1763 Angers Many Colonial Businessmen.** Colonial businessmen were giving British businessmen considerable competition by the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775. This was true, for example, in merchant shipping, in fishing, and in the manufacture of pig iron and iron bars, pottery, and glassware. Colonial businessmen felt that they could increase their business much more were they not so strictly controlled by mercantilist rules. They asked: Why should we have to ship our sugar and tobacco only to Britain? Why are we charged such high prices for Britain's exports? Why are British businessmen favored over colonists in the fur trade and in the sale of lands in the West?

In general, the colonists were convinced that Britain wanted to keep them forever as customers for British manufactures, and not as competing manufacturers. They were worried, too, because stricter enforcement of mercantilism would require more British soldiers in the colonies. And, like their countrymen at home, the colonists adhered to the traditional English belief that large peacetime armies were a threat to individual liberties.

**The Writs of Assistance Provoke Resistance.** A colonial lawyer, James Otis, delivered an eloquent speech in court one day in 1761. He was representing Boston merchants. His speech criticized the British Government for one of its strict methods of enforcing the Navigation Acts. The Government had granted customs officials general search warrants, called *writs of assistance*. These warrants gave them and their assist-

ants permission to search any home, ship, shop, or warehouse for smuggled goods.

Actually, writs of assistance had been used for some time in both Britain and the colonies. But Otis denounced them as illegal and a form of spying. He said that they violated a basic principle of English liberty, that "a man's house is his castle." By this he meant that no officer should be allowed to search a home without a specific warrant, based on specific evidence, for a specific purpose.

Otis' attack on the writs of assistance has been called "the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain." After his speech, the spirit of resistance grew strong throughout the Thirteen Colonies. Many years later, the second President of the United States, John Adams, said of the speech: "Then and there, the child 'Independence' was born."

**The Proclamation Act Infuriates Colonial Fur Traders, Land Speculators, and Settlers.** A widespread Indian uprising occurred west

*Chief Pontiac in a council with Major Henry Gladwin, commander of the British fort at Detroit. Investigate the dramatic story of the siege of Detroit by Pontiac's warriors.*



of the Alleghenies in 1763. This territory had been won by the British in the French and Indian War. The leader of the uprising was the Ottawa Chief Pontiac. Pontiac was an inspiring speaker, a brilliant organizer, and a remarkable military strategist. He organized the largest united force of Indian tribes in history in an effort to destroy the British. The French had treated the Indians, their allies, with great consideration. But the British often took Indian lands without payment, got Indians drunk, paid almost nothing for their furs, and enslaved some of them. One British official even recommended that smallpox be spread among the Indians. Perhaps the Indians' greatest fear was of a possible tidal wave of white settlers from the East.

Stirred up and supplied by the French, Pontiac's forces sacked many British forts and massacred both soldiers and settlers. Only after two years was *Pontiac's conspiracy*, as it was called, suppressed by British troops. Pontiac himself was assassinated by an Indian supposedly bribed with rum by a British trader.

**Why the Region West of the Alleghenies Was Temporarily Reserved for Indians.** Indian uprisings were costly. The British Government wanted no more of them. Opening to white settlers the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi would, it was feared, be dangerous for many reasons. Speculators and settlers hungry for land and traders seeking furs might stir up the Indians there once more. The British had no confidence that the Thirteen Colonies could ever agree on a common policy for handling either the land or the Indians involved. The land claims in this region that had been registered by several of the colonies overlapped. Various groups, such as fur traders, land speculators, and would-be settlers, disagreed as to what policies should be set up for the region. (For example, land speculators would have liked it open for settlement; fur traders, fearing that the fur-bearing animals would be driven off or destroyed, would not.) And, finally, British and

colonial real estate companies competed keenly to speculate in the region's land.

All this made it difficult for the British to decide what to do about the region. They therefore, in the *Proclamation Act of 1763*, temporarily organized the entire territory as an Indian reservation. No whites were allowed to settle there, and those already settled were ordered to leave. Anyone who wished to trade in the territory had to obtain a license from the British Government.

The Proclamation Act caused a storm of protest throughout the colonies. The fur traders, land speculators, settlers served with eviction, and would-be settlers were angry for obvious reasons. Rum distillers were aroused because their product figured largely in the fur trade. Many colonists protested that they had fought in the French and Indian War to open the gate to this territory, not to see it slammed in their faces. They were convinced the purpose of the Proclamation Act was to keep colonial land speculators and fur traders out for the benefit of British land speculators and fur traders. Ignoring the new law, many colonists entered the territory anyway.

**The Sugar Act Sours Colonial Merchants, Shipowners, and Distillers.** Tax reductions are usually popular. Yet when Britain halved the tax on molasses imported from the non-British West Indies, the action angered many colonists. By cutting the tax, in the Sugar Act of 1764,<sup>1</sup> the British hoped to curb, or end, the smuggling that had become so common under the Molasses Act of 1733. Ending the smuggling would mean an increase in revenue, which the British hoped would serve to lessen the heavy burden on taxpayers at home. Much of the money would be used for maintaining an army in the colonies for their protection.

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<sup>1</sup> The Sugar Act also placed higher duties on foreign refined sugar, wines, and textiles imported into the colonies than on similar articles imported into Britain. The purpose was to favor British over colonial merchants. To encourage the indigo industry of the South, however, British imports of foreign indigo were discouraged by a tax.

To colonial merchants, shipowners, and distillers of rum, the lower tax on molasses seemed like a much higher tax. This was because its collection was strictly enforced and smuggling was rendered difficult. Colonists were rewarded for spying on would-be smugglers. Suspects were tried without juries. Those found guilty were punished severely.

As we have seen, the British West Indies did not produce enough molasses for the rum distilleries of New England. Now that the tax on foreign molasses was being enforced, the expenses of New England distillers rose considerably. New Englanders were convinced that Britain's purpose in the Sugar Act was to destroy their profitable business in rum, fish, and slaves with the non-British West Indies (page 42). It was from the non-British West Indies that the colonists received most of the gold and silver coins with which they bought goods from Britain or paid their debts to Britain.

The purpose of certain previous legislative acts of Britain, such as the Molasses Act of 1733, had been to regulate trade, not to raise revenue. The Sugar Act was the first designed to achieve the latter goal. This explains the fiery outburst of Samuel Adams of Boston, a leader in the colonial resistance movement against Britain:

If our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? . . . Why not . . . everything we possess? . . . If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced . . . to the miserable state of tributary slaves?

**Colonists Feel That British Creditors Are Favored Over Colonial Debtors.** Many colonists wanted to pay their debts to British merchants and their taxes to the British Government in paper money. Neither the merchants nor the Government liked this idea. Therefore, the Government passed a law (the *Currency Act of 1764*) forbidding the colonies to issue paper money. It insisted that all purchases be paid for, and all debts be paid, in gold or silver.

But gold and silver had always been scarce in the colonies. That is why colonists had often exchanged goods for goods (*bartered*), instead of using money. If colonists lacked sufficient gold and silver, and if the law now forbade colonial assemblies to issue paper money, the colonists would have to depend even more on barter. However, the amount of business that could be carried on through barter was necessarily limited. Moreover, with an abundance of paper money in circulation, money would have been cheaper and it would thus have been easier for the average man to pay his debts (page 110).

**The Quartering Act Stirs Up Many Suspicions.** Colonists must provide quarters for British soldiers if there is not enough room in the local barracks. Such quarters may be inns, vacant houses, or barns. British soldiers must also be provided by colonists with certain supplies, such as candles and condiments and bedding and beer. Colonists must also pay a good share of the transportation costs of British troops within the colony in which they are quartered. Thus ran the main provisions of the *Quartering Act of 1765*.

The act caused colonists to suspect the worst. They asked such questions as: How do we know that the British won't soon force us to quarter British soldiers in our own homes? Are not all the costs imposed on us by this act a trick to tax us more without our consent? Is not a large standing army in our midst in peacetime a standing threat to our liberty?

**The Stamp Act Stirs Up Practically Everybody.** It took courage to speak out against King George III in 1765. Patrick Henry did so in the Virginia House of Burgesses when he thundered: "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell,<sup>1</sup> and George III . . ." Cries of "Treason!" interrupted Henry. Undaunted, he went on: ". . . George III

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<sup>1</sup> Brutus was one of Julius Caesar's assassins and Cromwell was mainly responsible for the beheading of King Charles I of England in 1649.

may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it!" In no time at all, these bold words were echoing throughout the Thirteen Colonies.

Henry's speech was an attack on a new British tax imposed by the *Stamp Act of 1765*. This act required that stamps of different values be purchased from colonial agents of the British and placed on all marriage licenses, wills, newspapers, almanacs, dice, and playing cards, among other items. Those failing to obey the Stamp Act were liable to be tried, like smugglers, in courts without juries.

The uproar and even violence that broke out in America in resistance to the Stamp Act amazed the British at home. A similar tax had long been collected in Britain.

The Stamp Act made enemies of people who had powerful weapons with which to fight back. Among such were newspaper publishers, lawyers, and churchmen, who could reach large audiences. In his speech, Patrick Henry had argued that the British Parliament did not have the legal right to tax the colonists—that only the people, through their colonial assemblies, could do so. Throughout the colonies, the cry arose: "Taxation without representation is tyranny!" Organizations of working people, called *Sons of Liberty*, were formed. They made bonfires of the stamps, held anti-Stamp Act rallies and parades, and tarred and feathered officials assigned to collect the stamps. A mob became so unreasoning in Boston that it raided the house of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson, destroying everything of value, including his fine library.

Actually, although a British official, Hutchinson was strongly opposed to the Stamp Act. After the riot, he said:

I hope all will see how easily the people may be deluded, inflamed, and carried away with madness against an innocent man.

The Stamp Act helped to develop unity among the colonies. Delegates from nine of them met in New York in 1765 to decide on

a common policy of resistance to the act. At this *Stamp Act Congress*, as it was called, delegates pledged their loyalty to the king and recognized the authority of Parliament. But they denied Parliament's right to tax them without the consent of their colonial assemblies. They implored the king to bring about the repeal of the Stamp Act.

In Parliament, both Burke and Pitt argued that failure to repeal the act would be a tragedy for both Britain and the colonies. Perhaps more effective was the boycott of British goods organized by the Stamp Act Congress. British business slumped as a result. Finally, the Stamp Act was repealed. The colonists went wild with joy, and pledged renewed allegiance to King George III.

It was George Grenville who, as prime minister from 1763 to 1765, had introduced, in addition to the Stamp Act, a stricter enforcement of mercantilism, the Proclamation Act, the Sugar Act, the Currency Act, and the Quartering Act. These measures made up what has been called the *Grenville program*.

**The Townshend Acts Touch Off More Trouble.** The Stamp Act had been repealed, but Britain's colonial problem still remained. How could much revenue be raised without angering the colonists? Charles Townshend, one of George III's ministers, thought he had the answer. Many colonists had protested against the stamp tax because it was a tax levied within the colonies. Such a tax was called an *internal tax*. Townshend decided that Parliament should levy taxes on goods coming from outside the colonies. These *external taxes*, he reasoned, would arouse fewer protests. He therefore got Parliament, in 1767, to place taxes on paint, paper, glass, lead, and tea imported by the colonies. He hoped that the increased revenues that would result would enable Parliament to lower taxes on big landowners in Britain. "Champagne Charlie," as Townshend was nicknamed because he drank too much, had little sympathy with what American colonists considered their rights.

The hated writs of assistance were to be used to prevent smuggling. Suspected smugglers were to be tried in courts without juries. Appeals in such cases were to be tried in Britain. Part of the money raised under the Townshend Acts was to be used to pay colonial governors and other officials. One of the Townshend Acts forbade meetings of the New York Assembly. This prohibition was designed to punish New York for failing to live up to all the provisions of the Quartering Act.

Internal taxes or external taxes—it didn't seem to make the slightest difference to the embittered colonists. They just would not pay any taxes that were not levied by their own assemblies. And if Parliament, instead of colonial assemblies, now paid colonial governors, colonial assemblies might no longer be able to prevent governors from vetoing their bills. The "power of the purse" had been a powerful whip over colonial governors in the past. If Britain could shut down New York's colonial assembly, might it not in time shut down those in other colonies as well?

*Colonists Answer the Townshend Acts with Violence and Boycotts.* Passions flared. Colonists who informed on colonial smugglers were coated with tar and feathers. Customs officials were beaten up and their homes battered. Once more, a boycott of British goods was started. In one year, between 1768 and 1769, colonial imports from Britain were cut almost in half.

To enforce the Townshend Acts in Boston, British troops were stationed there. Samuel Adams stirred up Bostonians by spreading greatly exaggerated rumors that the troops had committed atrocities. Many colonists hated the troops anyway because, to them, standing armies were a symbol of the militarism of the Old World. In this tense atmosphere occurred the *Boston Massacre* of 1770.

A crowd of boys and grownups was hurling sneers and jeers, as well as rocks and snowballs, at a detachment of British soldiers. Someone tried to seize one soldier's gun. The soldiers fired into the crowd. Five deaths resulted.

Samuel Adams' cousin, John Adams, was

*The hated captain of this British schooner, the Gaspée, used illegal methods to check the illegal practice of smuggling. In protest, in 1772, Rhode Island colonists rowed out to the schooner and set it afire. Find out the consequences of this Gaspée incident.*



no lover of Britain. But he was a lover of fair play. Serving as lawyer for the accused soldiers, he pleaded self-defense in their behalf. He secured the acquittal of all but two. Their only punishment was to be branded on the hand.

A Boston engraver, Paul Revere, made and printed many copies of his conception of the Boston Massacre. These were circulated throughout all the colonies. Revere's picture provoked many colonists, whose only knowledge of the incident was gained from what they could observe from this exaggerated portrayal. It helped convince many that the British Government was a tyranny plotting to destroy colonial liberty.

*Colonists Are Urged to Unite in a Common Protest Against the Townshend Acts.* Also circulating throughout all the colonies was a plea sponsored by the Massachusetts Assembly and written by Samuel Adams. This *Circular Letter* urged united colonial resistance to the Townshend Acts.

Parliament, regarding the Circular Letter as a call to open rebellion, ordered the Massachusetts Assembly to withdraw it. The Assembly refused. Parliament then dissolved the Assembly. In spite of this action, other colonial assemblies supported the Circular Letter. They, too, were dissolved.

Nevertheless, in 1770, all the Townshend duties, except a small tax on tea, were repealed. The tax on tea was kept to affirm Parliament's right to tax the colonies. A new prime minister, Lord North, had discovered that trying to collect the Townshend duties cost more than Britain was realizing in revenue from them. Furthermore, many British merchants were complaining that the colonial boycott of their goods was proving ruinous. In the year after repeal of the Townshend duties, colonial imports from Britain were four times as great as those in the year before repeal.

**Samuel Adams Leads in Keeping Resistance Alive.** Calm prevailed in the colonies for a few years after the repeal of the Townshend Acts. Many colonial conservatives were happy with this situation. They

felt that colonial radicals had gone too far in stirring up the plain people to mob action against Great Britain. Conservatives feared that radicals would get into the habit of resisting all authority, including that exercised by the conservatives themselves.

Samuel Adams and other radical leaders, however, were not at all happy. Adams was afraid that the colonists would get into the habit of accepting Britain's aristocratic rule. He feared also that conservatives might be bribed with titles of nobility to help create an aristocratic society in America. And Adams identified aristocracy with the evils of the Old World, as he identified democracy with the bright future of the New World. Adams was influenced in his thinking by such writers as the Englishman John Locke and certain French philosophers. Like them, he denounced tyranny and urged that such rights of individuals as life, liberty, and property be carefully safeguarded.

Adams was among the first colonists to think in terms of independence. To win it, he felt, the people must be constantly reminded of grievances against Britain. He considered it his duty to get the people to discuss these grievances in local democratic assemblies. He did all he could to organize them and to instigate them to resist British rule.

This persuasive propagandist for independence had much influence over the people. In fact, so influential was he that the governor of Massachusetts, whom Adams mercilessly attacked, labeled him "master of the puppets." Others have called him the "father of the American Revolution." It was he who drew up the Circular Letter, organized secret meetings, and led the boycott movement against British goods. He made many speeches in Boston's Faneuil Hall, known as the "cradle of liberty." In them, he urged Boston, and then other Massachusetts towns, to form groups that would correspond with one another in order to achieve greater unity in the resistance movement. He suggested that these groups, called

*Committees of Correspondence*, make clear their cause to the whole world.<sup>1</sup>

Not long thereafter, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson organized Committees of Correspondence in Virginia. So did like-minded leaders in other colonies. The co-operation among the Committees of Correspondence soon developed a kind of unofficial government for the colonies.

### **Certain Immediate Causes Lead To a Declaration of Independence**

**Tea Proves Intoxicating.** Samuel Adams must have been delighted over a step taken by Parliament in May, 1773. Some members of Parliament owned shares of stock in a company whose officials were corrupt. This corruption was leading the company, the *East India Company*, into bankruptcy. Warehouses in Britain were bulging with the company's unsold tea. The step that Parliament took was designed to avert the threatening bankruptcy, to reduce smuggling in the colonies, and to raise revenue for maintaining British officials and an army in America. Parliament's action exempted the *East India Company* from a British tax so that it could sell its tea cheap in the colonies. At the same time, it gave the company a monopoly on the sale of tea there. Of course, the colonists still had to pay the small import tax on tea. The British Government thought that, if the colonists could get tea so cheaply, they would not object to paying this small tax.

But many colonists were angry at what they thought was a British bribe in the form of cheap tea to get them to pay a tax. Many colonial merchants whose smuggled tea from Holland could not compete with the tea of the *East India Company* feared bankruptcy.

Many law-abiding colonial merchants were angry because only the *East India Company's* own agents were now allowed to sell the company's tea in the colonies. Many colonial dealers in other products feared that the British might give monopolies to other favored British companies as well.

In town meetings, in taverns, in the streets, colonists bitterly denounced the British action. Even many conservative merchants, who had been critical of Samuel Adams and his radical policies, now joined forces with him. Colonists compelled ships loaded with tea to sail home. Some persons, by agreement, stopped drinking tea. And who needs to be reminded of the destruction of shiploads of tea in Boston harbor, in December, 1773, by a group of men disguised as Indians?

This *Boston Tea Party*, inspired by Samuel Adams, caused great glee among many colonists. They were proud of such defiance of the British Government. But many Americans, including Benjamin Franklin, were deeply disturbed at this destruction of private property. Some feared that from then

*Mention four ways in which these Bostonians are showing their feelings toward this tea-tax collector.*



<sup>1</sup> Adams' sponsoring of the Committees of Correspondence illustrates his attitude toward democracy. He believed that executive power should be in the hands of the many rather than of the few. His strong belief in the town meeting reflects his contention that legislative power also should be in the hands of the many.

on, mobs, instead of courts, might be deciding legal issues. Many conservative merchants now shifted back to their former critical attitude toward Samuel Adams and his radical policies.

**'Intolerable Acts': Britain's Answer to the Boston Tea Party.** Parliament now felt that the time had come to teach a lesson to that long-time hotbed of resistance, Boston. Some members of Parliament took an "I told you so" attitude. They argued that, by giving in to the colonists in repealing the Stamp Act and most of the Townshend Acts, Parliament had encouraged colonial violence. Against the advice of Pitt and Burke, Parliament agreed that a tougher policy was the solution. A series of acts, nicknamed by the colonists the *Intolerable Acts*, was then (March, 1774) passed to punish Boston. They were, of course, intended to serve as a warning to all colonial America.

Boston's trade was struck at when Britain closed its port until the destroyed tea should be paid for. Boston's powers of self-government—and, in fact, those of all Massachusetts—suffered when the royal governor was given almost absolute power. Even town meetings could not be held without his permission. Massachusetts' court system was interfered with, too. One of the *Intolerable Acts* provided that any royal officials accused of major crimes there could be sent by the governor to England for trial. This ruling was prompted by a fear that the angry people of Massachusetts would not give them a fair trial. And the personal liberties of *all* the colonists were violated when the British stated that colonists had to house British soldiers in their homes if other quarters were not available. This last *Intolerable Act*, the *Quartering Act*, was a repeat of the earlier, similar law.

**Colonists Attack the Quebec Act as Intolerable, Too.** Many colonists considered some features of another act put through at this time, the *Quebec Act*, similarly intolerable. Its purpose was to build friendly relations with Britain's new subjects, the French in Canada. Quebec was so enlarged by this

act that the Ohio River became its southern boundary, and the Mississippi its western boundary. Britain promised not to interfere with certain French customs or the Catholic religion in Canada.

Why did the Quebec Act seem intolerable to many in the Thirteen Colonies? It made them feel hemmed in along the seaboard. The Proclamation Act of 1763 (page 66) had forbidden them—mainly Englishmen—to expand westward. But Canadians—mainly Frenchmen—now might. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia were especially angry because their charters had given them claims to this Western land. Many English colonists preferred to see the Protestant, rather than the Catholic, religion spreading in this area. They wanted to see such English institutions as trial by jury and little parliaments, or assemblies, put into use there. They did not want to see such existing French institutions as trial without jury and autocratic rule installed. Some even accused the British of trying to check resistance in the Thirteen Colonies by strengthening the French-Canadians.

**The First Continental Congress Speaks Politely, But Shows Its Power.** Britain's *Intolerable Acts* boomeranged. Instead of cutting off Massachusetts from the other colonies, they caused the other colonies to rally around Massachusetts and intensify their resistance. Fast riders sped throughout the colonies, urging aid for Boston. From other colonies, wagonloads of food poured into Massachusetts. From the other colonies, except Georgia, came delegates to a meeting at Philadelphia in September, 1774.

The radicals, many of whom were hoping for independence soon, were in control of this *First Continental Congress*. However, there were many moderate-minded men present who still felt that it was possible to come to terms with the king and Parliament. The Congress expressed allegiance to the king and politely urged him, in a petition, to safeguard the colonists' rights to life, liberty, and property. They also beseeched the king: Please abolish taxation without repre-



sentation. Permit our assemblies, not Parliament, to make all laws for the colonies. Remove your standing army. And cancel such acts as the Intolerable Acts and the Quebec Act.

In a show of power, the Congress warned that if the Intolerable Acts were enforced, the colonists might have to resist with force. To compel the repeal of the Intolerable Acts, a powerful boycott against British imports was organized. It was also threatened that if their demands were not met by the following year, the colonists would stop exporting goods to Britain and the British West Indies. In fact, the Continental Congress agreed to meet in 1775 to take further steps, if necessary.

Committees were organized in every colony to enforce the boycott. Up to now, many colonists had refused to take a definite stand on the quarrel with Britain. But the committees compelled them to choose sides. Those who supported the boycott and the colonial cause were generally called *Whigs* or *Patriots*. Opponents were called *Tories* or *Loyalists*. Some stubborn Loyalists were tarred and feathered, and their homes sacked. The boycott worked so well that British merchants petitioned Parliament to repeal the Intolerable Acts. But the king and Parliament refused.

King George III persisted in the belief that only New England was in a rebellious mood. He was poorly informed. Patrick Henry expressed the spirit of many when he told the Continental Congress:

The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian but an American.

**Resistance with Words Gives Way to Resistance with Weapons.** "Gentlemen may cry: 'Peace! Peace!'—But there is no peace. . . . The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! . . . Why stand we here idle? . . . Is life so dear, or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of



*A London caricature pokes fun at the efforts of other colonists to feed Bostonians after Boston's port was closed by the British in 1774. How might colonial propagandists have caused this caricature to boomerang against the British?*

chains and slavery? . . ." "The clash of resounding arms" was heard on the nineteenth of April, 1775—one month after Patrick Henry spoke these words to the Virginia House of Burgesses.

British General Thomas Gage had been appointed governor of Massachusetts after the passage of the Intolerable Acts. He was under orders to arrest Samuel Adams and another resistance leader, John Hancock. Both were reported to be near Lexington, a town between Boston and Concord. Gage also decided to seize some colonial munitions stored at Concord. British troops slipped out of Boston quietly to accomplish these missions. But a lantern in the tower of the Old North Church signaled a warning to

Paul Revere and William Dawes, who were, in Longfellow's words:

Ready to ride and spread the alarm  
Through every Middlesex village and farm. . . .<sup>1</sup>

*Lexington and Concord: The Opening Shots of the Revolution.* At Lexington, the British troops were met by a company of colonial militiamen, nicknamed *minutemen*. The colonial captain realized that, considering the greater numbers of the British "red-coats," resistance would be futile. He therefore ordered his men to withdraw. But then a shot rang out. To this day, no one knows who fired this opening shot of the American Revolution. In the fighting that followed at Lexington, eight minutemen were killed and ten were wounded.

The British continued on to Concord and destroyed what colonial supplies had not been secreted away by the alerted colonists. At a bridge there, "embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard 'round the world."<sup>2</sup> On hearing of it, Samuel Adams exclaimed: "What a glorious morning this is!"

The British then began retreating to Boston. The retreat became a rout. All along the route, from behind rock walls, trees, and barns, colonial farmers, craftsmen, and even ministers poured deadly fire on the red-coats. Reinforcements at Lexington saved the British from complete disaster.

Soon both the British and the colonists were telling exaggerated stories of the atrocities committed by the other at Concord. From all over New England came aroused, armed patriots to join the minutemen who were now laying siege to Boston. All over the colonies acts of defiance to the British were committed. Royal governors and other officials either fled or resigned.

*Colonial Victory at Ticonderoga and Crown Point Precedes Defeat in Canada.* From Fort Ticonderoga, in May, 1775, came news of its capture, with all its valuable am-

munition. The heroes of this victory were Ethan Allen and fewer than a hundred boys from what is now Vermont. Shortly afterward, the fortress at Crown Point, also on Lake Champlain, was captured—also by Allen and fellow Vermonters. These victories strengthened the colonial position in the event the British were to try to invade from Canada. Before the year was out, two American armies, one under Richard Montgomery, and another under Benedict Arnold, had invaded Canada. They hoped to win both territory and Canadian support. They failed. Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded.

*The Battle of Bunker Hill: A Victory in Defeat.* One early June morning in 1775, the British in Boston were startled when they looked at two hills overlooking the harbor. During the night, about 1,600 Americans had fortified the two hills, Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill. They hoped thereby to pose a constant threat to the British in Boston. General Gage unwisely decided to make a frontal attack on Breed's Hill. He might easily have starved the American troops out if, instead, he had cut off their land route to the mainland in the rear and blocked their water route with British ships. But he seemed to welcome the opportunity to use well-drilled British troops to punish the raw colonial militiamen.

The day was steaming hot. Each British soldier in his scarlet uniform bore 125 pounds of equipment on his back. He marched toward the militiamen with his fellows in rigid formation, as if on a parade ground. Twice, the British troops marched up Breed's Hill. Twice, they were repulsed by the murderous fire poured upon them, and the hill was left strewn with the bodies of brave redcoats. On their third attempt, they made it. The colonials had run out of ammunition and were forced to retreat.

This *Battle of Bunker Hill*, which was really the battle of Breed's Hill, cost the British more than twice as many casualties as the Americans. Psychologically, the battle shook the confidence of British generals in their ability to subdue the colonials;

<sup>1</sup> From "Paul Revere's Ride" by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

<sup>2</sup> From "Concord Hymn" by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

included craftsmen, small shopkeepers, small farmers, most non-Anglican churchmen, most frontiersmen, and many lawyers. Yet many wealthy merchants and a majority of Southern planters were also among the revolutionaries. These planters were proud men who did not like to take orders from Britain. Many of them owed heavy debts to British merchants. They felt the British had taken advantage of them in business dealings.

**Some Colonists Choose Sides, Depending Upon Who Is on the Other Side.** Many persons chose the side they did in the Revolution not so much because they were for or against Britain but because they were for or against certain groups at home. For example, many frontiersmen in the Carolinas, unlike most frontiersmen elsewhere, sided with Britain. Their main reason for doing so was their dislike of big planters, mostly Patriots. They felt that such planters had taken advantage of them by taxing them unfairly, by land speculation deals, and by discriminating against minority religious sects.

In Pennsylvania, on the other hand, many frontiersmen and city workers were glad to be Patriots. Independence, they felt, would weaken the long-time political control of Quakers and wealthy Germans. Many of the latter were Loyalists or at least lukewarm toward the Revolution. At times during the American Revolution, bitter struggles broke out in certain colonies between these groups. Essentially, such struggles were between plain people, who had been denied much voice in the government, and aristocratic groups, who had long been in control. However, other such struggles were between two aristocratic groups within a given colony. Often the groups in conflict had clashed long before the Revolution. All this indicates that, in a sense, the period of the American Revolution was a period of civil war as well.

**Same Basic Reasons Why Some Opposed a Declaration of Independence.** Loyalists felt that a break with Britain would mean a complete breakdown of government. They feared that vulgar, illiterate mobs would take



*Jefferson drafting the Declaration of Independence, with advice from (left to right) Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Robert R. Livingston, and Roger Sherman. For what reasons should this picture have great appeal around the globe, even today?*

over colonial governments. Then life and property would no longer be respected. To some such men, mob rule, revolution, and democracy were one and the same thing. Many pointed out that, by breaking with Britain, they would be losing the protection of the British Navy and the benefits of trade within the British Empire. Some merchants who had been doing very well feared economic ruin were British markets lost. And many felt that there was still a good chance that the British Government would come to terms with the colonies.

It would be a mistake to believe that all Loyalists were against self-government and the rights that colonists had claimed for many years. But they felt that independence would create more problems than it would solve.

## Events Leading to the American Revolution

- 1759 • Quebec falls to British
- 1760 • George III becomes King of England
- 1761 • Otis denounces writs of assistance
- 1763 • French and Indian War ends  
• Grenville program begins
- 1764 • The Proclamation Act  
• Sugar Act • Currency Act
- 1765 • Stamp Act • Quartering Act
- 1766 • Stamp Act Congress created
- 1767 • Stamp Act repealed  
• Townshend Acts
- 1768 • Samuel Adams' circular letter initiated
- 1769 • Twelve colonies support non-importation pledges
- 1770 • Boston Massacre • Townshend duties repealed, except on tea
- 1772 • Colonists burn the Gaspée  
• Committees of Correspondence organized
- 1773 • Boston Tea Party
- 1774 • Intolerable Acts • Quebec Act  
• First Continental Congress
- 1775 • April: Battles of Lexington and Concord • May: Second Continental Congress • May: Fort Ticonderoga captured • June: Battle of Bunker Hill
- 1776 • January: Paine's *Common Sense* published • July: Independence declared

## The Declaration of Independence: A Powerful Beam Illuminating The American Dream

To North Carolina belongs the honor of being the first colony to authorize its delegates at the Second Continental Congress to vote for a declaration of independence. This was in the spring of 1776. To Virginia belongs the honor of being the first colony actually to declare itself independent of Britain. To Virginia planter Richard Henry Lee belongs the honor of making the motion before the Congress "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States." This motion, made in June, 1776, was adopted July 2. To Thomas Jefferson, another Virginia planter, belongs the glory of writing that much-quoted, much-copied, inspirational literary masterpiece, the Declaration of Independence. In deciding on the document's final wording, Jefferson had the benefit of advice from such men as Benjamin Franklin and John Adams.

The Declaration was adopted on July 4, 1776, our *Independence Day*. Many felt that it was high time for it: actual fighting had been going on since the Battle of Lexington fifteen months earlier.

**The Declaration of Independence Viewed Through Questions and Answers.** Following are some questions and answers that help to sum up the Declaration of Independence.

*What does the Declaration hold to be self-evident truths?* "All men are created equal; . . . they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; . . . among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. . . ."

*How do men go about securing these rights?* They organize themselves into governments that derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . ."

*What right have the people when a government denies them these rights?* They may "alter or . . . abolish it" and form a new government to achieve and protect their rights.

*Might not such reasoning encourage*

people to engage in frequent revolutions? No, because long-established governments should not be changed for "light and transient causes," and history shows that people have always tended to retain their governments so long as their governments' evils have not been too unbearable.

If this is so, why are the colonists declaring their independence? There is nothing "light" or "transient" in the causes for the Declaration. Instead, the causes are a long series of "abuses and usurpations" designed to place the colonies under an "absolute despotism."

Who is responsible for these "abuses and usurpations"? The King of Great Britain.

What are a few of the twenty-seven specific charges made against the king? "He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing . . . his invasions on the rights of the people . . . He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the consent of our legislatures . . . He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun . . ."

**Jefferson's Ideas in the Declaration Are Not New.** Jefferson derived many of his ideas from such philosophers as the Englishman John Locke and the Frenchmen Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Locke had justified a revolution against another English king (James II) in 1688. In so doing, he had asserted that every man has certain natural rights: to life, to liberty, and to his private property. Man, he said, has created government to protect these natural rights. When a government fails to do this, he argued, the people have the right to overthrow it. In writing the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson substituted for man's right to "property" his right to "the pursuit of Happiness."

**Why It Took Courage to Sign the Declaration or to Be a Loyalist After Its Signing.** The signers of the Declaration knew that, if the Revolution were lost, they would probably be hanged. They recognized the great risk

they were taking in the Declaration itself when they pledged their "Lives, . . . Fortunes and . . . sacred Honor."

After the Declaration, any colonist who still defended King George was considered a traitor. The king's statue in New York was melted into bullets. Yet six months earlier, colonial army officers had drunk to his health! Some Loyalists were tarred and feathered and some hanged. Some had their homes burned and property seized. Loyalists were barred from voting, holding office, taking cases to court, and from expressing their opinions in speech or in writing.

One hundred thousand or so Loyalists fled, or were exiled, to Canada, England, Bermuda, or the British West Indies. Some Loyalists did not leave. Some such were careful to keep their opinions to themselves. Some spied for the British and furnished them with food, clothing, and shelter. Fifty thousand or so of them fought on the British side. Some even led Indian raids in which their fellow colonists were massacred. Among the most horrible of these took place in Cherry Valley, New York, and in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. This is further evidence that the American Revolution was a kind of civil war.

**An Evaluation of the Declaration.** Historians have pointed out that many of the twenty-seven complaints against King George in the Declaration of Independence were greatly exaggerated. Many question Jefferson's theory of the origin of government and also the whole theory of man's natural rights. But Jefferson wrote the Declaration not only for the people of his day but for all future generations. He was setting democratic goals for a much happier society than any that had existed before. He knew that all men were not created equally intelligent, equally strong, or equally handsome. He knew that slavery existed. He even owned slaves himself. But he, like most Patriots throughout all the colonies, expected slavery to be abolished soon. What he meant by equality was that men were or should be equal in the eyes of the law and in their political rights.

Such phrases as "all men are created equal" became world-wide slogans. Soon many men everywhere began to demand that their governments recognize equality and guarantee man's right to "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." They came to feel that governments denying this recogni-

tion and this guarantee had no right to exist. Even in the twentieth century, colonial peoples in many parts of the world struggling for their independence have quoted the arguments of the American Declaration of Independence.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 4

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Philip Freneau	Molasses Act	John Adams	Battles of Lexington and Concord
French and Indian War	writs of assistance	Paul Revere	
Seven Years' War	James Otis	Circular Letter	Battles of Ticonderoga and Crown Point
Braddock, Wolfe, and Montcalm	Proclamation Act	Lord North	Ethan Allen
William Pitt	Pontiac's conspiracy	Faneuil Hall	Battle of Bunker Hill
Treaty of Paris of 1763	Sugar Act	Committees of Correspondence	Olive Branch Petition
virtual representation	Quartering Act	Boston Tea Party	Second Continental Congress
actual representation	Patrick Henry	Intolerable Acts	Hessians
George III	Stamp Act	Quebec Act	Thomas Paine
King's Friends	Sons of Liberty	First Continental Congress	<i>Common sense</i>
Edmund Burke	Stamp Act	Patriots	Declaration of Independence
favorable balance of trade	Congress	Loyalists	
mercantilism	Grenville program	Thomas Gage	
Navigation Acts	Townshend Acts	John Hancock	
	internal tax	minutemen	
	external tax		
	Samuel Adams		
	Boston Massacre		

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. List the forces in the colonies that subtly contributed to a growing spirit of independence.
2. Discuss two lessons that the poet Freneau thought an independent United States could teach the world.
3. Prove that the French and Indian War was a war within a war.
4. For what reasons had the English and French been competing (a) throughout the world between 1689 and 1815, and (b) in America before the French and Indian War.
5. Mention ways in which the French Empire was greatly weakened by the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1763.
6. By what means did the British Government decide to bind its empire more closely together after the French and Indian War?
7. For what reasons did the British Govern-

- ment feel that American colonists should help to finance its effort to bind its empire together?
8. How did the French and Indian War strengthen colonial resistance to tighter British controls?
  9. Give reasons why British leaders in the period following 1763 have been sharply criticized
  10. Show specifically that Britain's major empire problem after 1763 was an age-old one that had faced earlier governments.
  11. Give reasons why George III was poorly qualified to be king
  12. How did a country practicing mercantilism try to use its colonies mainly for its own benefit?
  13. In what ways were the Navigation Acts designed to help Britain?
  14. For what reasons was the Molasses Act unwise?
  15. In what ways did Britain feel that its economic policies helped the colonies?
  16. What arguments did James Otis give against the writs of assistance?
  17. For what reasons were (a) the Proclamation Act, (b) the Sugar Act, (c) the Currency Act, (d) the Quartering Act (1) passed by the British Parliament and (2) hated by the American colonists?
  18. With respect to the Stamp Act, tell (a) its provisions, (b) arguments and methods used against it, and (c) its effect upon colonial unity.
  19. Concerning the Townshend Acts, describe (a) their purposes, (b) their provisions, (c) resistance to them, (d) their general effects.
  20. Connect each of the following with the Boston Massacre: (a) enforcement of the Townshend Acts, (b) Samuel Adams, (c) John Adams, (d) Paul Revere, and (e) the Circular Letter.
  21. Describe the (a) views and (b) methods of Samuel Adams.
  22. Sum up the (a) causes and (b) results of the Boston Tea Party.
  23. Tell specifically what made the Intolerable Acts so intolerable to the colonists.
  24. What did (a) Canadians like, and (b) the American colonists dislike, about the Quebec Act?
  25. What action was taken at the First Continental Congress?
  26. Connect each of the following with the Battles of Lexington and Concord: (a) John Hancock, (b) Paul Revere, (c) redcoats, (d) minutemen, (e) "embattled farmers."
  27. For what reasons is the Battle of Bunker Hill considered so significant?
  28. In what ways did George III react to the Olive Branch Petition? In what ways did the colonists react to his reaction and to his hiring of Hessians?
  29. Mention three arguments Paine gave in his *Common Sense*.
  30. For what reasons did a declaration of independence seem (a) increasingly attractive to more and more colonists and (b) so unattractive to other colonists?
  31. Sum up some of the reasons why some colonists became Patriots and others remained Loyalists.
  32. Mention five noble ideas in the Declaration of Independence.
- ★ **Questions for Thought and Discussion**
1. Which do you think was the most important force subtly making for a spirit of independence? Give reasons for your choice.
  2. The causes of the French and Indian War are as old as history. Explain.
  3. Give your comments on Britain's arguments justifying its right to tax the colonies.
  4. Britain's plans to tighten controls over the colonies might have succeeded if they had been introduced much earlier. To what extent do you agree?
  5. Suppose Britain had given the colonists representation in Parliament before taxing them. Would there then have been

- much less colonial resistance? Justify your answer fully.
6. Explain which error in British leadership you consider most serious.
  7. If you had been King George III's mother, what advice would you have given him instead of "George, be king"?
  8. As things turned out, Burke and Pitt might have said: "We told you so." Explain.
  9. To what extent do nations practice a kind of mercantilism today?
  10. Explain whether you think that general search warrants, such as the writs of assistance, are ever justified.
  11. Give your reactions to the actions of Pontiac.
  12. Give reasons why you think the British should be (a) criticized or (b) praised for the Proclamation Act of 1763.
  13. To many colonists, the Currency Act of 1764 was a declaration of economic war. Explain.
  14. Patrick Henry's speech proved dramatically that "ideas are weapons." Explain.
  15. If you had been a colonist, which of the Townshend Acts would you have protested most against? Give reasons.
  16. In defending the accused in the Boston Massacre trial, John Adams showed great moral courage. Explain.
  17. Give reasons explaining whether you think the title "father of the American Revolution" was an appropriate one for Samuel Adams.
  18. How would you have answered an Englishman who tried to justify the Intolerable Acts?
  19. The First Continental Congress was moved by mixed emotions. Explain fully.
  20. What did the poet mean when he said that the shot at Lexington was "heard 'round the world"?
  21. There are lessons in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Name some.
  22. Thomas Paine said: "He that would make his own liberty secure must guard his enemy from oppression; . . ." Explain what he meant.
  23. Give facts to prove that Paine's *Common Sense* appealed to (a) emotion and (b) reason.
  24. An examination of those who were Patriots or Loyalists indicates that the American Revolution was no class struggle. Explain.
  25. Prove that people are reaching out to achieve the ideals in the Declaration of Independence today both (a) within and (b) outside the United States.
  26. Arrange the causes of the American Revolution in what you consider the order of their importance. Give reasons for your first two choices.
- ☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. Write a series of headlines reporting events of the French and Indian War. Under one, write the full news article. Consult, for example, *Colonial America* by O. T. Barck, Jr., and H. T. Lefler, or any college textbooks listed on pages xv-xvi.
  2. Write a poem in which you convey your impressions of George III as a ruler.
  3. Make a list of questions you would have asked British ministers George Grenville or Charles Townshend if you had been granted an interview with either one.
  4. From *The Patriotic Anthology*, edited by C. Van Doren, select for reading to the class any poems or prose selections dealing with the American Revolution that you find inspiring.
  5. Write an imaginary dialogue between a Patriot and a Loyalist.
  6. Add two persons mentioned in this chapter to your own Hall of Fame. Justify your choices and give your sources.
  7. From *The World's Great Speeches*, edited by L. Copeland, report on: (a) John Hancock on the Boston Massacre, (b) Patrick Henry on "Give me liberty or



- give me death," or (c) Samuel Adams on American independence.
- 8 Draw a cartoon of (a) the treatment of customs inspectors trying to enforce the Townshend Acts, (b) Samuel Adams stirring up the people, (c) a riot against the Stamp Act, or (d) James Otis denouncing the writs of assistance.
9. Imagine yourself a member of a Committee of Correspondence. Work out with other members of the committee a program to organize resistance to Britain.
- 10 Imagine yourself as a radio commentator had radio existed in colonial days. Write out what you think would be your on-the-scene broadcast of (a) the Boston Massacre, (b) the Boston Tea Party, (c) the battle of either (1) Lexington, (2) Concord, (3) Ticonderoga, or (4) Bunker Hill.
11. Write an "if" essay entitled (a) "If France Had Won the French and Indian War," (b) "If the British Had Won an Overwhelming Victory at Bunker Hill," (c) "If King George III Had Granted the Requests Made in the Olive Branch Petition," or (d) "If Pontiac Had Been a White Colonial Settler Instead of an Indian Chief."
- 12 Write a letter such as a hired Hessian might have written home to his mother
- 13 Write a biography of Thomas Paine, including in it some quotations from his writings. In your conclusion, tell whether you agree with his critics or his admirers, giving reasons for your opinion.
14. As an imaginary delegate to the Second Continental Congress, write a speech urging an immediate declaration of independence.
15. Investigate and evaluate five of the specific charges leveled against King George III in the Declaration of Independence.
- 16 Debate: (a) That the American Revolution was inevitable; or (b) That most of the world today accepts most of the principles in the Declaration of Independence.
17. Draw up a declaration of independence for some colony desiring independence today.
18. Find out what was happening in five other areas of the world at about the time American independence was declared. Consult, for example, W. L. Langer's *An Encyclopedia of World History*, and the section entitled "The World Beyond America" in *The American Heritage Book of the Revolution*.
19. Following research, write (a) a newspaper article entitled "I Was Present at the Cherry Valley (or Wyoming Valley) Massacre," or (b) an obituary for Joseph Warren, killed at Bunker Hill.
20. Draw a freehand, human-interest map of the events highlighted in this chapter.
21. Using (a) the bibliography for Unit One on page 103, select a book on the American Revolution and report on the chapters dealing with its causes, or using (b) the general bibliography starting on page xv, report on the causes of the Revolution from any of the college textbooks or picture books recommended.
22. In committee, prepare twenty-five multiple-choice questions on this chapter for submission to the rest of the class. Include biographical, geographical, and chronological questions.

## CHAPTER

# 5

### *The American Revolution: Independence Is Won on the Battlefield*

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#### **Some Reasons Why the Patriots Won the American Revolution**

• Patriots Overcome Many Obstacles • Washington's Leadership, Foreign Assistance, the 'Never-say-die' Spirit of Certain Patriots, and Women's Efforts Count Heavily • The Continental Congress, Having Little Power, Does Its Bit • Morris and Salomon Raise Money • The British Help to Defeat the British • Geography Is an American Ally

#### **The Patriots Bounce Back After Defeats**

• Washington Recovers to Win at Trenton and Princeton • Saratoga Is the Turning Point • Sorrowful Valley Forge • A Plot Against Washington, Lee's Disobedience, Arnold's Treason, Indian Troubles Mean Dark Days After Saratoga • The Patriots Bounce Back After Defeats in the South • Victory at Yorktown

#### **Victory in the Revolution Promotes the Great Experiment**

• Independence Is Recognized • No Dictatorship or Monarchy Is Established • More Rights Go to More People • The Powers of the Legislatures Are Increased • Representation Is Made More Fair • Nationalism Is Married to Democracy • Some Ways in Which Democratic Views Prevailed

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#### **Some Obstacles Faced by the Patriots In Fighting the American Revolution**

**Supply Problem and Selfishness.** During the Revolution, there was usually plenty of food and clothing available. But the supply department of the Continental Congress found it difficult, because of bad roads and

lack of drivers and vehicles, to get goods to camp. To make matters worse, some Americans were more interested in profits than in patriotism. Sometimes, while American soldiers went hungry, British soldiers grew fat on the wheat and beef sold them by neighborhood farmers. Such farmers preferred the solid British gold or silver coins to the paper

money of the Patriots, which was of doubtful value. Some war profiteers even sold wormy food and poor-quality clothing to the Patriots. War profiteers in general were condemned by General Washington as men with "a dirty mercenary spirit."

**Soldier Shortage and Scarcity of Munitions.** Furthermore, throughout the thirteen states, there were many who were unwilling to pay the taxes needed to furnish the army with food and supplies. Nor did the states co-operate in filling their quotas of soldiers requested by the Continental Congress. In fact, keeping a large enough army in the field was one of Washington's major headaches. There were times when the entire American Army consisted of no more than 5,000 troops. Most enlistments were on a short-term basis. When their terms were up, many quit. Many deserted. Some were homesick for their families. Some wanted to protect their families from Indian raids. Some wanted to plant or harvest their crops. Some were discouraged by the poor pay and terrible hardships. Frequently, when a battle was won, the army gained recruits. After a defeat, it suffered desertions.

Desertions and short-term enlistments meant that Washington and his officers constantly had to devote much of their time to the training of new groups of raw and undisciplined troops. This problem of training was aggravated by the short supply of ammunition and weapons. In an effort to fill their troop quotas, some states promised volunteers a large plot of land or a sum of money. Some even offered a Negro slave. Even British deserters were used in the American Army. The Continental Congress itself did not favor a regular army based upon long-term enlistments, fearing that a general might use such an army to make himself military dictator. Only when the war was almost over was a regular army, based upon long-term enlistments, organized.

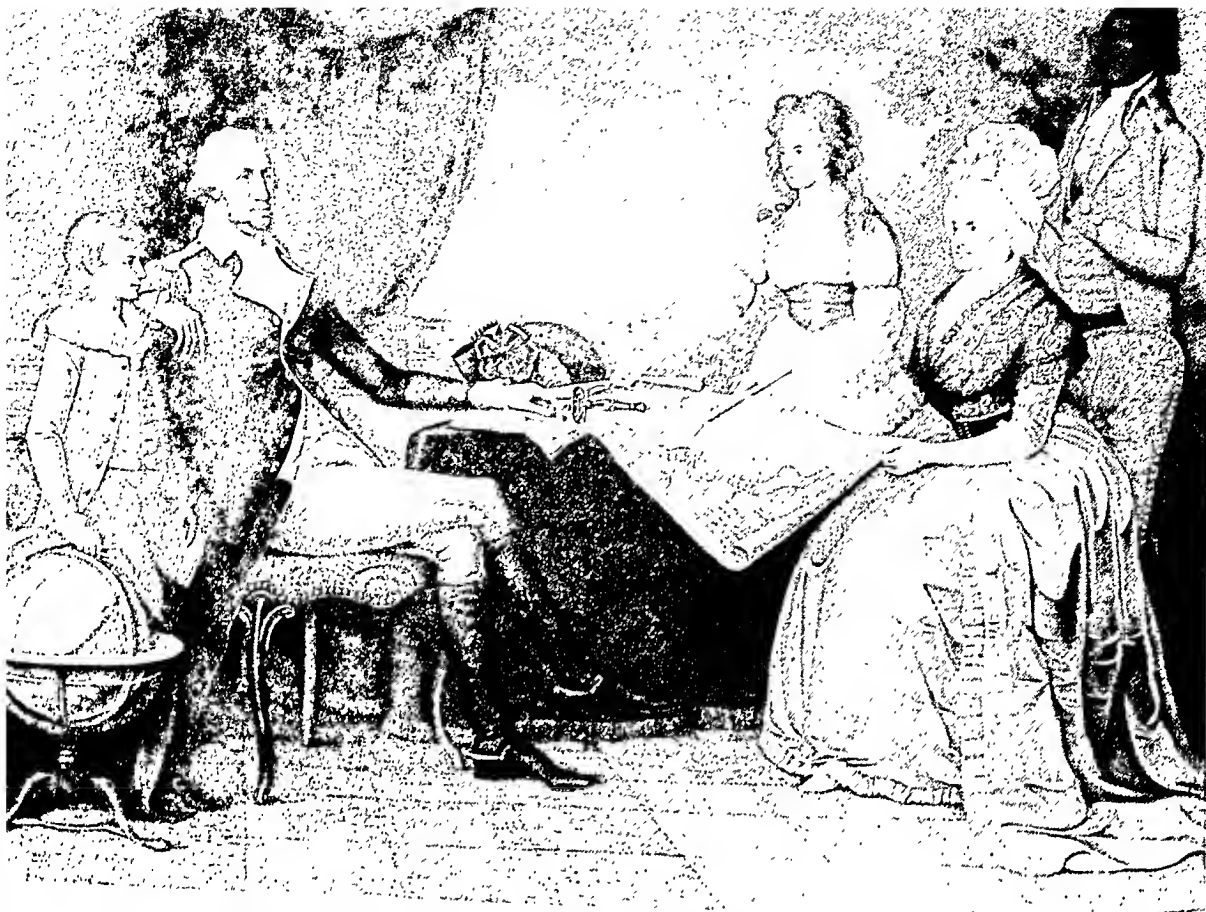
**Not Enough Co-operation Among States and Within States.** Another major obstacle confronting the Patriots was the general lack of co-operation among the thirteen states. As

we have seen, two-thirds of the Americans were opposed, or indifferent, to the Revolution. In fact, New York sent more soldiers to fight for King George than against him. There was jealousy between the New England states and the Southern states. There was friction within states, too. The plain people wanted more political rights. Conservative groups were afraid that such an extension of democracy might lead to "mobocracy." Many Americans had objected to being taxed by Britain. Now they resented being taxed by the Continental Congress. They had objected to having Britain's strong central Government controlling them. Now they equally resented any American attempt to set up a government that would have many controls over them. All this helps to explain why the Second Continental Congress had little authority (page 112). Some have called it a conference of ambassadors from the thirteen states, rather than a government.

**Money Problems.** The Second Continental Congress had no real taxing power. Because the states granted it little of the money it asked for, the Congress had to issue paper money without gold or silver backing. The states also issued such paper money. By the end of the war, the Congress had issued nearly \$250 million worth of paper money (called *Continental currency*). The combined issues of the states came to almost as much.

The tremendous issue of paper money without any real backing caused a sharp rise in prices. This situation, called *inflation*, caused the value of the paper dollar to drop to two cents. Ridiculing the money, people papered their walls with it and some jokesters promenaded in suits made of it. "Not worth a Continental" remains to this day a common expression for describing something of little value.

Some financial aid came to the Continental Congress in the form of foreign loans. States were able to raise additional revenue by taking over lands owned by the king, colonial proprietors and Loyalists.



*George Washington, Martha, and her grandchildren. "[He] sought in the bosom of his family and nature, retirement, and in the hope of religion, immortality."—From the inscription on Washington's tomb.*

### **Some Reasons Why the Patriots Won Out in the American Revolution**

**Washington: The Soul and Sword of the Revolution.** It takes character and courage for even the most dedicated patriot to stay on in high office . . . when the cause he believes in seems hopeless . . . when civil and military officials fail to give him desperately needed co-operation . . . when all around him others are quitting . . . when his political enemies falsely accuse him of disloyalty. All this was the experience of George Washington, who had been appointed commander in chief by the Second Continental Congress.

Fortunately for our country, Washington had character and courage. An entire course

of study in character training and the instilling of leadership qualities could be built around his role in the Revolution. The character he displayed so admirably was a major reason for the American victory. Washington's ambitions were for his country, not for himself. He probably could have become a military dictator and snuffed out the liberties of the people. That was the way of a Caesar or a Napoleon, but not of a Washington. The Patriot commander never weakened in the face of overwhelming problems in the darkest days of the Revolution. A man more interested in his own vanity and comfort than in his country's cause might have quit and returned to a pleasant plantation life at his Virginia home, Mount Vernon.

The dignified Washington never stooped to using cheap and vulgar tactics to win popularity with his men. Before an early battle, he expressed his deep feeling for them in these words: "My God, what brave fellows I must lose this day!" Washington accepted no salary for his services as commander in chief of the Continental Army. In the many critical hours of the Revolution, he proved himself a born leader by remaining calm and patient when others were losing their heads.

**Foreign Officers Aid the American Revolutionaries.** Foreign assistance was another major reason for American success in the Revolution. Baron von Steuben, who came here from Prussia, drilled many of Washington's troops and built up their discipline. He had come, he said, because he "wished to serve a nation engaged in the noble work of defending its rights and liberties." The Marquis de Lafayette, a wealthy French noble, might have lived a life of luxury at home. Instead, he endured hardships in the Continental Army without pay. He even used his own money to clothe other soldiers. In a sense, this young and handsome aristocrat was expressing the American Dream when he said.

The happiness of America is closely tied in with the happiness of all humanity

Baron de Kalb, a German-born French officer, and Casimir Pulaski, a Polish officer, were both killed in battle fighting for the American cause. Another Pole, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, also fought as a general for American freedom. Later, he led an unsuccessful fight for his own country's freedom.

**Foreign Nations Aid the American Revolutionaries.** France hated Great Britain. It wanted revenge for its loss of Canada and much of India to Britain in 1763 (page 61). Britain had long practiced the balance-of-power policy (page 11) to prevent any continental nation or group of such nations from becoming so powerful as to imperil Britain. If France could manage to weaken

the British Empire by helping the Thirteen Colonies win independence, it might once more become the dominant European nation. A weakened Britain and an independent United States might give French businessmen a vastly expanded market in America. At the same time, France feared that Britain might recognize the independence of the United States and then try to annex the French West Indies.

At this time in France, there was a strong movement against feudal privileges and absolute monarchy. Partly responsible for this movement were the writings of such French philosophers as Rousseau, Diderot, and Voltaire. Many educated Frenchmen had been inspired by the demands for freedom and self-government that these philosophers had expressed. To such Frenchmen the Declaration of Independence seemed a trumpet call for freedom and self-government, and the American Revolution a cannon blast against privilege and absolutism.<sup>1</sup>

To get France's support, the Continental Congress sent the aged Benjamin Franklin there late in 1776 (page 38). If there had been fan clubs in eighteenth-century France, Franklin would undoubtedly have attracted the largest membership. His personality and skillful diplomacy, plus French hatred of Britain, plus the undercurrent of sympathy for the American cause, prompted France to sign two treaties with the United States in 1778.

In one of these treaties, France recognized American independence. It was also agreed that the two nations would increase their trade with each other. The second treaty was intended as a permanent alliance, in which both countries promised to give each other military and political support. Neither was to make peace unless the other agreed.

The treaties with France gave the Americans more business, loans, well-trained soldiers, and a powerful navy. At the same time,

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<sup>1</sup> Such feelings helped to bring on the French Revolution in 1789.

they handicapped the British, who now had to keep more men and ships at home. For who knew when France might launch an attack on Britain itself?

Spain had no love for Britain either. Britain's seizure of Florida and Gibraltar from Spain in the eighteenth century helps to explain why. In hopes of winning back its former territories, Spain joined the war on France's side. However, Spain would not sign a treaty with, or recognize the independence of, the United States. Its reactionary Government was bitterly hostile to the revolutionary principles in the Declaration of Independence. Furthermore, the success of the American Revolution might encourage Latin Americans to seek independence from Spain.

Holland was brought into the war in 1780. Britain declared war on the Dutch then because of their ever-increasing trade with the American revolutionaries. Like France, Holland recognized American independence. And Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Russia vigorously protested Britain's interference with their neutral rights on the seas. Though not at war, most of Europe was thus united in its hostility to Britain. In a sense, then, the American Revolution was a kind of world war.

**The 'Never-say-die' Spirit of Certain Patriots.** Throughout the Revolution, in spite of hardships and the frequent desertion of their comrades, there was always a hard core of men who never gave in. Many of them died fighting. In commendation of these heroes, and in condemnation of the deserters, Thomas Paine wrote:

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it *now* deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.

Paine himself deserves much credit for inspiring with his pen the discouraged to continue the fight.

I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.

These dying words, uttered as the British tightened the noose about his neck, gave lasting testimony to the never-say-die spirit of Nathan Hale. Young Captain Hale, a Yale graduate, was a school teacher by profession. He had volunteered for the dangerous work of gaining information on British fortifications in New York. Having hidden his notes, taken in Latin, in the sole of his shoe, he was about to return to Washington's headquarters when he was captured. No one knows where his body lies, for no tombstone marked his grave.

No! I have not yet begun to fight!

This was the answer allegedly given by John Paul Jones in 1779 to a British demand for the surrender of his ship. Jones was our first great naval hero. His old and rotting ship, the *Bonhomme Richard*, was on the verge of sinking from cannon shot poured into it by the heavy guns of the *Serapis*, a brand-new British battleship. At this point Jones shouted his famous "No!" and brought his battered ship alongside the *Serapis*. His men then boarded and captured the enemy ship, just before the *Bonhomme Richard* sank.

In his career as an American naval officer, Jones captured about 300 ships, many of them close to British shores. When the Revolution was won, this native-born Scot fought in the service of Queen Catherine the Great of Russia. But Jones never gave up his American citizenship. Said he:

I can never renounce the glorious title of a citizen of the United States.

Jones, like the Irish-born John Barry and other naval heroes, was an officer of the tiny regular navy established by the Continental Congress. This navy won many victories before almost all its ships were crowded off the seas by the more powerful British Navy. The Congress supplemented the regular

navy by granting permission to persons who owned private ships to attack enemy ships. Such persons were called *privateers*. Privateers were permitted to sell captured ships and their cargoes, and share the profits with their crews. Privateering became so profitable that more than 2,000 ships eventually engaged in it. To the British, the privateers were pirates, to the Americans, they were daring Patriots.

**The Work of Women in Waging the War.** One group of girls in Virginia agreed not to have any dates with able-bodied men who refused to fight. In the war effort, women spied, raised funds, and threatened war profiteers and purchasers of British goods. They made bullets, bandages, and uniforms for the army and wrote articles attacking the British and the Loyalists.

**The Continental Congress, Having Little Power, Does Its Bit.** The Continental Congress made many mistakes and was often woefully inefficient. After all, it had to conduct a war without having the experience of any previous central government to build upon. After all, it could only beg, not order, the states to furnish money and men and to live up to the resolutions it passed. Yet it raised an army and navy and money with which to conduct the war, declared our independence, and issued permits to privateers. It also sent agents abroad to secure funds, supplies, and allies. In spite of bitter arguments among its members and among the states they represented, the Continental Congress succeeded in keeping the revolutionary spirit alive.

**Morris and Saloman Raise Money to Keep the War Going.** On January 1, 1777, a wealthy Philadelphia banker named Robert Morris went begging. He obtained from his wealthy friends the sum of \$50,000, which he sent to George Washington. Had this money not been raised, many of Washington's soldiers would have gone home to their farms, their terms expired and their pay long overdue. In 1781, the Congress appointed Morris superintendent of finance. Called the "financier of the Revolution," Morris borrowed money on

his own credit. He also cut down on waste by introducing more efficient bookkeeping methods.

From Haym Salomon, a rich, Polish-born American Patriot, Robert Morris obtained \$350,000. Salomon also spent thousands helping Philadelphia's poverty-stricken during the war. Refusing to accept repayment of his loan from the Government, he died a poor man.

**The British Help to Defeat the British.** Lord Sandwich, the British naval chief, said of the American soldiers: "They are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. . . ." This mistaken opinion about American troops in general was held by certain other British officials as well. It helps to explain why the British did not put as much into the war effort as they otherwise might have. They expected an early surrender.

Many believe that the British also put themselves at a disadvantage by their choice of generals. One parliamentary leader said of certain British commanders: "I do not know whether our generals will frighten Americans, but they certainly frighten me!" Such British generals as William Howe and Henry Clinton had many good opportunities to concentrate their full forces and destroy American armies. But they seemed to lack the desire or the initiative to do so. Often British officers spent their time drinking, gambling, and gorging themselves at banquets. Some believe that neither General Howe nor his brother, a naval commander, wished to treat the Americans severely because both were Whigs sympathetic to the American cause.

Furthermore, many Englishmen who had been eager for the war did not like the idea of paying taxes to support it. Some of the King's Friends were corrupt or incompetent. Some British merchants opposed the war because it meant the loss of American trade. Some Whigs hoped that the Americans would win so that the Whig Party would regain power in Parliament. Some British in general felt an American victory would advance the cause of freedom in Britain, too,

in that it would check the king's efforts to increase his power. Many officers even refused to go to America to fight. And recruiting soldiers was made even more difficult by the poor pay offered and the absence of real enthusiasm for the cause. Lacking enough men, the Government forced thieves and beggars into the army and hired Hessians.

In spite of these obstacles to the British war effort, few persons anywhere would have predicted an American victory when the Revolution began. The British had great wealth, a large army with the experience of many European wars, the biggest navy in the world, and the world's most powerful empire.

**Geography Is an Ally of the Americans.** The 3,000 miles of ocean between Britain and America was an important ally of the Patriots. Britain had to transport men and materials over this distance in an age when to do so took a long time. The vast territory in the New World was another American ally. No matter how far the Patriots retreated, there was always more territory for them to retreat to. Most American retreats compelled the British to supply their armies from greater distances. And the British could not win until they destroyed all the American armies. Theirs was like the problem of "nailing currant jelly to a wall."

Furthermore, the Americans were familiar with the land they were defending. Many of them had acquired experience fighting in the wilderness against the French and the Indians. Though the British blockade of American ports was fairly effective, it was not entirely so because the Patriots grew most of their own food and manufactured many products.

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### **America's Revolutionary Victories Reveal Some Roads to Success**

Throughout the American Revolution a pattern of events occurred again and again. This pattern usually consisted of a series of

American defeats, retreats, and discouragements, causing deep despair. Then would come one of the few American victories of the war and hope would be revived.

The Americans' Revolutionary pattern of fighting seemed to follow certain principles. Here are some of them: There is a time to retreat and a time to strike. When the opposition is overwhelming, it is usually unwise to meet it head on. When a cause seems almost lost, an extra bit of effort may still bring success. In other words, patience and perseverance pay off in the long run.

**Washington Bounces Back from Defeats and Retreats, and Wins at Trenton and Princeton.** General Howe came down from Canada to capture New York in March, 1776. Washington came down from Boston to prevent this. He knew that the British wanted New York so as to cut off the New England states from the other states. They hoped then to crush each section separately. Control of New York City's excellent harbor would help the British to control the Hudson River Valley. Howe's conquest of New York City was easy. New York's numerous Loyalists rejoiced at his presence.

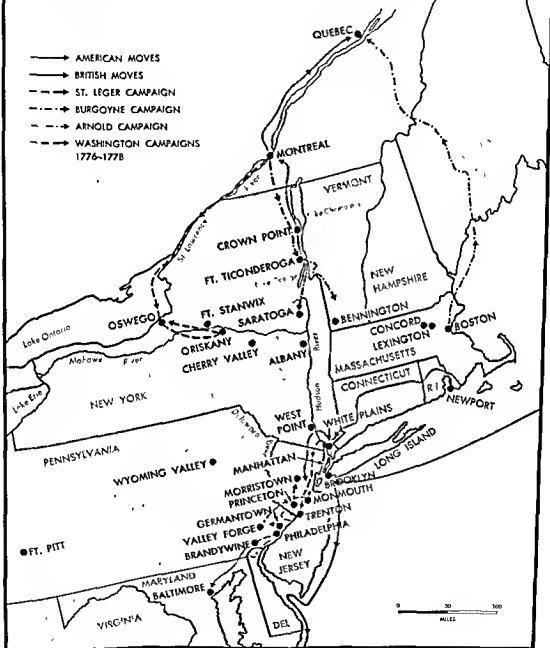
Washington's inexperienced army took a stand on Long Island, at Brooklyn Heights. There, it was defeated by the experienced soldiers of Howe. Howe might then and there have crushed the Revolution. But instead of attacking in full force, he merely laid siege to the Patriot stronghold on Long Island. Washington feared that the remnants of his army would now be caught in a trap between Howe's forces and a British fleet commanded by Howe's brother, which was stationed off New York harbor.

Therefore, the wily Washington, under cover of a fog, ferried his army across the East River to Manhattan. The planned retreat continued from lower Manhattan to upper Manhattan, thence to White Plains, thence across the Hudson River, through New Jersey, and across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. It was interrupted by minor skirmishes at Harlem Heights in upper Manhattan and at White Plains.

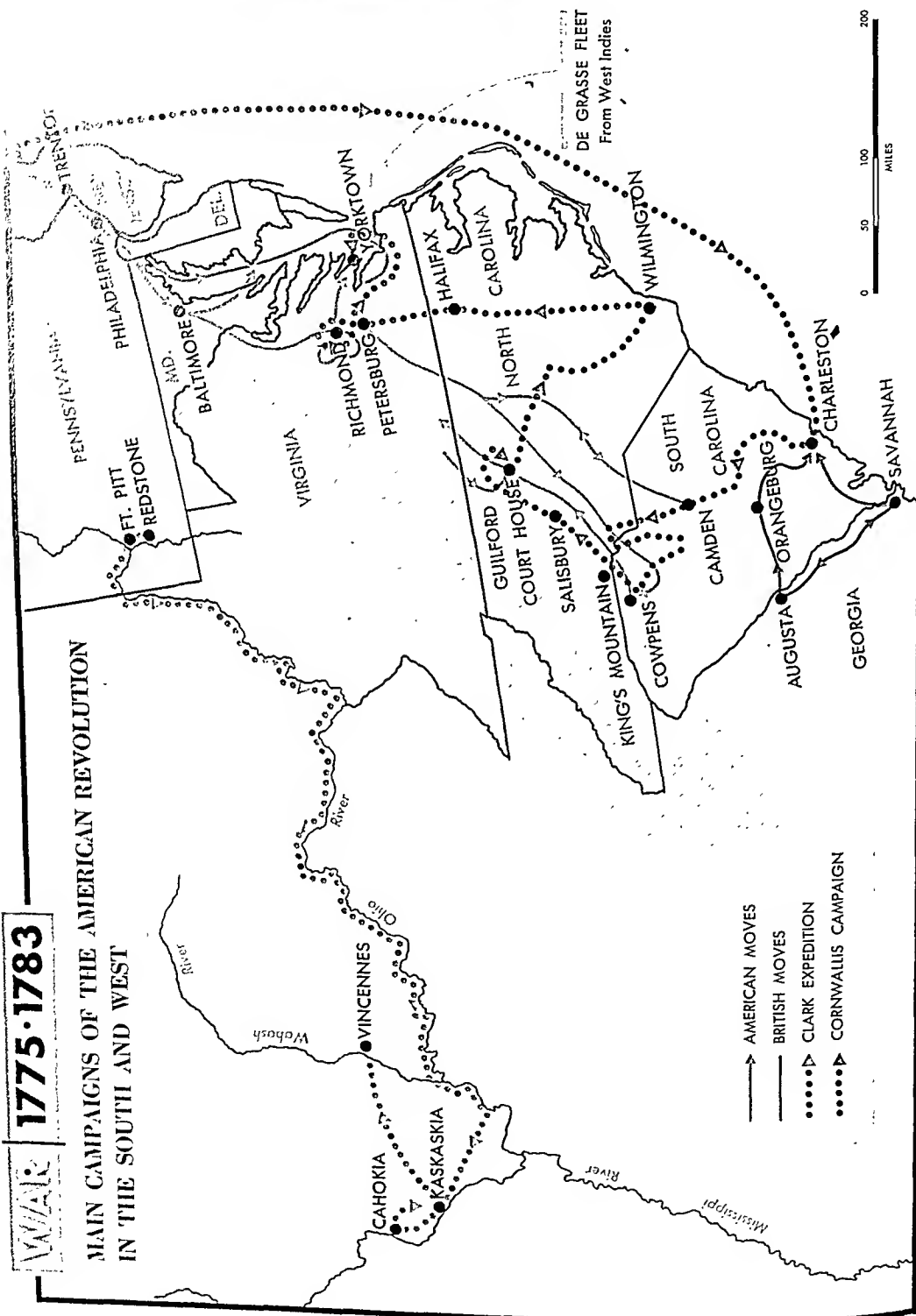


# WAR 1775-1783

## MAIN CAMPAIGNS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH



## MAIN CAMPAIGNS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH AND WEST



Howe took his time in pursuing Washington because he felt positive that the Patriots would soon have to quit. He seemed to be right, for nearly 3,000 New Jersey farmers accepted Howe's promise of pardon and pledged their allegiance to George III. Washington, on the other hand, could not get even 100 new recruits for his rapidly diminishing army. Many American troops deserted, and many quit when their short terms of enlistment had expired. In these dark days, the Second Continental Congress, fearing the conquest of Philadelphia, fled the city for Baltimore. Then came two victories that revived hope.

Back across the ice-choked Delaware on the freezing Christmas night of 1776 rowed Washington and his weary soldiers. Once on the Jersey shore, they marched the eight miles to Trenton through ice and sleet. There they fell upon the surprised Hessians and killed or captured more than two-thirds of them in less than three-quarters of an hour.

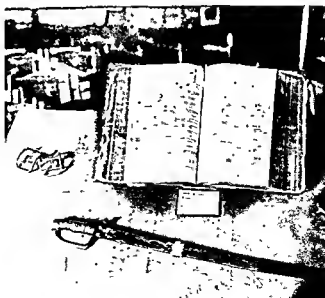
Even so, Washington was in great danger. Toward Treoton marched a large British army to destroy his small force. Its confident general, Lord Cornwallis, chuckled: "At last we have run down the old fox [Washington] and will bag him in the morning." Corn-

wallis would have been wise to try to "bag" Washington that night. By morning, there was no Washington there to bag. He had slipped away during the night with his army. A few days later, he won another victory at Princeton, after having staged another surprise attack.

Things had been going so badly for the Patriots that many could scarcely believe their ears when they heard of the victories at Trenton and Princeton. General Cornwallis, so sure of victory that he had packed to go home, quickly unpacked.

**Saratoga: One of the Most Important Battles in All History.** "I have beaten them. I have beaten all the Americans!" This is what George III shouted gleefully on hearing the news that General John Burgoyne had recaptured Fort Ticonderoga in July, 1777. Things *did* look bad for the Americans. But in October of 1777, the same Burgoyne was compelled to surrender his shattered army at Saratoga. Had the British won this battle, the American Revolution might have ended then and there. Burgoyne's surrender meant the failure of a master plan of the British to conquer New York State. Such a conquest would have cut off New England from the Middle and Southern states. Then conquest

*The dying General Nicholas Herkimer called for this Bible and read to those around him the Thirty-eighth Psalm, which begins: "O Lord, rebuke me not in Thy wrath; neither chasten me in Thy hot displeasure"*



of each region would have been much easier. As we know, Howe had earlier tried to split the states, too.

*Britain's Master Plan for Dividing the States Fails.* There were three steps in Britain's master plan. First, General Burgoyne was to come south from Canada by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George. His goal was Albany, New York, gateway to the Hudson River. Second, Colonel Barry St. Leger was to come east to Albany by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk River Valley. Third, General Howe was to move north from New York City along the Hudson River Valley to meet Burgoyne and St. Leger at Albany.

Instead of taking his army north to Albany, Howe, for some reason, took it south to capture Philadelphia. He succeeded. In attempts to check Howe in Pennsylvania, Washington lost the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He then withdrew to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, where he spent the winter. But Washington's attacks had convinced Howe that it would be dangerous to split his army by sending part of it to help Burgoyne. Therefore, Howe stayed on in Philadelphia, enjoying the luxuries of Loyalist society there.

St. Leger also failed to fulfill his assignment. He reached and laid siege to Fort Stanwix (now Rome, New York) on the Mohawk River. Up the river to lift the siege came a force of Americans led by the aged General Nicholas Herkimer. St. Leger and his Loyalist and Indian allies ambushed them at Oriskany. However, from behind rocks and trees, the Patriots battled so bravely that the British were forced to retreat to the fort. St. Leger's further retreat to Lake Ontario was brought about by a rumor spread by American General Benedict Arnold. Arnold sent out word that a powerful American army was coming to the rescue of Fort Stanwix. Actually, Arnold's force included only 2,000 men.

In carrying out his part of the master plan, Burgoyne faced many obstacles. Some he created for himself. Others the Patriots cre-

ated for him. "Gentleman Johnny" believed that a British general and his officers should not suffer any discomforts, even in a wilderness campaign. They carried with them wagonloads of fine wine, fine china, fine silver, and fine clothing. Burgoyne's slowly moving army got farther and farther from its supply base in Canada. Food shortages developed. He sent two detachments of troops, mainly Hessians and Indians, to get grain and cattle from the nearby countryside. These detachments suffered a smashing defeat in the Battle of Bennington (a city in Vermont today) at the hands of Patriots led by John Stark.

Burgoyne's position was now desperate. The very forests seemed to close in on him. So did thousands of fighting-mad militiamen from all over New England and New York, assisting the regular army. Near Saratoga, New York, not far from Albany, Burgoyne's surrounded army fought bravely, but lost two battles. In these encounters, American Generals Arnold and Philip Schuyler, aided by equipment sent secretly by France, distinguished themselves by their military strategy. The surrender at Saratoga was not to them, however, but to their recently appointed superior, General Horatio Gates. Burgoyne was a good loser. After his defeat, he even lifted his glass in a toast to General Washington.

*The Significance of Saratoga: French Aid, American Hope, British Doubt.* In a sense, Saratoga was the salvation of the American cause—the turning point of the Revolution. It was after the victory there that the French signed their alliance with the United States (page 87). The victory proved to doubting Europeans that American generals could plan and American soldiers could fight. Furthermore, the British Army in America was weakened by the death or capture of about twenty-five per cent of its troops. The victory also gave a temporary lift to sagging American morale. It made the Americans masters of the all-important Hudson River north of New York City. And after Saratoga, the cry for peace grew stronger in Britain.



*Trumbull's painting of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. Bowing, Burgoyne said "The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner." To this, Gates responded "I shall always be ready to testify that it has not been through any fault of your Excellency," and invited him to his tent for dinner.*

#### **Four Dark Years After Saratoga End in Victory at Yorktown**

**Valley Forge Makes Americans Feel Both Sorrow and Pride.** The lift given to American morale by the Saratoga victory did not last long. A major reason was the terrible experience of Washington's army in its 1777-1778 winter quarters at Valley Forge.

To many Americans, Valley Forge has come to be a source of both sorrow and pride. They feel sorrow when they picture starving, weary, raggedly clothed, barefoot Patriots huddled around campfires or in thin tents in freezing temperatures. The snow was streaked with blood from freezing feet and legs, many of which had to be amputated when gangrene set in. At the same time, Americans take pride in the courage of these heroes who stuck it out at Valley Forge and thus helped to save the Revolution.

**A Plot Against General Washington Misses.** During the terrible winter at Valley Forge, plotters tried to persuade the Continental Congress to make General Gates commander in chief in place of Washington.

A leader in this plot was General Thomas Conway, whose promotion had been opposed by Washington. The *Conway Cabal*, as the plot came to be called, ended in failure. The people backed Washington, and a backer of Washington wounded Conway in a duel.

**A Disobedient General Prevents a Patriot Victory at Monmouth.** General Charles Lee was always ready to criticize others, especially Washington, whose job he wanted. On one occasion his conduct turned what should have been a great Patriot victory into a draw. British General Henry Clinton, Howe's successor, had evacuated Philadelphia. Washington's army met Clinton's, en route to New York, at Monmouth, New Jersey, in June of 1778. The Patriots were winning when General Lee, in disobedience of Washington's order to attack, retreated. Washington, in a violent rage, labeled Lee a coward and sent him to the rear. Luckily, Washington was able to stem the retreat. However, Clinton's army escaped and reached New York. Washington's army kept it confined there until the war ended.



*Of the suffering at Valley Forge, Washington wrote: "Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery that they have not been ere this excited by their sufferings to a general mutiny. . . ."*

**Benedict Arnold Turns Traitor, But the Plot Misfires.** Who would have thought that the daring General Benedict Arnold would turn traitor? He had fought courageously against several British generals in Canada, against St. Leger in the Mohawk Valley, and against Burgoyne at Saratoga. Why would such a man betray his country? Various reasons have been advanced. His beautiful bride,<sup>1</sup> much younger than he, had Loyalist sympathies. He was bitter at the Congress for failing to grant him a deserved promotion. He was burdened by heavy debts and found the offer of a large British bribe irresistible.

Arnold failed in his attempt, in 1780, to deliver the fort at West Point on the strategic Hudson to the British. The young British spy, Major John André, who was dealing with Arnold, was captured and executed.

Arnold escaped and fought for the British.

Arnold's final days were spent in poverty in England. The upper-class British society with whom he liked to associate would have nothing to do with him. The body blow the Arnold treason had dealt to American morale was expressed by Washington who, with tears in his eyes, said: "Whom can we trust now?"

**Indian Troubles Also Plague the Patriot Cause.** Again and again in 1778 and 1779, Indians, aided by Loyalists, raided frontier settlements. However, in the winter of 1778 came a victory that heartened frontiersmen. Its heroes were George Rogers Clark and a band of fewer than 200 volunteer frontiersmen, all excellent shots. They captured British forts in what is now Illinois and Indiana. To do so, Clark and his men had to plod through thick forests and wade for miles through icy waters sometimes up to their necks. They met fierce opposition—not only from the British but from their Indian and Loyalist allies. One fort at Vincennes on the

<sup>1</sup> Arnold, a widower, had written practically identical love letters to many rich girls before winning this beauty.

Wabash River (in Indiana today) was captured by Clark, recaptured by the British, then recaptured by Clark. During the fighting, Henry Hamilton, British governor of the territory between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, was taken prisoner. Hamilton had bribed Indians with guns and whiskey to massacre frontier settlements. Because he allegedly paid them for each scalp turned in, frontiersmen called him the "hair-buyer."

With Clark's conquests, frontiersmen felt a little more confident about expanding westward to obtain land and furs. Their fear of Indian raids was somewhat lessened. However, by the end of the war, much of the territory Clark had captured had been recaptured by the British.

**The Patriots Bounce Back After Many Defeats in the South.** The South was the scene of the last battles of the Revolution. There the Patriots suffered a long series of defeats. In 1778, the British took Savannah, Georgia, and, in 1780, Charleston and Camden, South Carolina. However, in spite of these and other victories, they had to be constantly on their guard. Repeatedly, bands of sharp-

shooting frontiersmen, accustomed to Indian fighting, would make surprise attacks on British regiments. Then they would disappear into the woods. These bands were led by such experts in guerrilla tactics as "Swamp Fox" Francis Marion and "Gamecock" Thomas Sumter.

Using guerrilla tactics, frontiersmen defeated the British at King's Mountain in North Carolina in 1780 and at Cowpens, South Carolina, in 1781. The Patriots' outlook brightened even more when General Nathanael Greene replaced General Gates in command of the regular army in the South. This was late in 1780. Before the Revolution, Greene, a self-educated farmer and blacksmith, had learned military strategy from books. Throughout the war, he had proved to be one of Washington's top generals. True, Greene lost several hard-fought battles in the South to Cornwallis. Yet he caused Cornwallis to lose so many men that the British general was forced to retreat into Virginia. There, Cornwallis' troops were worn down still further by the attacks of Generals Lafayette and Anthony Wayne. In order to

*The capture of Major André. Just before he was hanged as a spy, André, whose character many Patriots admired, said, "I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man."*



obtain fresh troops from the British fleet, Cornwallis finally withdrew his troops into the peninsula of Yorktown, Virginia. From this location, evacuation by the British fleet would be easier—if evacuation became necessary.

**The Victory at Yorktown: American Independence Is Assured with the Help of the French.** For the three years following the Battle of Monmouth, both sides in the North seemed to be playing a waiting game. Then Washington heard that Cornwallis had withdrawn to Yorktown. This, he felt, was the moment he had been waiting for so long. He took his Patriot army, joined by French troops under Comte de Rochambeau, on a long march south to Yorktown. A French fleet, under Admiral de Grasse, drove off a British fleet and stationed itself in Chesapeake Bay. Cornwallis was now trapped. He could not escape by sea. Nor could he escape by land, for Lafayette's troops, later reinforced by those of Washington and Rochambeau, blocked all exits.

On the nineteenth of October, 1781, Cornwallis' army surrendered. This surrender, after a three-week siege, came almost exactly four years after the surrender at Saratoga. The redecoats surrendered to the accompaniment of a British band playing "The World Turned Upside Down."

The victory at Yorktown did indeed indicate "a world turned upside down." The former Thirteen Colonies, often in disagreement among themselves, had successfully defied the mighty British Empire. Although the war was not officially declared over until 1783, real fighting ended at Yorktown.

### **The Treaty of Paris: 'The Greatest Triumph . . . Of American Diplomacy'**

In Paris, in 1783, a major problem troubled John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin. They were the American delegates to the peace conference that was drawing up the treaty ending the American Revolution. The

treaty of alliance with France had stated that the United States would consult with France on the terms of the peace treaty. And the Continental Congress had so instructed the delegates.

Adams and Jay, however, had their suspicions. They knew that France and its ally Spain wanted to keep the United States hemmed in along the Atlantic coast, while expanding in the West and the South. Both nations were glad to see the British Empire weakened by the independence of the American colonies. Yet neither wanted to see a strong American republic in the New World. A strong American republic might encourage Spain's New World colonies to revolt. Adams and Jay believed that the French and Spanish Governments were ready to make a deal with the British to the disadvantage of the United States. They persuaded Franklin to disregard the terms of the alliance and the instructions of the Congress and to make a separate treaty with the British to America's advantage.

**Terms of the Treaty of Paris (1783).** To America's advantage the treaty surely was. The independence of the United States was recognized. Its boundaries were fixed at roughly what is the United States today east of the Mississippi, except Florida.<sup>1</sup> The right of the United States to share the fisheries off the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia was continued. The British agreed to try to turn back to Americans seized property and slaves. In return, the Continental Congress agreed to try to get the states to restore property seized from Loyalists. It also promised that no legal obstacle would be placed in the way of British merchants trying to collect debts from Americans. Finally, navigation of the Mississippi River was to be open "to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States."

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<sup>1</sup> In the Treaty of Paris of 1763, following the French and Indian War, Britain had acquired Florida from Spain, an ally of defeated France. Shortly after the Treaty of Paris of 1783, Britain returned Florida to Spain.



## The American Revolution Results In a Compromise Between Democratic and Nondemocratic Views

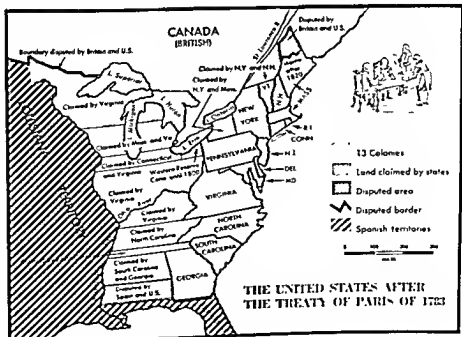
Revolutions have occurred in numerous countries since the American Revolution. Often, hundreds, even thousands, have been executed for opposing a revolution, for being suspected of opposing it, or for having views differing from those of other revolutionaries. No such wholesale executions took place during the American Revolution. Yet the views of different groups supporting the Revolution were very much in conflict. For example, one group wanted the Revolution to lead to great democratic changes in the political, economic, and social structure of the United States. Another group wanted to make American society as aristocratic as British society. In the results of the American Revolution, it is evident that, instead of killing each other off, these two groups were able to agree to compromise their differences.

Neither a Military Dictatorship Nor a Monarchy Is Established. No military dictatorship was set up in the United States during or after the Revolution. After the war, a republic, not a monarchy, was established.

In an age when monarchies prevailed, setting up a republic was a most democratic, even a radical, step. In this republic, the states were loosely united under a document called the *Articles of Confederation* (page 112).

**More Rights to More People.** In most states, property qualifications were lowered so that more people were allowed to vote. In Vermont, soon to become a state, all property qualifications for male voters were canceled. In any case, since so many owned property in all the states, property qualifications were no real barrier to male suffrage. Eleven of the thirteen states had drawn up constitutions within one year after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The old charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were liberal enough to be adopted as constitutions. All these constitutions included bills of rights to limit the power of the state legislatures for the protection of individuals. Among the rights guaranteed in these bills of rights were freedom of speech and press, trial by jury, freedom from cruel and unusual punishments, moderate bail to accused persons, and the right of habeas corpus (page 46).

The states, remembering the writs of



## Some Highlights of the American Revolution

1775

- Battles of Lexington and Concord • Second Continental Congress • Fort Ticonderoga captured • Battle of Bunker Hill

1776

- Paine's *Common Sense* published • Independence declared • Washington eludes Howe in New York • Hale hanged • Victory at Trenton

1777

- Victory at Princeton • Defeats at Brandywine and Germontown • Howe occupies Philadelphia • Victory at Saratoga • Conway Cabot • Valley Forge ordeal begins

1778

- French alliance formed • Lee foils Washington at Monmouth • Clark begins conquest of Northwest

1779

- Wayne seizes Stony Point • Jones captures Serapis

1780

- Various European nations resist British blockade • Holland recognizes our independence • Arnold's treason • Victory at King's Mountain

1781

- Morris appointed superintendent of finance • Victory at Cowpens • Victory at Yorktown • Articles of Confederation become law of the land

1783

- Treaty of Paris recognizes American independence

assistance, prohibited search of homes and shops without warrants. The states also feared the use of a standing army, such as King George had kept in the colonies. Therefore, their constitutions provided for state militias instead.

**State Governors Become Less Powerful, Legislatures More So.** Instead of being appointed, as colonial governors had been, state governors were elected either by the state legislatures or by the voters. In most states, the governor was elected for only a one-year term. Most states also denied him veto power. In thus limiting the governor's power, the states were remembering that royal governors had sometimes vetoed laws desired by the governed.

But if the powers of the governors were restricted, the powers of the legislatures were broadened. In colonial days, the upper house of the legislature had been appointed, usually by the king. Now it was elected by either the voters or the lower house. And the power of the purse (page 47) was retained by the legislatures.

However, as the years rolled on and the people forgot their fear of a strong executive, state governors were given greater and greater powers. So were the courts (the *judicial branch*). Thus there was eventually achieved a better balance among the three branches of government: the legislative, executive, and judicial.

**Representation Is Made More Fair.** In the colonial period, many frontiersmen had felt like second-class citizens. In their bitterness at being denied fair representation, they had sometimes even rebelled (page 51). However, in some of the state constitutions, western backwoods regions received representation on the same basis—according to population—as more settled eastern areas.

**Nationalism Is Married to Democracy.** The spirit of nationalism that had motivated only a relatively small number of Americans before the Revolution now had a far wider influence. As time passed, patriotic parades, holidays, textbooks, orators, and statues kept alive in the hearts of Americans the proud

memories of the sacrifices and glories of the American Revolution.

Many individuals began to feel that promoting the ideals of the Declaration of Independence was a kind of American mission. Thus, in a sense, there developed a marriage between democracy and American nationalism. Many Americans before the Revolution had shown little interest in politics. But during the Revolution, these same people had discussed with others what they could do to win the "unalienable rights" mentioned in the Declaration of Independence. Such Americans had come to realize that the chances of achieving the American Dream were enhanced when citizens took an active interest in political problems.

**Some Ways in Which Democratic Views Prevailed Economically After the Revolution.** In medieval Europe, huge tracts of land had been held by feudal lords and worked by their tenants and serfs. In colonial America, huge tracts of the best land in many colonies had been owned by a few families. One reason for the large colonial estates was primogeniture (page 21). Another reason was the law that stated that an estate could not be sold or given, even in part, to any but a specified line of heirs. This law was called *entail*.

By the time of the Revolution, many were refusing to pay quitrents (page 26) and ignoring both primogeniture and entail. Many Revolutionary leaders felt that even these few remaining elements of feudalism should be abolished. That is why, after the Revolution, the states abolished primogeniture, entail, and quitrents. In most states, daughters, as well as younger sons, could now inherit property.

The states took other steps in the hope of curbing the power of an aristocracy based on ownership of big estates. They seized the lands of the king, of the proprietors (page 20), and of the Loyalists. Much of the seized land was sold in small holdings. Some of it was given to Revolutionary War veterans. These steps tended to foster in America an attitude favorable to as many small

landholdings as possible. Of course, as more owned land, they were able to meet the property qualifications for voting.

The Revolution led to greater economic opportunities for more people in many other ways, too. It meant the end of British rules and regulations restricting American manufacturing and trade. While the war was on, many war supplies were needed by the Congress. Many Americans became manufacturers in order to supply such needed items as guns, gunpowder, and cloth. Manufacturers received financial support from some states to encourage them to produce certain goods. Because of the British blockade during the war, many foreign manufacturers found it difficult to sell goods here. That left more of the home market for American manufacturers. Of course, the Americans lost the British market. This is why many American sea captains began to trade with China.

**Some Ways in Which Democratic Views Prevailed Socially After the Revolution.** Before the Revolution, ownership of land, especially along the seaboard, was considered one of the marks of membership in the gentleman class. But after the Revolution, when obtaining land was fairly easy, owning land did not necessarily make one a man of distinction. In the South, however, land ownership continued to be associated with aristocracy.

After the Revolution, movements developed against slavery and the cruel criminal code of the time. Movements also developed to help the poor, and unfortunates in general.

"Preach a crusade against ignorance," urged Thomas Jefferson. The idea was growing in acceptance that public schools would aid the nation by bringing "together the sons of the rich and poor." In fact, five of the thirteen states made arrangements after the Revolution for setting up public schools.

In the history of the separation of church and state in America, Thomas Jefferson played a most important role. Through his influence, the *Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom* was adopted in 1786. This

law declared that the state of Virginia should neither support nor discriminate against any religious sect, Christian or otherwise.

Before the Revolution, most of the colonies had had established churches. But by 1833, Massachusetts, the last state to do so, had adopted separation of church and state as an official policy.

The departure of the 100,000 or so Loyalists tended to make American society more democratic since many Loyalists looked down upon people who worked with their hands. They thought of themselves as aristocrats who were entitled to special privileges, such as officeholding. True, many Loyalists sincerely believed that loyalty to the king and empire was best for the colonies, as well as for Britain. Yet many of them gloried in considering themselves members of a leisure class who associated with nobles and kings. In general, they did not believe in extending educational opportunities to others. It was they who most strongly supported primogeniture and the idea of an established Anglican Church. Many of them considered the average Patriot ill-mannered and uncultured.

### Some Ways in Which Nondemocratic Views Were Influential After the Revolution.

Many states continued to have religious tests for officeholding after the Revolution. There were still those who were barred from voting because they owned no property. In general, state constitutions were written so as to try to keep control of the government in the hands of well-to-do conservatives. Some states still discriminated against frontier settlements in apportioning representation in the legislature. Along the Hudson River, on the estates of descendants of the patroons, semi-feudal conditions still prevailed for tenants. It is true that most states had practically stopped importing slaves and some Northern states had abolished slavery. However, slavery still existed in a good portion of the United States. Women were still being discriminated against in many ways. Debtors were still being imprisoned. Conditions in prisons were still shameful. Shameful, too, was the treatment of the insane.

In spite of all this, considering the times and conditions in other countries, the United States had taken some giant steps along the path of democracy.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 5

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Continental currency	Haym Salomon	Conway Cabal	Yorktown
Baron von Steuben	William Howe	Charles Lec	Comte de
Marquis de Lafayette	Battle of Trenton	Battle of Monmouth	Rochambeau
Baron de Kalb	Lord Cornwallis	Benedict Arnold	Admiral de Grasse
Casimir Pulaski	John Burgoyne	John André	Treaty of Paris of 1783
Thaddeus Kosciuszko	Barry St. Leger	George Rogers Clark	entail
Nathan Hale	Valley Forge	Fort Vincennes	Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom
John Paul Jones	Fort Stanwix	Francis Marion	
John Barry	Nicholas Herkimer	Thomas Sumter	
privateers	John Stark	King's Mountain	
Robert Morris	Battle of Saratoga	Cowpens	
	Horatio Gates	Nathanael Greene	

★ **Questions to Check**  
**Basic Information**

1. What problems did Washington face in maintaining an army sufficiently large and well equipped?
2. Give examples of the lack of co-operation during the Revolution (a) among states and (b) within states.
3. For what specific reasons was the job of financing the Revolution especially difficult?
4. List the characteristics that made George Washington an ideal leader for the Revolutionaries.
5. What was the attitude toward the American Revolution of (a) France, (b) Spain, and (c) Holland?
6. What explains the many naval successes of the young American nation against the powerful British Navy?
7. Prove that American women did not sit on the sidelines while the Revolution was being fought.
8. Describe the many services of the Continental Congress.
9. Give specific proof that "The British helped to defeat the British."
10. Show that the British had advantages over the Patriots and vice versa.
11. Why was the capture of New York desirable to General Howe?
12. Concerning Britain's master plan for dividing the states, (a) describe it and (b) tell why it failed.
13. For what reasons was the Battle of Saratoga truly the turning point of the Revolution?
14. What was heart-rending about (a) Valley Forge, (b) the Conway Cabal, (c) the behavior of (1) Charles Lee and (2) Benedict Arnold?
15. How was trouble made for the British (a) in the West by George Rogers Clark and (b) in the South by Marion, Sumter, and Greene?
16. Prove that the victory at Yorktown illustrated the value of co-operation.
17. For what reasons did the American delegates to the peace conference at Paris in

1783 ignore certain instructions of the Continental Congress?

18. Prove that the terms of the 1783 Treaty of Paris were advantageous to the United States.
19. Prove that democracy was on the march in the United States after the Revolution (a) politically, (b) economically, and (c) socially. Mention any exceptions in each case.

★ **Questions for Thought**  
**and Discussion**

1. Many of the obstacles facing the Patriots during the Revolution could have been predicted. Explain why.
2. Of the obstacles facing the Patriots, which most disturbs you? Why?
3. What did Lafayette mean by his comment. "The happiness of America is closely tied in with the happiness of all humanity"? To what extent is this still true?
4. If you were writing a play on the American Revolution, (a) how would you develop suspense, (b) how would you inspire patriotism, and (c) which scenes would you highlight?
5. France aided the United States for (a) practical and (b) idealistic reasons. Prove. Which type of reason was stronger? Why do you think so?
6. Prove that the American Revolution was (a) a revolution, (b) a civil war, and (c) a world war.
7. What did Thomas Paine mean by "the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot"?
8. In some ways the British fought the American Revolution without their hearts being in it. To what extent is this true?
9. Geography was an ally of the United States during the Revolution. In a war today, it would be far less an ally. For what reasons?
10. Prove that, again and again, overconfidence damaged the British cause

11. What character traits of Benedict Arnold contributed to his downfall?
  12. What do you think must have been some of Benedict Arnold's thoughts in his old age?
  13. Prove by examples that Washington made a major strategy of retreat.
  14. What thoughts must have occurred to Washington at the surrender at Yorktown?
  15. Perhaps Washington should have written a "thank you" letter to some of the British generals. Why?
  16. After comparing the length of the colonial period with the length of time the United States has been a nation, give your reactions.
  17. If you had been Adams or Jay, would you have made a separate peace with Britain without consulting France? Give your reasons.
  18. Which additional (a) political, (b) economic, and (c) social changes do you think should have been made at the end of the Revolution? Why do you think they were not made?
  19. How do you think (a) American history, (b) British history, and (c) world history would have been different if the United States had lost the American Revolution?
  20. "... The unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are never self-evident. . . . Always they must be reaffirmed and redefended." Explain this statement. Give evidence of its truth today.
- ☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. Imagine yourself interviewing Washington on the obstacles he faced as a general. Jot down your questions and indicate his possible answers.
  2. Write an essay entitled (a) "If the Conway Cabal Had Succeeded," (b) "If France Had Not Come to Our Aid," or (c) "If the Battle of Saratoga Had Been Lost."
  3. The French playwright Beaumarchais played a dramatic role in getting France to aid us. Investigate and report on his role. Consult the foreign affairs books recommended on page xvi.
  4. Write a magazine article on the contributions of foreigners to the cause of the Patriots in the American Revolution.
  5. After investigating Benjamin Franklin's role in getting France to aid the United States, make a list of the qualities that might well be possessed by representatives of the United States abroad.
  6. Write an "I Was There" radio script on any one of the dramatic incidents of the American Revolution. Consult, for example, *Rebels and Redcoats* by G. F. Scheer and H. F. Rankin for primary source material.
  7. Outline the scenes for a play on either (a) "The War at Sea" or (b) "Frontiers Aflame," after reading these sections in *The American Heritage Book of the Revolution*.
  8. In Column I list the (a) bodies of water, (b) mountains, (c) hills, (d) valleys, (e) peninsulas, and any other geographic features that played important roles in the Revolution. In Column II, opposite each, tell briefly what role each played.
  9. As a research project, investigate the role of women during the American Revolution. Cite specific examples wherever possible. Consult, for example, "The Girls Behind the Guns" (*American Heritage*, December, 1958).
  10. Write an imaginary dialogue between (a) Washington and Charles Lee after the Battle of Monmouth or (b) Benedict Arnold and Nathan Hale.
  11. Assume that you were the prosecuting attorney at an imaginary court-martial of Burgoyne after his defeat at Saratoga. What questions would you have asked him? Indicate his possible answers.
  12. Make up a human-interest tourist map

- of spots made famous during the Revolution. Consult, for example, *The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places*.
13. Write a short scenario for a movie on (a) Washington's retreat from Long Island through the battles of Trenton and Princeton or (b) George Rogers Clark's campaign in the West.
  14. Obtain songs or poems of the American Revolutionary period for reading or singing to the class. Consult, for example, *The Poetry of Freedom*, edited by W. R. Benét and N. Cousins, and *The Fireside Book of Favorite American Songs*, edited by M. B. Boni.
  15. Obtain quotations from outstanding personalities mentioned in this chapter. Report to the class on how the quotations chosen reflect their character and ideals.
  16. Examine the exhibits on the American Revolution in a museum or an historical society. Report on how such exhibits put life into the period.
  17. As a research project, find out to what extent civil rights were respected during the American Revolution.
  18. Read in two college textbooks the chapters on the American Revolution. Recommend your preference to the class in terms of (a) style, (b) content, (c) interest level, (d) challenging ideas.
  19. In addition to your own Hall of Fame in your notebook, set aside space for a Hall of Infamy. Select personalities from this chapter for your two halls and record in

your notebook reasons for your selections.

20. If your school library, the public library, or a nearby museum has a picture collection, borrow those on the Revolution to show to the class.
21. From *The Heritage of America*, edited by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins, report on any selection from the section entitled "The Winning of Independence." Make one or more sketches to illustrate your talk.
22. See also Activity 4 at the end of Chapter 4, page 82.
23. In committee, work out a program you think would have promoted good relations between the United States and Britain after the Revolution was won.
24. Make a poster for the class bulletin board in which you sum up in columns (a) the dark days of the Revolution and its bright days or (b) the major political, economic, and social results of the Revolution.
25. "From beginning to end, the Revolution was led by an *Elite*, not only *benevolent* and *enlightened*, but *prosperous* and *conservative*."<sup>1</sup> After defining the italicized words, investigate to determine (a) the truth of the quotation and (b) how it explains why the American Revolution was quite different from the French Revolution of 1789.

<sup>1</sup> From *The Spirit of '76*, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. Published by Bobbs-Merrill. The italics have been added.

## RECOMMENDED READING FOR UNIT ONE<sup>1</sup>

Adams, J. T., *The Founding of New England* (Little, Brown).  
 Alden, J. R., *The American Revolution* (Harper & Row; Torchbooks PB<sup>2</sup>).

Andrews, C. M., *Colonial Folkways* (Yale University Press). A classic in its simple treatment of many aspects of colonial life.  
 Bakeless, J., *Background to Glory* (Lippincott). George Rogers Clark's story.  
 —, *Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes* (Lippincott). Revolutionary spies and counterspies in action.

<sup>1</sup> See also general bibliography on page xv.

<sup>2</sup> PB means paperback.

- Becker, C. L., *The Declaration of Independence* (Vintage PB). A keen analysis delightfully written.
- Berger, C., *Broadsides and Bayonets: The Propaganda War of the American Revolution* (University of Pennsylvania Press).
- Boyd, J., *Drums* (Scribner). A novel about an American youth, John Paul Jones, and North Carolina during the Revolution.
- Brebner, J. B., *The Explorers of North America: 1492-1806* (Anchor PB).
- Bridenbaugh, C., *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America 1743-1776* (Knopf). Colonial cities: centers of culture and "incubators of revolution."
- Catton, B., ed., *American Heritage Book of the Revolution* (Simon and Schuster). Brilliantly illustrated and vividly written.
- Cheyney, E. P., *European Backgrounds of American History* (Harper & Row).
- Commager, H. S., and R. B. Morris, eds., *The Spirit of '76* (Bobbs-Merrill). Fascinating primary source material.
- Cook, F. J., *What Manner of Men: Forgotten Heroes of the American Revolution* (Morrow).
- Crane, V. W., *Benjamin Franklin and a Rising People* (Little, Brown).
- Cunliffe, M., *George Washington: Man and Monument* (Mentor PB). Under the most scrupulous kind of examination Washington emerges as a great man.
- Dorson, R. M., *America Begins* (Panthleon). Short source selections on daily life in the seventeenth century.
- Eaton, J., *Leader by Destiny: George Washington, Man and Patriot* (Harcourt, Brace & World).
- , *Lone Journey: The Life of Roger Williams* (Harcourt, Brace & World).
- Edmonds, W. D., *Drums Along the Mohawk* (Little, Brown; Bantam PB). A novel about raids on settlers in the Mohawk Valley.
- Forbes, E., *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In* (Houghton Mifflin).
- Franklin, B., *Autobiography* (Dolphin and others—PB).
- Gebler, E., *The Plymouth Adventure* (Doubleday). A novel.
- Gipson, L. H., *The Coming of the Revolution* (Harper & Row).
- Greene, E. B., *The Revolutionary Generation 1763-1790* (Macmillan).
- Johnston, M., *To Have and to Hold* (Pocket Books PB). A romantic novel, long popular, set in colonial Virginia.
- Lamb, H., *New Found World* (Doubleday). Explorations and discoveries in the New World.
- Lancaster, B., *From Lexington to Liberty* (Doubleday). A history by a careful researcher that reads like a dramatic novel.
- Langdon, W. C., *Everyday Things in American Life 1607-1776* (Scribner).
- Lengyel, C., *Four Days in July: The Story Behind the Declaration of Independence* (Doubleday). Interesting use of primary source material.
- Lippincott, B., *Indians, Privateers, and High Society* (Lippincott).
- Mann, M., *Nathan Hale, Patriot* (Dodd, Mead).
- Maynard, T., *De Soto and the Conquistadores* (Longmans, Green).
- Meade, R. D., *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (Lippincott).
- Milhollen, H., and M. Kaplan, *The Story of the Declaration of Independence* (Oxford University Press). A picture book with accompanying text by the historian Dumas Malone.
- Miller, J. C., ed., *The Colonial Image: Origins of American Culture* (Braziller). A good picture of colonial life in the words of colonists from many walks of life.
- , *Origins of the American Revolution* (Little, Brown).
- , *Sam Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda* (Little, Brown).
- Montross, L., *Rag, Tag, and Bobtail: The Story of the Continental Army* (Harper & Row).
- Morison, S. E., *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Houghton Mifflin).



- , *Christopher Columbus, Mariner* (Little, Brown, Mentor PB). "In readability it runs like a breeze"
- , *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England* (Cornell University Press PB)
- , John Paul Jones: *A Sailor's Biography* (Little, Brown).
- , ed., *The Parkman Reader* (Little, Brown) An eminent scholar selects fascinating passages from a master stylist to describe the struggle between the British and the French for North America.
- , *The Story of the 'Old Colony' of New Plymouth 1620-1692* (Knopf)
- Morris, R. B., ed., *The American Revolution: A Short History* (Anvil PB). Features primary sources.
- Nettles, C. P., *The Roots of American Civilization* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).
- Notestem, W., *The English People on the Eve of Colonization 1603-1630* (Harper & Row).
- Parkman, F. (J. Tabbal, ed.), *The Battle for North America* (Doubleday).
- Pearce, C. O., *William Penn* (Lippincott)
- Peckham, H., *The War for Independence: A Military History* (University of Chicago Press PB).
- Platt, R., *Wilderness: The Discovery of a Continent of Wonder* (Dodd, Mead). From the explorations of the Vikings through the migrations to the Far West.
- Priestly, H. I., *The Coming of the White Man* (Macmillan). About the non-English colonies.
- Roberts, K., *Arundel* (Doubleday); *Rabble in Arms* (Doubleday); *Oliver Wiswell* (Doubleday). All novels about incidents in the American Revolution.
- , *Northwest Passage* (Doubleday). A novel about the French and Indian War.
- Robson, E., *The American Revolution 1763-1783* (Oxford University Press). A brief, brilliant analysis.
- Scheer, C. F., and H. F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (Mentor PB). A primary source book presenting the viewpoints of both Patriots and Tories.
- Starkey, M. L., *The Devil in Massachusetts* (Knopf, Dolphin PB). Salem's witchcraft craze.
- Tharp, L. H., *Champlain, Northwest Voyager* (Little, Brown).
- Umbreit, K. B., *Founding Fathers: Men Who Shaped the Revolution* (Harper & Row).
- Van Doren, C., *Benjamin Franklin* (Viking Press).
- Wertenbaker, T. J., *The First Americans, 1607-1690* (Macmillan).
- , *Golden Age of Colonial Culture* (Cornell University Press PB).
- Wibberley, L., *John Barry, Father of the Navy* (Farrar, Straus).
- Winslow, O. E., *Master Roger Williams* (Macmillan).
- Woodward, W. E., *Tom Paine, America's Godfather* (Dutton).
- Wright, L. B., *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies* (Harper & Row).
- Young, E., *Forgotten Patriot* (Macmillan). About Robert Morris.

# UNIT TWO

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## THE GREAT EXPERIMENT IS BOLSTERED BY A STURDY CONSTITUTION AND EARLY GREAT PRESIDENTS

6

Early Efforts of Union  
Culminate in the Constitution

7

The Constitution Makes Possible  
Powerful Government,  
With Liberty Protected

8

The New Government,  
With Its New Constitution,  
Survives Serious Testing  
In the Federalist Era

9

America Gains in Democracy, Territory,  
And the Respect of Foreign Nations  
Under Same Republican Presidents

10

Nationalism Holds the Center of the Stage,  
But Sectionalism Waits to Go On

11

President Jackson Promotes Democracy,  
Supports Nationalism,  
Yet Defends States' Rights

12

Americans in the Jacksonian Era Dream  
Of Making America Perfect  
And a Model for the World

## CHAPTER

# 6

### *Early Efforts at Union Culminate in the Constitution*

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#### **Problems That Troubled the Infant United States**

• Friction Arises with Foreign Nations and Among the States • Unpaid Revolutionary War Veterans Are Embittered • Business Is Temporarily Bad • Too Much Paper Money and Too Little Hard Money • Debtors Use Force: Shays' Rebellion

#### **Background of the Problems That Troubled the Infant Nation**

• The New England Confederation and the Albany Plan of Union Fail • The Need for Colonial Unity Is Driven Home by Friction with the British • Some Weaknesses and Strengths of the Government Under the Articles of Confederation • How Serious Were Conditions Under the Articles?

#### **The Constitution Fuses Idealism, Practicality, Compromise**

• Why the Constitutional Convention Met Secretly • The Men Who Created the Constitution; Their General Views • The Large and Small States Finally Agree on a Great Compromise • Northern Merchants and Southern Planters Compromise on Representation, Taxation, Commerce, and the Slave Trade • The Constitution Is Ratified Unanimously in Some States, But Is Nearly Rejected in Others • Arguments Used Against Ratification • Techniques Used to Obtain Ratification

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"We are the lowest and the most obscure of the whole diplomatic tribe," Thomas Jefferson, United States minister to France, remarked sadly after the American Revolution. Jefferson was lamenting the lack of respect European nations were showing toward our infant nation. Doubting our unity, the British Government asked John Adams why thirteen ambassadors—one for each

state—were not sent instead of one. Adams was United States minister to Britain. At home, many Americans were troubled at the frequent failure of the states to cooperate with one another or with the central Government. "What a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves!" was the unhappy observation of George Washington.

## Friction Arises Between the Infant United States and Foreign Nations

**Friction with Great Britain.** The British soon took steps that showed they considered the United States weak. They had promised to quit the fur-trading and army posts they held along the American side of the Canadian border in New York and in what is now Michigan. Yet they refused to live up to this promise, made in the treaty ending the American Revolution.<sup>1</sup> The real reasons why the British held on to these posts were to retain the Indians as allies and to continue profiting from the fur trade. The reason they gave was the failure of the United States to live up to the terms of the Treaty of Paris concerning seized Loyalist property and pre-war debts to British merchants.

The Government of the United States had for the most part been unable to get the states to restore seized Loyalist estates or to pay the pre-war debts.<sup>2</sup> Some Loyalists, on their return, did get their property back. Others, who were accused of committing brutalities against the Patriots during the Revolution, got coats of hot tar and feathers instead. States found it impossible to secure payment from debtors who had deliberately gone into bankruptcy and headed west.

More debtors might have paid their debts had not Britain practically prevented them from doing so. How? American trading ships were barred by Britain from Canada and the British West Indies. As we know, the colonists had depended heavily on the West Indian trade (page 44). Some British officials felt that such economic pressure might compel some of the states to return to the British Empire as colonies. In fact, some clung to the hope that the entire United States Government might collapse.

**Friction with Spain.** The Spanish soon took

steps indicating that they shared Britain's belief in the weakness of the United States. According to the Treaty of Paris, the territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River south of the Ohio River belonged to the United States.<sup>1</sup> But Spain acted as if this territory belonged to Spain. Spain was an absolute monarchy. It did not like to see Americans, with their democratic ideas, pouring into this territory and, from there, possibly into Spanish-owned Louisiana and Mexico. Spain retained army and trading posts on this American territory. Spanish encouragement of Indians helped to bring about savage warfare between them and American frontiersmen.

Britain had agreed in the Treaty of Paris that Americans were to have free use of the Mississippi. But, in 1784, Spain barred American ships from using the river. This was a tragedy for American farmers in the West. They had been in the habit of shipping their goods down the Mississippi to the then Spanish port of New Orleans. From there, much of the goods was shipped to the East coast or to Europe.

**Potential Friction with France.** Officially, France was still the ally of the United States. Actually, its officials hoped that the United States would become a French puppet and so a useful tool against Britain. Like the British and Spanish monarchies, the French monarchy hoped that, as a republic, the infant nation would fail. Like them, it feared that American democratic ideas might prove contagious.

## Internal Problems Trouble The Infant United States

**Friction Between States Over Tariff and Boundary Disputes.** With the Revolution over, many of the states felt less need to

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<sup>1</sup> Not until 1796 did the British withdraw from these posts.

<sup>2</sup> In 1802, the United States paid the British 600,000 pounds (more than \$2.5 million) to settle the debt problem.

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<sup>1</sup> The treaty, as we know, gave the United States all territory east of the Mississippi, including that north of the Ohio, as well as that south of it.

co operate. Some occasionally acted like little nations unto themselves. A state would sometimes tax goods coming into it from another state, just as nations tax goods imported from other nations. Where a river formed a state boundary, each of the states involved seemed to want to have the sole right of navigation. Thus Maryland and Virginia quarreled over the Potomac, and Georgia and South Carolina over the Savannah. There were state disputes over land boundaries, too. Open warfare costing many lives broke out between settlers from Connecticut and Pennsylvania over the fertile Wyoming Valley, through which the Susquehanna River flows.

**Unpaid Revolutionary War Veterans Show Their Discontent.** One June day in 1783, a band of soldiers threatened the Congress of the United States meeting in Philadelphia. The soldiers were angry because they had not been paid. Some of them were almost violent from too much drink. The Congress had no money to pay them. It asked the government of Pennsylvania for protection. Pennsylvania refused, fearing that its own state militia might join the soldiers rather than help the congressmen. A few days later, in the black of night, the congressmen sought safety by fleeing to New Jersey.

Unpaid army officers were also plotting against the Congress. But a patriotic appeal made by George Washington brought not only this plot to an end but many of the plotters to tears.

**Business Is Temporarily Bad After the Revolution.** For a few years after the Revolution, business was bad. The demand for army supplies fell off. British manufacturers hoped to regain the American market by killing competition from the infant American industries, which had prospered during the war. They therefore shipped great quantities of well-made, cheaply priced manufactures here. Now that the United States was independent, Americans no longer enjoyed trade advantages in British ports. Furthermore, France canceled trade advantages it had given the United States during the

Revolution. The consequent loss of trade, especially in the West Indies, meant severe economic hardship for American shippers, merchants, farmers, fishermen, and sailors.

It was difficult to strike back economically at foreign countries. One state might place a high tariff on imports from such countries. But another state might allow such imports to come in free of duty. And the tariffs between states sometimes prevented the free flow of goods from one state to another.

Also contributing to the hard times were the heavy debts incurred by the Continental Congress and the states during the war, the worthless paper money, and the lack of enough gold and silver currency, or *hard money*. In some communities, people frenzied with hunger stormed shops. At the same time, farmers disgusted with the worthless money let their crops spoil in the fields.

**Too Much Paper Money and Too Little Hard Money Cause Some Friction, Too.** Debtors chased creditors after the American Revolution. Creditors ran away to avoid being paid. They did not want to be paid either in the Continental currency (page 85) or in the paper money that many states had issued. The printing presses had turned out so much paper money without gold or silver to back it up that the paper money had become almost worthless. Soon many businessmen would not sell goods unless they were paid in gold or silver coins. But gold and silver coins were scarce. The Government of the United States could not get enough gold or silver to mint them. Furthermore, foreign coins were rapidly leaving the country to pay for foreign imports. Yet some states chose to intensify the friction over money matters by passing laws making it illegal not to accept the paper money.

**One Conflict Between Debtors and Creditors: Shays' Rebellion.** Mobs of farmers and laborers, many of them armed, picked courthouses and prevented judges from holding court. This happened often in Massachusetts in 1786. A former captain in the American Revolution, Daniel Shays, led one such band in forcing the court at Springfield



*Shays' mob in possession of a courthouse. Conservatives called Shays' Rebellion an "unprovoked insurrection" of "wicked and ambitious men." Comment on this view. This rebellion contributed greatly to the framing of our Constitution. Explain.*

to adjourn. Then, one snowy day in 1787, he led his poorly armed followers, 2,000 strong, to the United States arsenal at Springfield to get guns. Twice they charged the well-armed militia, twice as numerous as they. A few of Shays' men were killed. The rest fled. Scattered resistance continued. But months later, Shays' Rebellion was completely crushed.

What explains Shays' Rebellion? What explains why farmers and laborers in other states also tried to prevent judges from holding court?

*The Significance of Shays' Rebellion.* Thousands of farmers were heavily in debt during the hard times that followed the

Revolution. The wages workers were paid were very low. Debtor's prisons were filled with farmers whose farms did not bring in enough to pay off their debts. The courts were ordering that farms be sold so that debts could be paid.

Debtors pointed out that they had borrowed paper money (Continental currency) during the Revolution. Then there was a lot of it in circulation. Such plentiful money was therefore *cheap money*. Cheap money would buy very little because it forced prices up. After the Revolution, there was very little money in circulation. This meant that money was dear. *Dear money* would buy much because it forced prices down. Debtors complained that it was unfair to expect them to pay back the same number of dear dollars for the cheap ones they had borrowed. In fact, it was almost impossible for them to pay their debts when they would have to sell so many more bushels of wheat to earn the same number of dollars they had borrowed during the Revolution.

These debtor-farmers demanded that the state legislatures print a large amount of paper money to help them pay their debts more easily. Some states did. The conservatives who controlled the Massachusetts legislature refused to do so. As creditors, they were opposed to the cheap money favored by debtors. Furthermore, these creditors were determined to be paid back the money they had lent in the Revolutionary cause. They therefore put through special taxes that placed a heavier burden on farmers than on the wealthier businessmen in the towns. And the courts generally sided with creditors over debtors.

To the debtors, it seemed as though they were back to where they were before the American Revolution. They protested that they were victims of "taxation without representation" and oppression by a privileged group. To the desperate men who supported Shays, their rebellion was a kind of American Revolution all over again. The aims of Shays' Rebellion were representation in the legislature for more of the people, the print-

ing of more paper money, and a tax system based upon ability to pay. Shays and leaders elsewhere wanted to close down the courts in order to prevent the foreclosure of mortgages on farms and the jailing of debtors. After Shays' Rebellion was over, Massachusetts passed some laws to relieve debtors.

## Efforts at Union in Colonial Times

A study of efforts to form some kind of union before the American Revolution will throw light on the problems of government after the Revolution. Back in early colonial days, each of the Thirteen Colonies had been fiercely independent. All had consistently refused to surrender much power to any strong central governing authority. They faced a dual problem that has troubled many peoples before and since. This was (1) how to give enough power to a central government to make it strong and yet (2) how to make sure that this central government did not have so much power that it could interfere with the rights of the states or other local areas, or with the liberties of the people. In addition, there was, as usual, the further problem of deciding whether all local areas should have an equal say in the central government, regardless of their size or population.

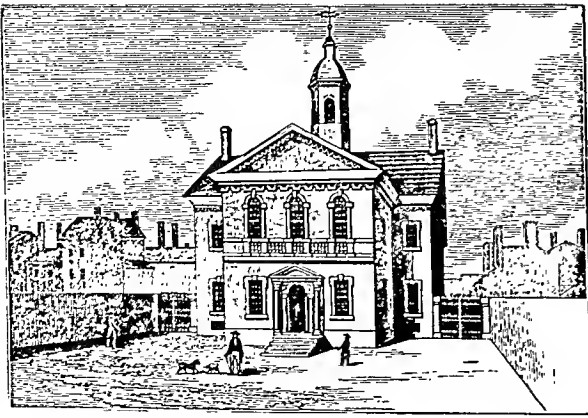
**The New England Confederation: Born of External Fear, Dies of Internal Fear.** The New England colonies had feared the Dutch in New York, the French in Canada, and the Indians all around them. Mainly for this reason, and also to settle boundary disputes, they had created, in 1643, a political union called the *New England Confederation*. Its members were Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven. The Confederation was more a "league of friendship" than a united central government. Indeed, its operation clearly illustrates the colonists' fierce spirit of independence and their fear of a strong central government. All power over local government was

retained by each colony. Each, large and small, had two votes. The power of the central government was limited because no action could be taken unless six of the eight delegates agreed. The value of this first effort at unity in the colonies, however weak, was shown in 1675. Then, the Confederation savagely suppressed a savage Indian outbreak, called *King Philip's War*. Some boundary disputes among the member colonies were also settled by the Confederation.

In 1684, the Confederation collapsed. An important reason why was the demand of the smaller colonies that Massachusetts, because of its wealth and larger population, furnish more troops than all the others combined. However, the smaller colonies insisted that Massachusetts be given no additional say in the Confederation for fear that then the Confederation would be in danger of domination by Massachusetts. Massachusetts' domineering attitude also contributed to this fear.

**The Albany Plan of Union: Also a Product of External Fear and a Victim of Internal Fear.** In 1754, the French and Indian War for control of North America had broken out between France and Britain. This was also the year in which delegates from seven of the Thirteen Colonies met at Albany with representatives of the Iroquois Indians. Their purpose was to map out a plan of unified defense against the French and their Indian allies. This Albany congress had been suggested by Britain. A *Plan of Union* had been prepared by Benjamin Franklin. His plan would have set up a fairly strong central government for the colonies. It even gave the central government power to levy taxes and raise armies.

But both the colonies and the British said "No" to the plan. The colonies were afraid that the central government would dominate them too much and place heavy tax burdens upon them. The British were afraid that the plan would give too much self-government to the colonies and might even encourage a strong movement for independence.



*Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, where the First Continental Congress agreed, in 1774, to boycott British goods. The Congress warned that colonists who failed to co-operate would be treated "as the enemies of American liberty; and henceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her."*

### **The Need for Colonial Unity Is Driven Home in the Fight For Independence from Britain**

To protest against the Intolerable Acts (page 72), the First Continental Congress met at Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia in 1774 (page 72). Even this meeting showed the unwillingness of the colonies to form a fairly strong central government. Indeed, it decided that a Second Continental Congress would meet the following year only if Britain refused to meet its demands.

After the Battles of Lexington and Concord, many more Americans realized the need for a more permanent central government to organize the resistance to Britain. The Second Continental Congress (page 75), which met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia beginning in May, 1775, acted as a central government throughout the American Revolution. It raised armies, borrowed money at home and abroad, and formed alliances with foreign countries.

Nevertheless, even at the Second Continental Congress, each state showed fear of giving up powers to the central government.

In fact, whenever a state felt like it, it refused to obey the decisions of the Congress. This attitude of defiance naturally made winning the American Revolution a difficult task. The Second Continental Congress was not even a central government in the usual legal sense. Its delegates were not chosen in a uniform manner fixed by law. It was merely a temporary government that sprang up to meet the emergency of the American Revolution. But it was this temporary government that drew up a plan for what it hoped would be a more permanent and more legal government. This plan—in a sense, our first national constitution—was called the *Articles of Confederation*. It went into effect in 1781.

### **A Weak Confederation, Rather Than a Strong Federal Government, Is Set Up**

**Why the Central Government Under the Articles of Confederation Was Kept Weak.** Did not Britain's strong central Government interfere with our freedoms when we were colonists? Might not a strong central government, even of our own creation, do so too? Might not a strong central government eventually become a monarchy? Don't strong central governments usually build up big armies and navies and tax the people heavily? These were questions many Americans were asking themselves after the Revolution. The fears they reveal help to explain why, under the Articles of Confederation, most of the real power was retained by the states.

Besides, people's loyalty to the state legislatures was strong. They remembered how vigorously the colonial assemblies, which had since become the state legislatures, had opposed the governors sent by Britain. Then, too, different customs and, sometimes, different religions made for somewhat different outlooks. Still poor—though gradually improving—means of transportation prevented most people from ever leaving their own states. Thus it was hard to get them to see the need for a strong central government for the benefit of all the states.



Some Proof of the Power of the States Under the Articles of Confederation. The Government under the Articles, far from being a strong central government, was little more than a league of states. Delegates to its Congress were more like ambassadors sent to protect the interests of the states than like congressmen in our Government today. They were appointed by the state legislatures, not elected by the people. The state legislatures paid them, not the central Government. State legislatures could call them home at any time.

**The Congress Under the Articles Has Many Powers, But Little Power.** A person reading the Articles of Confederation might think it untrue that they left the central Government weak and the states strong. He might point to such powers granted to its Congress as the power to make war and peace and treaties and alliances, the power to create an army and navy, the power to borrow money, the power to organize a postal system, and the power to settle disputes between states.

Powers, however, without the power to enforce them are of little value. Under the Articles, there was no strong Executive, such as is our President today, with power to carry out the laws passed by the Congress.<sup>1</sup> American fear of a strong executive such as the British king tried to be in the colonial period helps to explain why.

Furthermore, the central Government had no national courts to interpret its laws or to punish persons who might break its laws. Protecting property rights and guaranteeing collection of debts, among other legal matters, were, therefore, left to state courts. With no strong Executive or national courts, there was no way by which the Congress could compel the states to live up to its decisions. Although the Congress had the power to raise an army, it could not compel the states to furnish the troops for it. Although the Congress had the power to make treaties, it could not compel the states to live up to the treaties. If the states refused to

enforce the laws of the Congress, there was nothing the Congress could do about it.

**Two Especially Important Powers Lacked by the Congress.** The Congress had two strikes against it from the start. One strike was the failure to give it the power to tax. What explains this failure? Fresh in American minds were the hated British tax policies, which had helped to cause the Revolution. Without the power to tax, it was difficult for the Congress to raise money for the back pay owed the veterans of the Revolution, to run the Government, or to pay off the national debt. The Congress had the

*Plaque from the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C. How might these words of Jefferson apply to the Government under the Articles of Confederation?*



I AM NOT AN ADVOCATE FOR FREQUENT  
CHANGES IN LAWS AND CONSTITUTIONS.  
BUT LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS MUST GO  
HAND IN HAND WITH THE PROGRESS  
OF THE HUMAN MIND. AS THAT BECOMES  
MORE DEVELOPED, MORE ENLIGHTENED,  
AS NEW DISCOVERIES ARE MADE, NEW  
TRUTHS DISCOVERED AND MANNERS AND  
OPINIONS CHANGE, WITH THE CHANCE  
OF CIRCUMSTANCES, INSTITUTIONS  
MUST ADVANCE ALSO TO KEEP PACE  
WITH THE TIMES. WE MIGHT AS WELL  
REQUIRE A MAN TO WEAR STILL THE  
COAT WHICH FITTED HIM WHEN A BOY  
AS CIVILIZED SOCIETY TO REMAIN

<sup>1</sup> A committee made up of one delegate from each state served as a kind of executive body.

power to ask each state to contribute specified sums of money. But it could not compel the states to do so. Consequently, it never collected very much from them.

The second strike against the Congress was the failure to give it the power to regulate commerce among states (*interstate commerce*) or with foreign countries. What explains this failure? Fresh in American minds were the hated British trade laws, which had helped to cause the Revolution. Since the Congress had no control over interstate commerce, the states, as we have seen, sometimes placed tariffs on goods coming from other states. Thus the free flow of business from state to state was hindered.

**Passing Laws and Making Changes Are Almost Impossible Under the Articles.** The states with small populations feared that in a strong central government they would be swallowed up by the states with large populations. That is why, on their insistence, each state in the Congress, big or small, was given one vote. For any important law to be passed, nine of the thirteen states had to agree to it. Thus a few small states could block important measures that states with large populations might want. Often the Congress had to adjourn without conducting any business. This happened when delegates from some states did not show up and there were not enough delegates present to hold a meeting.

To make a change (an *amendment*) in the Articles was almost impossible since the vote of all (a *unanimous vote*) was required. This requirement made it very difficult to correct the many weaknesses in the Articles. Nor could adjustments to meet changing conditions be put through. Fear on the part of the states that a strong central government might bring about changes to weaken state power helps to explain the unanimous vote required for amendments.

In short, the states, in trying to form a union, faced problems somewhat similar to those of Britain in trying to run its empire (page 62). A major one was how to give the central Government sufficient power and yet satisfy local governments.

**The Articles of Confederation Have Some Virtues.** In spite of all their faults, the Articles of Confederation had some virtues. For one thing, the Articles kept the states united, however loosely, for eight long years (1781-1789). Because of the Articles, some Americans began to think of themselves as citizens of the nation as well as of their states. As the weaknesses of the Articles became clearer, leaders saw how they could be corrected in a stronger constitution. Many of the clauses in the Articles were even thought good enough to be used almost letter for letter in the Constitution, which replaced the Articles. And the Congress under the Articles passed certain laws that had far-reaching effects. These laws affected the settlement of the area north of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi River, west of Pennsylvania, and south and west of the Great Lakes. This area was known as the *Northwest Territory*.<sup>1</sup>

**The Land Ordinance of 1785 Sets Up a Widely Imitated Surveying Scheme for Public Lands.** Boundary disputes between property owners were common in colonial America. They were bound to occur when a man's title to his land was indicated in the records as including all the land between a particular row of trees and another row of rocks. Such landmarks were inaccurate at best. The trees might be chopped down or the rocks moved. In colonial New England, however, lands were carefully surveyed.

In 1785, the Congress worked out a scheme for the surveying and sale of lands in the Northwest Territory. This territory was divided into townships six miles square, with thirty-six equal rectangular sections in each. The Government was to sell at auction no less than a section to any purchaser at no less than \$1 per acre. Since there were 640 acres in each section, a buyer had to have at least \$640 to buy one. Few poor farmers had \$640. This meant that, as a rule, the big land com-

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<sup>1</sup> This Old Northwest Territory is not to be confused with the area of our country known as the Northwest today, which includes such states as Washington and Oregon.

panies interested in speculation got the land.

The survey features of this *Land Ordinance of 1785* had so many advantages that it was used for other territories acquired later as well. Indeed, other nations copied them. The ordinance cut boundary disputes to a minimum, for now one could tell in a glance at a map where a man's property was located. It encouraged public education, for one section in each township was set aside to be sold to provide funds for public schools. Furthermore, the Congress could thus obtain funds needed for running the Government and for paying its Revolutionary War debt.

**The Northwest Ordinance of 1787: A Blow to Imperialism, a Boon to Democracy and Nationalism.** A number of the states laid claim to huge areas in the Old Northwest. Their claims were based upon the land grants in their old colonial charters or upon their victories over certain Indian tribes. Maryland, without a claim, demanded that this Old Northwest Territory be turned over to the Government of the United States. At first, some states, with claims, resisted this demand. It is remarkable that states like Virginia, with strong claims, finally yielded them in the interests of the nation. In doing so, Virginia insisted that the new states to be created out of the territory have the same "rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other states."

Nations and empires in the past, upon gaining new territories, had governed them as colonies and their people as subjects. But the Congress under the Articles of Confederation broke with this tradition in a law known as the *Northwest Ordinance of 1787*. Under the Ordinance, at first, the Northwest Territory was governed by a governor and a few other administrative officials appointed by the Congress. When its free male adult population reached 5,000, the territory was allowed to elect a legislature.

Democracy was advanced by the Northwest Ordinance in a number of other ways. Slavery and unfair treatment of Indians were prohibited. Provision was made for public education. Trial by jury and religious free-



dom were guaranteed to all. When the population of the territory reached 60,000, a state constitution might be drafted and application made for admission to the United States as a state. No fewer than three nor more than five states were to be made out of the area; all would have the rights and privileges of the original thirteen states. Moreover, the principles of the Northwest Ordinance were followed by the United States in admitting other states to the Union as the United States expanded across the continent.

Thus the Northwest Ordinance was not only a boon to democracy but a blow to imperialism. Especially in recent years, world-wide empires have borrowed its principles of granting gradual self-government to dependencies. The Northwest Ordinance is also evidence that a spirit of nationalism was slowly developing. In giving up their claims to the territory, the states were sacrificing their local interests to the national interest. They might well have said in effect: We laid the foundations of the United States in the New World. We had all the heartaches of fighting the Revolution. Why should the new states to be carved out of the Northwest Territory enjoy

the same rights and privileges as we older states?

The Northwest Ordinance was a recognition of the principle that all territories acquired should be developed by the national Government, rather than by any state. The national Government was to control the waterways in the territories. Frontiersmen and farmers there were henceforth to regard the national Government as their protector, rather than any one state. In turn, such settlers were required by the Northwest Ordinance to pay taxes to support the national Government.

In many ways, therefore, the provisions for the governing of the Western territories were more democratic and more nationalistic than the governments of the states along the Eastern seaboard. As we shall see, much of America's democratic progress came out of the West. All in all, the Northwest Ordinance was the most important achievement of the Congress under the Articles of Confederation.

**How Serious Was the Situation of the Nation Under the Articles of Confederation?** When the Articles went into effect in 1781, the nation faced serious problems, as we know. But, by late 1786, business was on the upswing. New markets in China and Russia were opening up. Old markets in many countries of continental Europe and in the French West Indies were slowly being regained. Actually, there was more interstate trade than was formerly supposed; for, in general, state-tariffs were directed against foreign nations rather than against fellow states. By 1789, prices had risen to a fairly normal level and prosperity was on the horizon. Many new businesses were being started. New areas of the West were being settled. After Shays' Rebellion, practically every American felt that the way to win reforms was through ballots, not bullets. Furthermore, there was probably more co-operation than friction among the states in settling disputes over boundaries and the navigation of rivers.

Although things were improving, serious problems remained. To solve such serious problems, some Americans recommended that

the Articles be revised to create a strong central government. What were these serious problems? Who were the men who met to revise the Articles? Why did they decide to write a new constitution instead? What should we know about this new Constitution?

## **The Constitution Fuses Idealism, Practicality, a Spirit of Compromise**

Day after day, from May to September, 1787, men stood guard outside the doors of Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Inside were many of the outstanding leaders of early America. Throughout the thirteen states, people were asking the same questions: What's happening behind those closed doors? Will the United States become a monarchy? Will Washington be king? Will the United States be abolished and will each state from now on govern itself?

This meeting at Independence Hall had been called because of the failure of two earlier meetings<sup>1</sup> held to consider ways of strengthening the central Government. Some of the problems that remained unsolved after these earlier meetings included: How can the central Government be strengthened so as to command the respect of Britain, Spain, and France? What can be done to hurdle the obstacles to better trade with foreign nations and among the states? What can be done to encourage native manufactures? How can the rights of property owners and creditors be better protected? How can a more effective defense against Indians be created, so as to speed up settlement of the West? How can transportation between the Eastern states and the West be improved? How can states' quarrels over the navigation of rivers flowing between states be ended forever? How can the central Government be given sufficient power, without running the risk of its becoming tyrannical toward the states?

The men who met at Philadelphia were in-

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<sup>1</sup> One at Mount Vernon in 1785 and the other at Annapolis in 1786.

structed by their states merely to revise the Articles of Confederation. But most of them soon agreed that patching up the Articles would not do. They decided to write an entirely new constitution. That is why the Philadelphia meeting became known as the *Constitutional Convention*. The men who framed the new Constitution there are called the *Founding Fathers*.

**Why the Constitutional Convention Kept Its Proceedings Secret.** The Philadelphia proceedings were conducted in secrecy—for several reasons. If the states had known that the delegates were drawing up a new constitution, instead of merely revising the Articles, they might have called the delegates home. Another fear was that if meetings were open to the public, some delegates might be pressured by bold groups into voting against their better judgment on various questions. It was also thought wiser to have the people see the Constitution as a whole, when completed. Otherwise, various groups might raise so many objections to particular points that the Constitution might never get written.

As it was, debate within the Convention was so fierce that, at times, it looked as though there would never be a completed Constitution. In fact, some delegates, when things didn't go their way, walked out and went home. Of the fifty-five delegates who were present at one time or another, only thirty-nine remained to sign the completed document.

**A Glance at the Men Who Created the Constitution.** If the proceedings were so secret, how do we know so much about what went on at the Constitutional Convention? Mainly through James Madison, thirty-six-year-old delegate from Virginia, who "chose a seat in front of the presiding member" and took careful notes of all that went on. Later the conscientious Madison recalled proudly: "I was not absent a single day." Five years after his death in 1841, Madison's notes were published. The scholarly Virginian contributed so much to the making of the Constitution and to its adoption by the states that he is called the "father of the Constitution."

Tired and sick, George Washington, military hero of the Revolution, had hoped to remain retired on his plantation at Mount Vernon. But alarmed at the weakness of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, he reluctantly became a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. Immediately, he was elected its presiding officer. Washington's presence as a delegate made many persons throughout the states less suspicious of the Constitutional Convention. Indeed, some individuals had proposed that Washington be made a king, backed by a strong army. Angry, Washington had blasted this proposal in strong language.

If it hadn't been for Benjamin Franklin, now eighty-one, there might have been much greater friction at the Convention. It was Franklin who repeatedly persuaded hot-tempered men to cool off and compromise. Franklin felt that the men at the Convention had a kind of world mission. He warned that, if a Constitution were not written there,

. . . mankind may hereafter . . . despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

Alexander Hamilton, delegate from New York, had great admiration for the aristocratic British House of Lords. He wanted the United States to become an aristocratic republic, with its President and senators chosen for life terms. Such ideas did not carry much weight with other delegates.

Far less known to Americans today, but far more influential than Hamilton at the Constitutional Convention, was James Wilson of Pennsylvania. *Our Constitution might not* be the remarkable document that it is had it not been for this brilliant scholar's knowledge of history and government.

Certain Americans, well-known now as then, were absent from the Convention. Patrick Henry refused to attend. He feared the Convention would devise a strong central government that would interfere with the rights of the states and of the people. Samuel Adams was not elected a delegate. Thomas

## Early Efforts at Union Culminate in the Constitution

1643 • New England Confederation formed

1684 • New England Confederation collapses

1754 • Albany Plan of Union proposed

1765 • Stamp Act Congress

1772 • Committees of Correspondence

1774 • First Continental Congress

1775 • Second Continental Congress

1781 • Articles of Confederation become law of the land

1785 • Meeting at Mount Vernon

1786 • Annapolis Convention

1787 • Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia

1788 • Constitution ratified

alarmed that trade treaties harmful to their business might be made with foreign countries. In view of the North's larger representation in the House, the South did not want the House—or even the entire Congress—to have the power to ratify (approve) treaties. To satisfy the South, it was agreed that the Senate, by a two-thirds vote, would have this treaty-ratifying power. Thus in the Senate, where the South's representation was fairly equal to that of the North, a small number of states could prevent the ratification of any treaty. To satisfy the North, it was agreed that a simple majority vote of the Congress would be sufficient to pass laws regulating commerce.

**Northern Merchants and Southern Planters Compromise on Counting Slaves for Representation and Direct Taxation.** It was agreed at the Convention that if the national Government should levy direct taxes,<sup>1</sup> these would be in proportion to the population of the states. The Southern states did not want their Negro slaves counted among the population for such taxation purposes since this would mean increased taxation. However, they did want their Negro slaves counted among the population for representation in the House of Representatives since this would give them increased representation there. Naturally, the North favored the reverse of this procedure.

The question was settled when it was agreed that five Negro slaves would be counted as three free whites for purposes of both representation and direct taxation. Thus, suppose it was agreed that an area having 30,000 people would be entitled to one representative in the House of Representatives. Then, if its population consisted of 30,000 whites and 50,000 Negro slaves, this area would be entitled to two representatives. This

<sup>1</sup> A tax that can be easily shifted from the person taxed to someone else is called an *indirect tax*. For example, manufacturers of cigarettes pass on the tax they pay on cigarettes to whoever buys their cigarettes, by raising the price. A tax such as an income tax is called a *direct tax* because it cannot be shifted easily to someone else.

Jefferson was United States minister to France at the time. John Adams, United States minister to Britain, was also absent.

**Some General Beliefs of the Men Who Created the Constitution.** For the most part, delegates to the Convention were learned men with wide experience in war and peace. Some had been officers in the Revolution. Some had signed the Declaration of Independence. Some had been delegates to the Stamp Act Congress and to the Continental Congress. Some had been judges or governors. Most were well-to-do merchants, planters, lawyers, shipbuilders, or small-scale manufacturers. There were no small farmers, laborers, or backwoodsmen among them.

Many delegates greatly feared what one of them called "the excess of democracy." They were convinced that giving a strong voice in the Government to the masses of the people would be dangerous. They blamed such incidents as Shays' Rebellion on what they called "mob rule."

Yet many of them realized that rule by a minority, whether they be merchants, planters, or any other group, could be dangerous, too. Frightened especially by the possible tyranny of the majority, but also aware of the threat of tyranny by the minority, they introduced many safeguards and checks into the Constitution. They hoped thereby to prevent any group from gaining too much power over the Government.

The Founding Fathers found that they had to compromise on many questions. For this reason, the Constitution has been called "a bundle of compromises." This description would lead one to believe that the delegates disagreed on practically everything. However, if they had not agreed on certain basic aims, they would not have been willing to compromise their differences.

As we have just seen, the delegates agreed on scrapping the Articles of Confederation. Most of them agreed further that a strong central government should be set up to which the states would have to surrender many of their powers. Most agreed, too, that the central Government should have the au-

thority to force the states to obey its laws, if necessary. However, they also agreed that the states should be permitted to retain other powers. As to which powers should be exercised by the central Government, there was general agreement that it should have the power to tax, to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, and to create an army and navy for defense of the nation.

All agreed on protection of the individual's rights, especially his property rights. Thus they agreed, for example, that debts incurred under the Articles of Confederation should be paid and that creditors should be protected against the issuance of large amounts of cheap paper money.

**The Large and Small States Finally Agree on a Great Compromise.** The big worry of the states with small populations was always that, in any union, they would be dominated by the states with large populations. This had been true of all the earlier attempts at union, from the New England Confederation on. It was also true at the Constitutional Convention. When Virginia, a large state, proposed a plan of union drawn up mainly by Madison, the small states strongly opposed it.

The *Virginia plan* called for the creation of a strong central government, consisting of three separate departments or branches: a legislative, an executive, and a judiciary. The voters would elect the lower house of the legislature. The lower house would elect the upper house. And both houses would elect the executive and judiciary. Since representation in the legislature would be based upon population, the large states would always have more to say in this Government than the small states. Since the root of the other branches was the voter-elected lower house, some feared a tyranny of the majority.

After two weeks of bitter debate, the small states, led by New Jersey, countered with their plan. The *New Jersey plan* accepted the idea that there should be three separate departments in the central Government. But all states, large and small, would have only one vote in a one-house legislature. More

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settlement, commonly called the *three-fifths compromise*, was automatically canceled in 1865. But while it remained in effect, the South gained by it. While direct taxes were levied by the Congress only rarely, the South succeeded in obtaining increased representation.

**Some Observations on the Work of the Founding Fathers.** After these and other compromises<sup>1</sup> were agreed upon, Gouverneur Morris polished the language of the completed Constitution. Few documents in all history have been expressed as clearly and concisely.

Three rather revolutionary steps were taken by the Founding Fathers at the Constitutional Convention. First, they wrote a new constitution instead of revising the Articles, as instructed by their states. Second, they agreed that, as soon as nine of the thirteen states ratified this Constitution, it would become the law of the land. Thus they ignored the provision in the Articles stating that changes in the Articles would be legal only if all thirteen states agreed. And third, they submitted the Constitution to state conventions for ratification. The Articles stated that state legislatures must approve changes in the Government. But the Founding Fathers felt that it would be easier to get state conventions, rather than state legislatures, to ratify the Constitution. The state legislatures might resent having their instructions to their delegates ignored.

The completed Constitution failed to satisfy all the delegates in all respects. Some even feared that it would set up a central government so strong as to threaten the rights of the states and the people. But most agreed that, considering all the problems involved, the Constitution was as good as any reasonable man could expect. The future was to prove that the Founding Fathers had produced a document far more remarkable and significant than any one of them dreamed it would be.

**The Constitution is Ratified Unanimously in Some States, But Is Nearly Rejected in Others.** Heated debates, vicious name-calling, even fist fights broke out in some states over the question of ratifying the Constitution. But apparently most people were more interested in other matters: seventy-five per cent of those eligible to vote for delegates to state conventions to ratify the Constitution didn't even bother to do so. The minority, which was intensely interested, was divided into two groups, called *Federalists* and *Anti-Federalists*.

The Federalists favored ratification. They included creditors in general and many wealthy businessmen and planters. Such influential leaders as Washington, Madison, and Hamilton were Federalists. Federalists had strong influence over public opinion because most clergymen, newspapermen, writers, and lawyers were also on their side.

The Anti-Federalists opposed ratification. They included many small farmers, debtors, and unskilled workers. However, not everyone who was an Anti-Federalist was a debtor, just as not all Federalists were creditors. Furthermore, there were men of wealth and high political position among the Anti-Federalists, too.

**Some Arguments of Anti-Federalists Against Ratification.** "These lawyers, and men of learning and moneyed men, that talk so finely, . . . to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, . . . expect to be managers of this Constitution, and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow up all us little folks . . . just as the whale swallowed up Jonah."

These sentiments of a farmer in the Massachusetts convention reflect the views of many of the opponents of ratification. In effect, many Anti-Federalists asked such questions as these: Why does not the Constitution state, as the Declaration of Independence does, that all men are created equal and have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? Why is there not a bill of rights in this national Constitution, as there are bills of

<sup>1</sup> One other compromise was on the method of electing the President (page 145).

17. Give specific evidence that the period under the Articles of Confederation was not too critical.
  18. Concerning the Constitutional Convention, tell (a) reasons why its meetings were secret and (b) the roles of (1) James Madison, (2) Benjamin Franklin, (3) Alexander Hamilton, (4) George Washington, and (5) James Wilson.
  19. Why were (a) Patrick Henry, (b) Samuel Adams, (c) Thomas Jefferson, and (d) John Adams absent from the Constitutional Convention?
  20. What were some of the fears felt by the Founding Fathers at the Convention?
  21. Which occupations (a) were and (b) were not represented at the Constitutional Convention?
  22. On what basic questions did most delegates agree?
  23. Show specifically how the Great Compromise compromised the differences between the Virginia and New Jersey plans.
  24. How did (a) Northern merchants and (b) Southern planters both gain by the compromises in the Constitution?
  25. How did the North and South (a) disagree on counting Negro slaves for representation and direct taxation, and (b) come to terms on this issue?
  26. Mention the three rather revolutionary steps taken by the Founding Fathers.
  27. How did the Federalists differ from the Anti-Federalists?
  28. For what reasons were the Anti-Federalists so fearful of the new Constitution?
  29. Prove that the Federalists appealed to both (a) reason and (b) emotion to get the Constitution ratified.
  30. Express in your own words the age-old problem of governments that the Constitutional Convention seemed to have solved.
- young nation to command respect from older nations?
  2. The conduct toward the infant United States, immediately after the Revolution, of (a) Britain and (b) Spain was shameful. To what extent do you agree? Give reasons.
  3. Which basic problem facing the new United States do you consider was most serious? For what reasons?
  4. What lessons for governments are there in Shays' Rebellion?
  5. What could have been done to make the New England Confederation or the Albany Plan of Union stronger? What objections would probably have been raised against your suggestions?
  6. What do you consider the main weakness of the Second Continental Congress as a government? For what reasons?
  7. *Political, economic, and social fears* explain why, under the Articles of Confederation, most of the real power was retained by the states. Prove the truth of this statement in terms of each italicized word.
  8. What do you consider the most important power that Congress lacked under the Articles? Explain why you think so.
  9. A minority in the Congress under the Articles had great power. Prove.
  10. Prove that "the states, in trying to form a union, faced problems somewhat similar to those of Britain, in trying to run its empire."
  11. Show from your knowledge of recent world history that the principles of the Northwest Ordinance have been used by empires in granting self-government to dependencies.
  12. What would you say was the most important problem facing the framers of the Constitution? Justify your choice.
  13. Which do you consider the best reason for holding the meetings of the Constitutional Convention in secret? Give reasons.
  14. To what extent would the reasons mentioned for holding the meetings of the

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. For what reasons is it difficult for any

Constitutional Convention in secret apply to holding international conferences in secret today?

- 15 Do you feel that the delegates who feared "the excess of democracy" were justified in their fears? Explain
- 16 To what extent is the description of the Constitution as "a bundle of compromises" (a) accurate and (b) inaccurate?
17. Considering the groups represented at the Constitutional Convention, one could practically have predicted what they would agree upon. To what extent do you agree?
- 18 What arguments could be given (a) in favor of and (b) against the Virginia plan?
19. To what extent were (a) the Great Compromise and (b) the compromise on commerce wise?
- 20 Would it be better for us today if the Founding Fathers had provided for a majority vote, rather than a two-thirds vote, for ratification of treaties? Explain.
21. Do you believe that the Founding Fathers were justified in taking those three rather revolutionary steps? Justify your answer.
22. If you had been a Federalist supporting ratification of the Constitution, how would you have answered the various objections raised by the Anti-Federalists?
23. In working to achieve ratification of the Constitution, the Federalists should have appealed only to reason, and not to emotion. Explain whether or not you agree.

★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

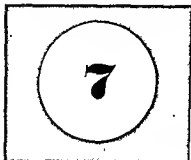
1. You believe that a movie should be produced about the Constitutional Convention. List the arguments that you would present to a movie producer to convince him that such a play would have (a) suspense, (b) controversy, and (c) great significance.
2. Make a cartoon on (a) Shays' Rebellion,

(b) the charges and countercharges hurled by Britain and the United States against each other in the infancy of our nation, (c) a boundary or tariff dispute between two states under the Articles of Confederation, (d) the fear of a European nation that the United States might spread democratic ideas elsewhere, or (e) an argument at the Constitutional Convention.

3. Compose a newspaper editorial (a) urging adoption of certain principles in the Northwest Ordinance for all thirteen states, (b) supporting the New Jersey plan, or (c) opposing the three-fifths compromise.
4. Investigate as research projects (a) King Philip's War as a possible theme for a novel, (b) the aims and reasons for failure of either the Mount Vernon meeting of 1755 or the Annapolis Convention of 1786, (c) whether the Articles of Confederation were really as weak as has been commonly thought, (d) whether the Founding Fathers wanted to establish a republic rather than a democracy, or (e) how the views of Luther Martin differed from those of other Founding Fathers.
- 5 After further investigation, make a list of questions that you would like to have asked, at the time of the Constitutional Convention, of (a) Alexander Hamilton, (b) James Wilson, (c) John Rutledge, (d) Elbridge Gerry, (e) Benjamin Franklin, or (f) Patrick Henry.
6. Find out and report on (a) the gist of the arguments presented by Charles A. Beard in his *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* and (b) the criticisms that have been made of these arguments in recent years
7. Debate: Resolved that (a) with a few changes, the Articles of Confederation would have worked, (b) the large states got the better of the bargain at the Constitutional Convention, (c) the North got the better of the bargain at the Constitutional Convention, or (d) rati-

- fication of the Constitution should have been by direct vote of all the voters.
8. Read and report on any document in Part II ("The Constitution") of *Great Issues in American History*, Vol. I, edited by R. Hofstadter.
  9. On an outline map of the United States, indicate (a) the original thirteen states, (b) the territory acquired in the Treaty of 1783, highlighting the Northwest Territory, (c) the sites of the Mount Vernon meeting of 1785, the Annapolis Convention of 1786, and the Constitutional Convention of 1787, (d) the states included in the New England Confederation, (e) the Mississippi River, and (f) New Orleans.
  10. Make a chart for the bulletin board, summing up, in Column I, Problems Faced by the Constitutional Convention, in Column II, Attitudes of Different Groups on Each of These Problems, and in Column III, How the Problems Were Compromised.
  11. Write an essay entitled (a) "If Spain Had Been Able to Close the Mississippi Permanently to Western Farmers," (b) "If Shays' Rebellion Had Succeeded," (c) "If the Northwest Territory and Later Territories Acquired Had Been Treated as Colonies Not Eligible for Statehood," or (d) "If the Constitutional Convention Had Failed."
  12. Make (a) a diagram illustrating the Land Ordinance of 1785 with respect to one township or (b) a chart classifying the problems under the Articles of Confederation under the headings *Domestic* and *Foreign*.
  13. In committee, work out a mock Constitutional Convention of 1787 for presentation as an assembly program.
  14. In committee, examine the source books recommended on page xv. Compile a list of the most interesting selections on the material in this chapter for distribution to the rest of the class.
  15. European nations today are trying to form a kind of United States of Europe. In committee, investigate to find out what problems they are facing that are similar to those faced by the original thirteen states in trying to form a more perfect union.

## CHAPTER



### *The Constitution Makes Possible Powerful Government, With Liberty Protected*

#### **Our Federal System: National Government Strong, States Not Weak**

• Delegated Powers, Elastic Clause, 'General Welfare' Clause, and Powers Denied States Help Make the National Legislature Powerful • Reserved Powers and Curbs on the National Government Help Prove That the States Are Not Weak

#### **Federal Power Is Held in Check by the Constitution**

• The President's Great Powers as an Executive, Over Foreign Policy, and, in a Sense, as a Lawmaker and Judge, Too • What Happens If the President Is Disabled • Judicial Review Is Proof of the Supreme Court's Power • Separation of Powers, and Checks and Balances Are Safeguards • Two Bills of Rights, One Nameless and One So-Named, Safeguard Human and Property Rights

#### **We Have an Unwritten Constitution, Too**

• How a Bill Becomes a Law and How the President Is Elected, According to the Constitution • Factors Affecting These Procedures Not Mentioned in the Constitution • Some Criticisms of, and Some Arguments for, the Electoral System • How the Constitution Is Amended—According to the Constitution and in Other Ways • The Constitution Is Rooted in European and American Thought and Experience

#### **Our Federal System: National Government Strong, Yet States Not Weak**

Under the Constitution,<sup>1</sup> the national

Government was given all the powers it had under the Articles of Confederation. But it was also given additional powers and the power to enforce its powers. Another way by which the Constitution made the national Government strong was by forbidding certain powers to the states.

Yet the states were not left weak. As we shall soon see, the states have some powers

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the Constitution and an annotation, see the Appendix.

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that are listed in the Constitution and hundreds of powers not listed there. By granting certain specific powers to the national Government and permitting the states to exercise others, our Constitution practices a principle called *division of powers*. The Government under the Articles had been a *confederation*, with the states strong and the central Government weak. But under the Constitution, ours is a *federal system*: the national Government is strong, yet the states are not weak. Under our federal system, the national Government, often called the *Federal* Government, handles problems that affect all the people of our country; the state governments handle problems that affect the local communities of which the states are composed.

What are the main branches of our national Government? One is a two-house (bicameral<sup>1</sup>) Congress with great lawmaking powers. A second is an executive branch to carry out the laws. This branch is headed by a President with great powers. And the third branch, the judiciary, is composed of courts with great power to interpret the Constitution and to try cases under it. Under the Articles of Confederation, on the other hand, the Congress had been weak, there had been no President, and no system of national courts had existed.

No state or city or town may pass a law that is contrary to the Federal Constitution; for the Constitution specifically states that it is the *supreme law of the land*. Every state official is required to pledge his support of the Constitution. Any individual who violates the Constitution, or laws passed under it, is subject to punishment by Federal courts. According to the Constitution, the Congress may even, if other means fail, call out the state militias to see to it that Federal laws are obeyed.

**Delegated Powers Help to Make the National Legislature (Congress) Powerful. Sup-**

pose a person had never read the Constitution but was familiar with the weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation. He could then practically predict many of the powers that would be specifically granted to the Congress in the Constitution. For example, he could predict that the Congress would be given the power to raise and support an army, instead of having to beg the states for soldiers. He could also predict that it would be given power to levy and collect taxes, instead of having to beg the states to grant it money. Obviously, too, it would be given the sole power to regulate commerce among the states and with foreign nations, as well as the power to issue paper money and fix its value.

Just as it was natural for the Founding Fathers to remedy the weaknesses in the Articles, so it was natural for them to retain their strong points. Thus the Congress was specifically granted such powers as the power to make war and peace, to make treaties and alliances, to borrow money, and to provide the country with a postal system.

Why are the powers specifically granted to the Congress called *delegated powers*? Because they were delegated (given) to the Congress by the states.

Why are the delegated powers sometimes called *limited powers*? Because the states wanted to limit the central Government to certain specific powers only. They were still fearful of a strong central government.

Why are the delegated or limited powers sometimes called *enumerated powers*? Because they are specified, one by one, in a list. (See Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution.)

**Many Powers Hidden in the Elastic Clause Help to Make the National Legislature Powerful.** Telegraph and telephone, radio and television, railroads and airplanes were unknown when the Constitution was framed. Yet the framers of the Constitution, in a sense, gave the Congress the power to regulate them. How is this possible? The framers realized that times change and that the limited powers delegated to the Congress

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<sup>1</sup> Except for Nebraska, each of the state governments also has a bicameral legislature.



might not enable it to deal with new problems. So they delegated to the Congress a general power that enables it to stretch the powers it has in order to deal with new problems. This general power is expressed as follows:

The Congress shall have power . . . to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

***Stretching the Delegated Powers Through the Elastic Clause.*** Here is how this "necessary and proper" clause is used to give the Congress many powers not specifically listed in Article I, Section 8. As we know, the Congress has the right to regulate interstate commerce. The operations of telegraph and telephone companies, of radio and television stations, and of railroad and airplane companies usually cover many states. The Congress, therefore, passes laws regulating these operations, on the grounds that this is necessary and proper in order to carry out its power to regulate interstate commerce. Using the same reasoning, the Congress has passed laws regulating the sale of stocks and bonds, to prevent fraud, and of food and drugs, to safeguard health.

There is nothing in the Constitution that gives the Congress the specific power to establish a Federal banking system. But among its delegated powers are the powers to tax and borrow money. Therefore, the Congress has, from time to time, established Federal banking systems, considering these necessary and proper to carry out its powers to tax and borrow money.

As time passed, the Congress used the "necessary and proper" clause so much to stretch its delegated powers that the clause became known as the *elastic clause*. Since the Congress has used this clause to *imply* that it has many powers besides the delegated ones, the clause also is often called the *implied powers clause*. For example, from its

power to provide a postal system, the Congress has felt that it also has the implied power to censor books, magazines, and newspapers going through the mail. From its power to regulate foreign commerce, it has felt that it also has the power to control immigration.

***The Attitude of the 'In's' and 'Out's' on the Elastic Clause.*** A political party with a majority in the Congress tends to favor stretching many of the delegated powers by using the elastic clause. Thus it would have great power to pass the laws it wants. Obviously then, the party in control of the Congress usually supports a stretched or *loose interpretation of the Constitution*. A political party with a minority in the Congress tends to oppose this use of the elastic clause to stretch many of the delegated powers. In short, it usually supports a *strict interpretation of the Constitution*. Interestingly enough, when the *in's* are ousted from control and the *out's* take over, they usually reverse their respective interpretations of the Constitution.

Individuals or groups who favor a strict interpretation of the Constitution are said to be supporters of *states' rights*. This is because they do not want the Federal Government to interpret the Constitution so loosely as to increase its power at the expense of the states. Individuals or groups who favor a loose interpretation are said to be supporters of a strong Federal, or national, Government. For many years now, supporters of a loose interpretation have been winning out. This trend is due to the fact that there are very few problems in our complicated life today that are specifically problems of one state and not of the entire country. Furthermore, the many problems of modern life are very difficult to handle and very expensive to solve. And so, the Federal Government, frequently making use of the elastic clause, steps in to handle them.

***Many Powers Hidden in the 'General Welfare' Clause Help to Make the National Legislature Powerful.*** Another general clause in the Constitution states that the Congress

has the power to tax the people and provide money for "the general welfare of the United States." This clause, too, has been interpreted quite broadly to give the Congress great power.

Might not the elastic and general-welfare clauses be dangerous? Might not the Congress so stretch its delegated powers or so broaden its interpretation of the general-welfare clause as to create a dictatorship? No, there are definite curbs on the powers of the Congress. Furthermore, the Constitution was so framed as to prevent not only the Congress but also the executive and judicial branches from becoming dictatorial. We shall soon see how this was done.

**Congressional Immunity Gives Great Power to the Members of the National Legislature.** No one may sue a congressman for something he says, no matter what it is, so long as he says it in the Congress. This provision was included in the Constitution to encourage congressmen to express their opinions freely. Generally, congressmen have not taken unfair advantage of this so-called *Congressional immunity*. It is important that they do not, for an untrue statement by a congressman might do lifetime harm to an individual's reputation or to his career. This is especially true today, when what a congressman says may reach a nation-wide audience.

**The Powers Denied the States Help to Make the National Legislature Powerful.** Because of certain actions of certain state legislatures, creditors had suffered under the Articles of Confederation (page 109). Such states had issued cheap paper money. Debtors had used this cheap money to pay creditors from whom they had borrowed dear money. Such states had also passed laws so altering contracts that debtors were favored over creditors. And various states had coined their own money. This made it difficult for people engaged in interstate business. Often they did not know the value of the coins of one state in terms of the value of coins in another state.

All this helps to explain why, in the Con-

stitution, the states were forbidden to issue paper money, to alter contracts in any way, or to coin money. The states were forbidden to do certain other things, too. Such "don'ts" include taxing imports or exports without the consent of the Congress and making treaties and alliances. An important reason for thus denying certain powers to the states was to remove any doubt in the minds of state legislatures that the national legislature was supreme in certain matters. Another reason was to prevent conflict between the Federal Government and state governments.

**Reserved Powers Prove That the State Legislatures Are Not Weak.** The many powers of the states are not listed in the Constitution. What are these powers? In general, the states possess legislative powers pertaining to education, voting, marriage, divorce, control of commerce within a state (*intrastate commerce*), and incorporation of businesses. Since city and county governments are agencies of the states, the states have ultimate power over these, too.

How did the states get these powers if they are not listed in the Constitution? It was generally agreed by the Founding Fathers that all powers not delegated to the Congress belonged to the states. But the states still feared an overly powerful national Government. Therefore, in 1791, an addition (*Amendment X*) was made to the Constitution. It stated:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

To illustrate, regulation of education or voting is not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the states. Therefore, regulating education and determining who may vote are powers reserved to the states. Such powers are called *reserved powers*. Because they are left over after the delegated powers have been enumerated, they are also called *residual powers*.

States have the right to pass laws for the protection of the public health, safety, and

welfare. Such powers are called the *police powers* of the state, county, or city governments. The rules enforced by policemen, firemen, housing and factory inspectors, and the Department of Health, as well as the licensing of dogs, peddlers, and even physicians, are examples. The exercise of police powers may sometimes involve interfering with the personal freedom or private property of an individual. This is justified on the grounds that no individual may so use his freedom or property as to cause harm to the welfare of the many.

**Further Proof That the States Are Not Weak.** Just as the *Constitution* denies certain powers to the state governments, it also denies certain powers to the national or Federal Government. For example, the Federal Government is forbidden to favor the ports of one state over those of another. It may not tax the exports of any state. And, as we shall see, just as the states are forbidden to interfere with certain rights of the people, so too is the Federal Government. As we shall see also, the Constitution cannot be formally amended without the consent of three-fourths of the states.

Moreover, the states also have certain powers in common with the Federal Government. Such powers are called *concurrent powers*. Both the states and the Federal Government may tax and both may build roads and canals, for example.

A change in the Constitution, *Amendment XI*, gives the states added protection. Summed up, it states that the Federal courts may not be used by a citizen of another state or of a foreign country to sue a state.

Suppose a criminal should escape from one state to another. The *Constitution* requires that the governor of the state to which he has fled return him to the state from which he has fled, on the request of its governor. This requirement is called *extradition*. However, in practice, a governor sometimes ignores this requirement. And Federal courts have upheld the right of governors to do so.

If a person gets married or is issued a deed in one state, that marriage or deed must be

recognized in all the other states. For the *Constitution* states:

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State.

The Constitution guarantees every state a republican form of government and protection against invasion. At the request of the state legislature or, if it is not in session, the governor, protection is also guaranteed against uprisings within the state.<sup>1</sup>

All this proves that, under our federal system, the states are far from puppets. In fact, for many years, most citizens of the United States felt the influence of their state and local governments much more than the influence of their Federal Government. However, in the twentieth century, as we shall see, the Federal Government has reached out into many fields formerly considered to be the exclusive concern of the states. Life has become so complicated that no one state can handle, entirely on its own, such problems as health, education, and welfare. In fact, a special department in the Federal Government was set up in 1953 to deal with such problems.

### **Powers Granted to the President Make Him Powerful**

Today when a President of the United States makes an important address, it is carried over almost all radio stations and television channels in the nation. All over the world, statesmen and many private citizens are vitally interested in what he says. People everywhere search the speech for clues to changes in American foreign policy. People at home search the speech for clues to his recommendations for changes in domestic policy as well. Without a doubt, the *President of the United States is the most*

<sup>1</sup> The Founding Fathers wanted the Federal Government to have the right to suppress such uprisings as Shays' Rebellion.

powerful elected official in the entire world.

The President and the Vice-President are the only officials in the United States who are elected by voters in all the states. Thus, when the President speaks, he speaks for the entire nation—the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world. In making decisions, he consults with many advisers. What he decides may affect the welfare of millions of people around the world. No matter how much advice he gets, it is he who finally has to make the decision. Of this overwhelming responsibility, one President, Harry S. Truman, wrote:

Even those closest to him, even members of his immediate family, never know all the reasons why he does certain things and why he comes to certain conclusions. To be President of the United States is to be lonely, very lonely at times of great decisions.<sup>1</sup>

Presidents have disagreed not upon the specific powers granted them in the Constitution but upon how far they could stretch these powers. Some Presidents have believed that they, like the Congress, have implied powers. One such President, Theodore Roosevelt, felt that the President was

bound actively and affirmatively to do all he could for the people and not to content himself with the negative merit of keeping his talents undamaged in a napkin.<sup>2</sup>

#### **What Executive Powers the President Has.**

The best laws in the world, if they are not enforced, are not worth the paper they are written on. Laws not enforced encourage lawbreaking. The primary duty of the President of the United States is to execute (carry out) faithfully the Constitution and the laws passed by the Congress. In peace and in war,

the President is Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the United States. He has similar authority over the militia of each state when it is called into the service of the United States.

In a sense, the United States Government is the biggest business corporation in the world. Its shareholders, the people of the United States, expect its Chief Executive, the President, to run it efficiently. In running it, he has the constitutional power to appoint “ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States. . . .” The President’s principal advisers and assistants are the heads of the ten important Federal departments. This group is called the *Cabinet*.<sup>1</sup>

Although Cabinet members and many others in Federal service are appointed, most jobs in the Federal Government today are obtained through passing an examination. This is the application of the *merit system* to the Federal civil service (page 530). Administration of the Federal Government has become so complicated that the Congress has created special commissions to do special work. For example, there is an Interstate Commerce Commission (page 488) and a Federal Trade Commission (page 616). Each time new commissions are created, the President’s power is increased since it is he who appoints the members of such commissions. These appointments, however, like all other presidential appointments, must be approved by a majority vote of the Senate.

**The President Molds Our Foreign Policy.** Whether we have good or bad relations with other nations depends more upon the President than upon any other American. Not only does he appoint ambassadors, ministers, and consuls but it is he who receives or refuses to receive ambassadors from foreign countries. By exchanging ambassadors with a country, he indicates our recognition of the country. A policy of nonrecognition is indi-

<sup>1</sup> From *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman*, Vol. 1: *Year of Decisions*. © by Time, Inc. Published by Doubleday.

<sup>2</sup> From *The Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt*. Reprinted by permission of the Theodore Roosevelt Association.

<sup>1</sup> See chart on page 149 for the ten Cabinet positions.

cated by the President's refusal to agree to such an exchange. In foreign affairs, his is the voice of the American people. Through his messages to foreign countries, or through the views expressed by his secretary of state, he indicates how we as a nation feel about certain foreign problems. Every man, woman, and child in the United States may be intimately affected by the treaties the President negotiates with foreign countries. However, no treaty is binding unless it is ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate.

**The President, Though Mainly an Executive, Is, in a Sense, a Lawmaker, Too.** Suppose all the 435 members of the House of Representatives and all 100 Senators voted for a bill. Normally, it still would not become a law unless the President signed it. Suppose he vetoed it. Then it could only become a law if it was repassed by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the Congress.

Normally, many of the laws the Congress passes are those the President suggests. One way in which the President suggests laws is through the message he delivers (or sends) to the Congress at the opening of each session. Because he also describes current conditions in the nation in this message, it is called the *State of the Union Message*. He also makes suggestions through *special messages* from time to time, as new problems arise. If a serious problem arises when the Congress is not in session, he may call a special session.

The President is the leader of his political party. He is usually more successful in getting the laws he wants passed when the majority of the Congress is of his own political party. His position is especially strong if he succeeds a President of the opposing party; for then he can discharge thousands of Federal jobholders whose positions are not based upon the merit system. Congressmen of the President's party want such jobs for their own supporters at home. They tend to become more enthusiastic about the President's legislative program if he includes their supporters among his appointees. This presidential power to hand out jobs to political

supporters is called the power of *patronage*.

Congressmen are well aware that the President is the one person who speaks for the entire nation. He can bring public pressure to bear on the Congress by making appeals to the people in the newspapers and over radio and television.

**The President, Though Mainly an Executive, Is, in a Sense, a Judge, Too.** Sometimes a prisoner at Leavenworth in Kansas, or at another Federal prison may personally, or through his lawyer, carry on correspondence with the President. He may be seeking a *pardon* (release) from the punishment that the court has given him for violating some Federal law. He may be seeking a *reprieve*, or postponement of his execution. The President has the power to grant pardons and reprieves in Federal offenses. In granting pardons, the President may assign a lesser penalty. He may, for example, change a death sentence to life imprisonment. Sometimes an entire group, accused of the same offense, or convicted thereof, is "released from the consequences of [its] acts" en masse by the President. He is then said to be granting *amnesty*.<sup>1</sup> Such a group may have been accused, for example, of plotting against the Government.

In addition to being a kind of judge himself, the President has power, as we have seen, to appoint Federal judges. A majority of the Senate, of course, must approve such appointments.

**What Happens If the President Is Disabled.** If the President is removed from office by conviction after impeachment, if he dies, if he resigns, or if he becomes unable to perform his duties, the Vice-President then becomes President. But what happens if something similarly serious happens to the Vice-President? Then the presiding officer of the House of Representatives, called the *Speaker*, is next in line for the job. This was decided by the *Presidential Succession Act*, passed by the Congress in 1947. The man chosen Speaker by each new Congress is

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<sup>1</sup> The Congress may also grant amnesty.

always an important member of the majority party. Those following him in the order of succession would be the President Pro Tempore of the Senate<sup>1</sup> and the members of the President's Cabinet, beginning with the secretary of state. It was decided that the Speaker should succeed the Vice-President because he is an elected official. However, he might be of a different political party than the President and Vice-President he succeeds. Thus the desires of the people as indicated in the preceding election might be ignored.

## **Powers of the Federal Courts Make the Judiciary Powerful**

If every member of the Congress voted for a bill and the President signed it, it still might be a law for only a short time. How could this come about? A person might bring a suit in a Federal court, charging that the law interferes with his rights under the Constitution. If the lower Federal courts decide against him, he might appeal to the Supreme Court, the highest court in the land. And the Supreme Court might decide that the law is illegal, or unconstitutional. The Supreme Court does not decide whether every law is constitutional or not. It judges the constitutionality of a law only (1) if a person, usually on appeal from a lower court, brings a suit involving the law before the Court and (2) if the case merits its attention.

**Judicial Review Is Proof of the Supreme Court's Power.** The power of the Supreme Court to declare laws passed by the Congress—as well as state laws and acts of the President and other executive agencies—unconstitutional is called *judicial review*. The

Constitution merely hints at but does not specifically give the Supreme Court the right to declare such acts unconstitutional. Beginning in 1803, the Supreme Court stressed this power on the grounds that it was *implied* in the Constitution. The Court argued that otherwise the statement that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land would be meaningless. For, without an interpreting agency, both the Federal Government and the states might challenge the authority of the Constitution.

In short, just as the Congress has exercised its implied powers and the President his, so the Supreme Court has exercised an implied power. The power of judicial review has made the national Government, as well as the Supreme Court, very powerful. The Supreme Court has declared many acts of state legislatures and state courts unconstitutional. Generally speaking, it has upheld the Congress when the latter has made use of the elastic clause. In many ways, judicial review, like the federal system, is a distinctive American contribution to the art of government.

**Cases in Which the Supreme Court Has Appellate or Original Jurisdiction.** Most Federal cases are not tried in the Supreme Court. They are handled by the lowest Federal courts, the Federal *district courts*. There is at least one of these in each state, and as many as three in the large states. Sometimes a loser in a Federal district court appeals his case to one of the ten Federal *circuit courts of appeals*.<sup>1</sup> If he loses again, and the Supreme Court will accept his appeal, the case will be tried finally in that court.

Because such cases are brought to them on appeal, both the circuit courts of appeals and the Supreme Court are said to have *appellate jurisdiction*. Appellate jurisdiction covers cases involving the Constitution, the laws and treaties of the United States, controversies in which the United States is a party, and controversies between citizens of

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<sup>1</sup> This is the senator who presides over the Senate in the absence of the Vice-President. According to the Constitution, the Vice-President is supposed to preside over the Senate. Not being a senator, but a member of the executive branch, the Vice-President has no vote, except in case of a tie, on matters before the Senate. This is another example of separation of powers (page 135).

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<sup>1</sup> There are also certain special Federal courts, such as the Court of Claims. This court deals with claims against the United States Government.

different states. A person accused of counterfeiting, of cheating the Government on his Federal income tax, or of treason would be tried in a lower Federal court and might appeal his case to a higher one. Sometimes cases are appealed to the United States Supreme Court from the highest state courts.

The Constitution requires that certain cases be tried for the first time in the Supreme Court. In such cases, the Supreme Court is said to have *original jurisdiction*. This applies to cases involving ambassadors and other foreign diplomats in this country and those in which a state is a party.

## How Our Federal Government Is Prevented from Using Its Power To Establish a Dictatorship

**Separation of Powers a Safeguard.** Practically every eighteenth-century Government was a monarchy. And practically every monarch held all the legislative, executive, and judicial power in his own hands. Our Founding Fathers wanted to prevent such a concentration of power in the hands of any one individual or group from coming about here. In Britain then, as now, the prime minister and cabinet were not only executives but also, as members of Parliament, legislators. The Founding Fathers felt that had there been greater separation of powers between executives and legislators, Britain's colonial policies would have been less tyrannical. They therefore were determined to establish in America three separate branches of government, with each branch fairly independent of the others. They felt that they might thereby prevent the three branches from falling under the control of any one group, which might, in turn, set up a dictatorship.

But, as we know, the Founding Fathers also feared what some called "too much democracy." They feared that masses of illiterate people, lacking experience in government, might seize control of the Government and establish a tyranny over the minority. Separating the three branches of

government would make it difficult for such masses of people to gain control. Besides fearing dictatorship and "too much democracy," the Founding Fathers also wanted to prevent undisciplined haste in passing laws. All this explains why the Constitution separates the powers of government by assigning to the Congress the power of making laws, to the President the power of enforcing them, and to the judiciary the power of trying cases under the Constitution.

**Checks and Balances a Safeguard.** To further deter dictatorship and "too much democracy," the Constitution gave some of the powers of each branch to the others. In this way, each branch could check the power of the others to see to it that no one branch could become too powerful. Thus there would be many overlapping powers, which would bring about a balance of power among the branches. This is known as *checks and balances*.

**Some Checks on the Congress.** The President can check the Congress by vetoing a bill it has passed. As we know, the President has many other legislative powers that are, in a sense, checks upon the Congress. And the Supreme Court can check the Congress by declaring a law unconstitutional.

**Some Checks on the President.** As for checks on the executive branch, the President must obtain a majority vote of the Senate for approval of his appointments and a two-thirds vote of the Senate for approval of the treaties he negotiates. A two-thirds vote of both House and Senate can cancel a presidential veto. And the Supreme Court may declare an act of the President unconstitutional.

Even though the President is Commander in Chief of the armed forces, the Congress might check him by refusing to vote him funds for their operation. Furthermore, the Congress might remove the President, the Vice-President, other high executive or administrative Federal officers, or Federal judges from office. Two steps would be required for it to do so. First, the House of Representatives, by a majority vote, would

	THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH	THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH	THE JUDICIAL BRANCH
Checks on the Legislative Branch	Either house of the Congress may reject a bill initiated in the other house.	The President may veto bills. He may call the Congress into special session. He may send messages to the Congress. He distributes patronage.	The Supreme Court may declare laws unconstitutional.
Checks on the Executive Branch	The Congress may pass bills over the President's veto by a two-thirds vote. The Senate can refuse to ratify the President's appointments. The Senate can refuse to ratify treaties the President negotiates. The House may impeach and the Senate try the President. The Congress may withhold funds sought by the executive branch.		The chief justice of the Supreme Court presides at the impeachment trial of a President. The Supreme Court may declare executive acts unconstitutional.
Checks on the Judicial Branch	The Senate can refuse to ratify the appointment of judges. The House may impeach and the Senate try judges. The Congress can increase the number of judges. The Congress can propose amendments that, if adapted, can cancel Supreme Court decisions.	He makes all appointments of Federal judges. He may grant pardons and reprieves to Federal offenders.	

have to accuse such an official of treason, bribery, or other high crime or misdemeanor.<sup>1</sup> Second, two-thirds of the Senate would have to convict him, after a trial. The accusation, charge, or indictment by the House is called *impeachment*. It is important to remember that the mere act of impeachment does not

mean the accused is guilty. Only if the accused is convicted by the Senate, after he has been impeached by the House, can he be removed from office.

*Some Checks on the Judiciary.* As for checks on the judiciary, we have already seen that the President can grant pardons or reprieves in Federal offenses. Usually the Supreme Court remains fairly stable for some time, since its judges can hold office for life

<sup>1</sup> Habitual drunkenness in public might be considered such a misdemeanor.



or during good behavior. However, when judges die or retire, the President, with the consent of a majority of the Senate, can replace them. The new appointees might then decide that a new law, similar to, or even identical with, one previously declared unconstitutional, is constitutional.

The number of Supreme Court judges has for some time been nine. The Congress has the power to check their power by increasing their number. Actually, this action would give the President more power to check that of the Court, since he would appoint the new judges.

Once the Supreme Court declares an act unconstitutional, there is little that can be done about it. True, an amendment to the Constitution might be passed. And the Supreme Court is powerless to declare an amendment unconstitutional because an amendment becomes part of the Constitution. But, as we shall see, the process of making amendments is a most difficult one.

*Why Some Suggest Additional Checks on the Judiciary.* Since decisions of the Supreme Court are by a majority vote, it sometimes happens that a matter is decided by a vote of five to four. This means that one judge—appointed, not elected—is making a final decision that might affect millions of people. The Supreme Court has generally been a strong defender of the rights of the people. Yet its great power to overrule the Congress, the President, and the state legislatures—elected by the people—has troubled many.<sup>1</sup>

*Some of the Suggested Additional Checks on the Judiciary.* Some critics of our judicial system have suggested that Federal judges be elected, instead of appointed. Some have proposed an amendment taking from the Supreme Court the power to declare laws unconstitutional. This would increase the power of the elected executive and legislative branches and decrease the power of the appointed judiciary. Some say that more than

five of the nine judges should have to agree before a law can be declared unconstitutional.

*Separation of Powers and Checks and Balances Within the Congress Itself.* For a law to be passed, the approval of both the House and the Senate is needed. Yet each has special powers. As we have seen, the Senate has the sole power to approve appointments and treaties, while the House has the sole power to originate money bills. The House has the sole power to impeach, but the Senate has the sole power to try impeachment cases. Under certain circumstances (page 145), the House of Representatives chooses the President and the Senate chooses the Vice-President. Thus there is separation of powers within the Congress itself and, to a considerable extent, a system of checks and balances as well.

The system of checks and balances is also illustrated by the fact that if the Senate approves a bill, the House must, too, and vice versa, before the bill can go to the President to be signed. Money bills also must be passed by both houses, even though they must originate in the House.

All these examples of checks and balances stand out clearly. But the ingenious Founding Fathers thought up many others that are less obvious. They wanted to be sure that older officials would check younger officials, that experienced ones would check inexperienced ones, that those elected directly by the people would check those elected indirectly by special bodies, and that all the officials of the Government would not go out of office at the same time. The product of their labors can be seen in the chart on page 138.

According to the Constitution, it would be possible for the House of Representatives every two years to be made up entirely of new members. In practice, many representatives are re-elected for many terms. But it would be impossible to have a complete turnover in the Senate every six years. This is because only one-third of the members of the Senate are up for election every two

<sup>1</sup> Of course, this power is weakened if the people or the states do not respect a decision, or ignore it, or if the executive branch in the nation or states fails to enforce it.

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Office Held	Age Requirement	Citizenship Requirement	Term of Office	Method of Selection
Representative	25	At least 7 years	2 years	Elected directly by the qualified voters of each Congressional district
Senator	30	At least 9 years	6 years	Elected indirectly by the state legislatures (changed to elected directly by qualified voters by Amendment XVII, in 1913)
President and Vice-President	35	Natural-born citizen	4 years	Elected indirectly (page 145) by a special group called electors, chosen by a method decided by state legislatures <sup>1</sup>
Federal judge		None stated in Constitution	During good behavior, usually for life	Appointed by the President, with the consent of a majority of the Senate

<sup>1</sup> Electors soon became rubber stamps, however. See page 146.

years. Thus two-thirds of the senators must always be veterans of the preceding Congress.<sup>1</sup> In practice, there are usually more than two-thirds, for some of the one-third may be running for re-election and may win.

**Some Con's and Pro's on Checks and Balances.** It has been said that the checks and balances system is like a series of many brakes that sometimes unnecessarily hold up lawmaking. Critics point out that if the President is of one party and the majority of the Congress of another, sometimes little can be accomplished. They argue further that in periods of emergency, such as wars and depressions, when fast action is needed, checks and balances can lead to disaster.

However, the checks and balances system *does* tend to prevent tyranny by any one individual or group. Generally speaking, although there is some truth to the arguments

of its critics, they overstate their case. When the President and the majority of the Congress are of the same party, there is considerable co-operation between the executive and legislative departments. This is especially true when the President has a winning personality, is popular with the people, and has abundant patronage to distribute. Even when the President and the majority of the Congress are of different parties, conferences are frequently held between the President and Congressional leaders in both parties to promote co-operation. Often, during an emergency, the Congress will yield many powers to the President to enable him to act quickly. When the emergency is over, the Congress takes back such powers.

### **How Two Bills of Rights, One Nameless, One So-Named, Safeguard Human and Property Rights**

Suddenly there is a knock at your door. A

<sup>1</sup> A new Congress is organized every two years.

policeman, a soldier, or a member of the secret police hustles you off to jail. You are not told why. Nor are you given a trial. You may waste away there for years . . . At a gathering of friends you start to express a critical opinion on some policy of the Government. You hesitate and look around the room. One of your supposed friends may be an informer. Your criticism, if reported, may lead to the loss of your life. You are expected to speak or write on Government policies only when you agree 100 per cent with them. You are ordered into a certain job, or are told by the Government exactly how to run your business, if you do not want it taken from you.

The foregoing is an indication of what life is like in modern dictatorships. Such dictatorships rest on the belief that people exist solely to serve the Government. A democratic government such as ours, on the other hand, stresses the idea that it exists to promote the welfare and happiness of each of the nation's citizens. A basic American belief is that a government grows strong not by denying freedoms and using force to promote conformity but by encouraging individual liberty and constructive criticism.

To safeguard freedoms, several states at the time of the Constitutional Convention demanded a written bill of rights. Some such states ratified the Constitution only after obtaining assurance that a bill of rights would be added to it (page 122). But some of the Founding Fathers felt that the document already contained a nameless bill of rights. They pointed to various provisions of the Constitution specifically protecting the human rights<sup>1</sup> and the property rights of the people.

**The Nameless Bill of Rights Protects Human Rights.** " . . . No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." So stated the Constitution even before a bill of rights was added to it. The Constitution for-

bids the Congress to pass a law stating that any individual or group is guilty of a crime and fixing punishment therefor without a public trial before a court. Such a law is called a *bill of attainder*. State legislatures are also forbidden by the Constitution to pass bills of attainder. The Founding Fathers remembered fearfully that the British Parliament used to pass bills of attainder to punish people for political reasons. They knew that one political group in control of the Congress might remain forever in control if the leaders of the opposition could be declared criminals by bills of attainder.

Many times in history, as under modern dictatorships, legislatures have passed laws making some act of an individual or group a crime that was not a crime at the time the act was committed. Then they would proceed to punish persons who had committed the act before it had been declared a crime. The Constitution forbids both the Congress and the state legislatures to pass such laws, called *ex post facto laws*.

Suppose an official arrested you and threw you into jail. You would have the right, guaranteed in the Constitution, to get a writ of *habeas corpus* (page 46) from a court. How would such a writ help you? In court, the judge would decide whether you were being held lawfully. If he decided, on the basis of the evidence, that you were, he would send you back to jail. If you or your friends put up *bail*,<sup>1</sup> he might set you free temporarily, until your trial. If he decided that you were not being held lawfully, he would order you freed. The only time that a person may be refused a writ of *habeas corpus* is during a rebellion or an invasion when the public safety requires such a refusal.

The nameless bill of rights also guarantees an individual accused of a Federal crime the important right of trial by jury. The trial

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<sup>1</sup> Bail is money put up as security, vouching that an accused person, temporarily set free, will return to court for trial. If the accused fails to return, the bail is forfeited. If apprehended, he must still stand trial.

<sup>1</sup> Human rights are frequently called *civil rights*

must take place in the state in which the crime was committed. To protect people against careless charges of treason, the Constitution carefully defines the Federal crime of treason. By this definition, a person is not a traitor unless he wages war against the United States or gives aid and comfort to its enemies. Additional protection is given against careless charges of treason in the requirement that

no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

**The Nameless Bill of Rights Protects Property Rights.** The power to tax could be a powerful weapon in the hands of a government. Suppose a government played favorites with this tremendous power. It could destroy a person's business. It could so damage an occupation that hundreds would lose their jobs. It could damage greatly an entire section of the country's economy. That is why the Constitution requires that indirect taxes, such as luxury taxes on playing cards, liquors, and perfumes, be uniform throughout the United States. The South, the economic section that exported tobacco and cotton, was protected by the compromise clause (page 119), which states that "No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state." Of course, this clause protects all exporters.

The Constitution also forbids the states to interfere with property rights. They may not, for example, tax imports or exports, or interfere with the fulfillment of a legal contract.

**The So-Named Bill of Rights Protects Human Rights and Property Rights.** The Declaration of Independence had stated that people had the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The so-named Bill of Rights tried to guarantee these rights as well as the protection of property. This Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution, was adopted in 1791. It was welcomed by many who felt that the nameless bill of rights in the Constitution, as it had

been written in 1787, did not fully protect the rights of the people from interference by the Congress.

**Some Basic Freedoms Guaranteed.** The Congress is forbidden to set up a Government-supported church or to interfere with freedom of worship. This freedom is the first human right mentioned in *Amendment I*. Amendment I also provides for freedom of speech, freedom of the press,<sup>1</sup> the right to assemble peaceably, and the right to petition the Government if an individual or group feels that rights have been interfered with. If the Congress had the right to interfere with these rights, the Constitution might be meaningless and our democracy a despotism.

**Some Safeguards Against Unreasonable Search Guaranteed.** Imagine what would happen to human rights and to property rights if any officer were allowed to search at will any home, for any one or any thing, at any time! *Amendment IV* forbids, except in certain cases, any Federal officer to conduct such a search. According to this amendment, no Federal officer has the right to search your home unless he has a specific paper (a *warrant*) to search for specific persons or things. Such a warrant is issued to him by a judge only if the officer has specific evidence that a Federal law has been violated. Private individuals and sometimes even Government officials have sometimes made use of devices enabling them to listen in secretly on private telephone conversations. Some persons have argued that such *wiretapping* is a violation of the principle in Amendment IV, which, put more familiarly, is that "a man's house is his castle." Some have suggested that wiretapping be used only in such cases as suspected treason or spying, or against nation-wide crime syndicates.

**Rights Guaranteed to Accused Persons.** No dictatorship would permit the rights guaranteed in the *Fifth Amendment*. One

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<sup>1</sup> Movies, radio, and television are also protected by the freedom of speech and press clause.

clause states that in serious crimes,<sup>1</sup> a special group of persons (a *grand jury*) must decide whether the evidence justifies holding an accused person for trial. This clause protects individuals from the ordeal of public trial and having their reputations blackened when the evidence against them is weak or false. Of course, if the grand jury decides that there is sufficient evidence, a public trial by jury must be held.

Another Fifth Amendment clause states that if a person is once acquitted of an offense by the court, he may not be tried again for the same offense. In short, *double jeopardy* is illegal. If double jeopardy were legal, powerful Government officials might try their opponents over and over again on the same charge. This could mean that an accused person might spend much of his life defending himself in the courts and using up his money in his defense. He would then be more persecuted than prosecuted.

In many parts of the world at the time the Bill of Rights was written, and for many years later, people were frequently thrown into jail without a trial or after a secret trial. In jail, they were frequently tortured. In sharp contrast, the Bill of Rights guarantees an accused person many legal safeguards besides those already mentioned. It entitles him to a speedy public trial by jury. He has the right to know why he has been brought to trial, to face the witnesses against him, and to obtain witnesses and a lawyer for his defense. Cruel and unusual punishments are forbidden. Bail must not be too high since, if it were, only rich accused persons could obtain it.

Still another Fifth Amendment clause states that no person can be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself. Some persons have used this so-called *self-incrimination clause* before investigating committees of the Congress. For example, when asked whether they were

Communists, they have refused to answer on the grounds that their answer might incriminate them.

**The Fifth Amendment Protects Property Rights, Too.** The Fifth Amendment also provides that no person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Generally speaking, "due process of law" means a fair trial. Property rights are also protected by the clause that states that private property may not be taken for public use without just compensation. The Government's right to take private property for public use, granting compensation to the owner, is known as the right of *eminent domain*.

**The List of Human Rights Grows Steadily Longer.** The expression "without due process of law" also appears in the *Fourteenth Amendment*, adopted in 1868 (page 413). However, this time it is the states, not the Congress, that are forbidden to "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." State bills of rights guarantee many human and property rights to the people, too (page 97). These, plus the Fourteenth Amendment, give the people a double guarantee. The Supreme Court has interpreted the word "liberty" in Amendment XIV to mean that every one of the rights stated in the first nine amendments in the Federal Bill of Rights belongs to all the people. By this interpretation, the Federal Bill of Rights, originally intended as prohibitions on the Congress, now also represents prohibitions on the states.

The *Thirteenth Amendment*, adopted in 1865, had freed the slaves. Therefore, the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, guaranteeing "life, liberty, and property," applied also to freed slaves. By the Fourteenth Amendment, the freed slaves were granted citizenship, with all its privileges and immunities. If a citizen met certain requirements, fixed by the state in which he lived, he was entitled to vote. *Amendment XV*, adopted in 1870, forbade either the United States or any state to deny a citizen the right to vote because of his race

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<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, a crime is considered serious if it is punishable by more than one year in prison.

or because he had been a slave. Similarly, Amendment XIX (adopted 1920) guarantees that a person will not be denied the right to vote on account of sex.

No document can hope to list all the rights that men are entitled to in a democracy. Realizing this, the authors of the Bill of Rights included Amendment IX. This stated, in effect, that even though many other rights were not listed in the Constitution, such rights might not be taken from the people.

In the eyes of many Americans, among the rights not listed in the Constitution are the right to a free public education, the right of a worker to unemployment insurance and an old-age pension, and the right of a handicapped or dependent person to Government aid. However, many other Americans fear that too much stress has been placed on guaranteeing more and more human rights and not enough on encouraging individual responsibilities.

**Some Limitations on Human Rights and Property Rights.** Suppose that a person, with no evidence, called you a thief in public and could not be punished for thus harming your reputation. Suppose that a newspaper recommended the overthrow of the Government by violence and nothing could be done legally to stop it from doing so. Suppose that any group at will could hold a meeting at the busiest time of day on the busiest corner in the city. Obviously, if each individual were permitted complete freedom, some might use that freedom to interfere with the rights of other individuals, and the public welfare would suffer. That is why our democracy places some limitations on the rights of individuals.

"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," states one of the Ten Commandments in the Bible. The Bill of Rights has been similarly interpreted. Thus, if a person makes false statements orally that harm another's reputation, he risks being sued for *slander*. If he makes such statements in writing, he risks being sued for *libel*.

In fear of disorder or traffic congestion, or for some other reason, some local author-

ities have sometimes refused permits to hold meetings. Obscene books or periodicals, when sent through the mail, are sometimes destroyed by postal authorities.<sup>1</sup> A person is guaranteed the "right to life." Yet for the protection of the nation he may be drafted to fight in a war in which he may die. He may also be put to death if found guilty of a crime such as treason or murder.

Suppose the Federal Government wanted to build a post office or an atomic energy plant in a particular area. It might then legally exercise its right of eminent domain. A person must not use his property in such a way as to interfere with the health or morals of others. Thus, in the interest of the nation, limitations may be placed upon property rights, too.

Sometimes Government officials or Government agencies have been criticized for going too far in limiting freedom of speech, press, and assembly. Critics point to these alleged excesses as proof that freedoms on paper mean little unless they are enforced by officials, upheld by the courts, and safeguarded jealously by the people themselves. The great threat to such freedoms is that some people want them for themselves but not for those who happen to disagree with them.

## **More Than a Knowledge of the Written Constitution Is Needed To Understand Our Government**

**How a Bill Becomes a Law, According to the Constitution.** According to the Constitution, a bill may become a law in any one of the following three ways. (1) It is passed by both the House of Representatives and the Senate and signed by the President. (2) It is passed by both houses and vetoed by the President. To be passed over the President's veto, it must then receive the votes of

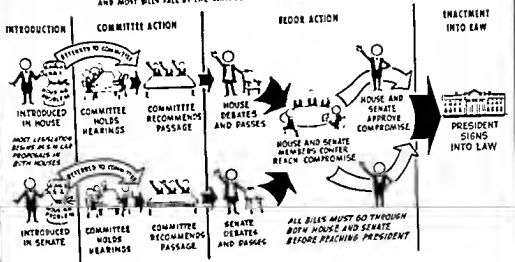
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<sup>1</sup> Some have criticized this action as a form of censorship.



## HOW A BILL BECOMES LAW

THIS GRAPHIC SHOWS THE MOST TYPICAL WAY IN WHICH PROPOSED LEGISLATION IS ENACTED INTO LAW. THERE ARE MORE COMPLICATED AS WELL AS SIMPLER ROUTES... AND MOST BILLS FALL BY THE WAYSIDE AND NEVER BECOME LAW.



two-thirds of both houses (3) It is passed by both houses and sent to the President. If he holds the bill for ten days without signing or vetoing it, it becomes a law, provided the Congress remains in session. However, if, within that ten-day period, the Congress adjourns, the bill does not become a law. This is called the *pocket veto*.

**Factors Affecting Lawmaking Not Mentioned in the Constitution.** In time, government became more complex. As it did, the relatively simple lawmaking procedure outlined in the Constitution became vastly more complicated.

**The Committee System Promotes Efficiency in Lawmaking.** The many committees of the Congress are not mentioned in the Constitution. Yet it would be impossible to understand lawmaking adequately without knowing how the *committee system* works. Thousands of bills are introduced in each session of the Congress. Relatively few become laws. Most of them are never even debated on the floor of the Congress. Each member of the House and of the Senate may introduce as many bills as he likes. (Of course, as we know, only House members

may introduce money bills.) It would be not only inefficient but impossible to debate all of these bills in the Congress. That is why those proposed in each house are sorted out according to the topics with which they deal and assigned to particular committees made up of members of that house.

Take the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate, for example. Its members discuss the bill among themselves. They often invite interested private citizens or groups to hearings to present their arguments for or against the bill. The committee may then recommend that the Senate pass the bill as it is or with certain suggested changes. On the other hand, the bill may not be reported out to the Senate at all. In this case, the bill is said to have been "*killed*" in committee.

All bills go through similar procedures in each house of the Congress. Suppose the bill the Senate passes is different in some ways from the bill the House passes. Then a conference committee, composed of members from each house, meets to iron out the differences. The compromise bill is then usually passed by both houses.

*The Political Party Tends to Promote Uniform Voting by Its Members.* Political parties are not mentioned in the Constitution. Yet the majority party in the Congress usually determines what laws will be passed. The chairman<sup>1</sup> and the majority of the members of all the committees are members of the majority party. Members of both the majority party and the minority party in the Congress choose a floor leader. It is his job to see to it that the members of his party in the Congress debate and vote in such a way as to carry out the program agreed upon by the party. The powerful Rules Committee of the House of Representatives even has the power to decide that one bill will be discussed before others that may have been proposed earlier.

Generally speaking, but with notable exceptions, members of a political party in Congress tend to vote on bills in accordance with the party program. This may be for different reasons. They may agree with the party's stand. They may want to get party support at election time. They may want patronage to distribute among their loyal supporters back home.

*Filibustering Sometimes Affects Lawmaking.* Filibustering is not mentioned in the Constitution. Yet it sometimes determines whether a bill is passed or not. To understand what filibustering is, let us picture a scene that sometimes occurs in the Senate. Before us, on the Senate floor, stands a senator who has been speaking continuously for hours. He has been talking not only on the bill under consideration by the Senate but on practically every other subject under the sun. He knows that if the bill, which the majority favors, comes to a vote, it will be passed. He hopes that by his tactics, which completely hold up the work of the Senate, he will force the Senate to yield, or perhaps to adjourn. This device, consisting of a deliberate attempt to talk a bill to death, is called

a *filibuster*. It sometimes succeeds. Indeed, sometimes the mere threat of a filibuster succeeds in killing a bill.

If two-thirds of the senators present and voting approve, debate may be limited to one hour for each senator. This is called the *closure*, or *cloture*, rule. It is rarely used, because senators guard jealously their right to unlimited debate.

*Lobbying: Attempted Lawmaking by Unofficial Lawmakers.* Lobbying is not mentioned in the Constitution. Yet lobbyists have so much influence in lawmaking that they are sometimes said to make up a "third house of Congress." What are lobbyists? What is lobbying?

Certain groups would like to have certain bills passed or killed in the Congress. Such groups are sometimes called *pressure groups*. They may be composed entirely of manufacturers' associations, entirely of labor unions, entirely of teachers, entirely of war veterans, or entirely of some other group. Such groups send representatives, frequently lawyers or ex-congressmen, to Washington to appear at committee hearings or to try to influence lawmakers in other ways. These representatives are called *lobbyists*. Their attempts to influence legislation through contacts with congressmen are called *lobbying*.

Some lobbyists try to win over congressmen through the logic of their arguments. Many are experts who supply congressmen with valuable information on special fields of interest. Some lobbyists have entertained congressmen lavishly. Some have granted them liberal favors or promised them well-paying positions when they are no longer congressmen. Sometimes congressmen who refuse to co-operate with lobbyists have been threatened with defeat at the next election.

The Congress, in 1946, passed a law to control lobbying. It requires that all lobbyists register with the Government and give an accounting of the money they spend and where it comes from.

*How the President Is Elected, According to the Constitution.* The Constitution states that the President is to be chosen by spe-

<sup>1</sup> Committee chairmen are chosen on the basis of their length of service in the Congress, rather than upon their expert qualifications.

cially designated individuals called *electors*. These electors, the Constitution says, are to be chosen as each state legislature may decide. The number of electors each state is entitled to is equal to the number of United States senators it has (always two), plus its number of representatives (always at least one). Pennsylvania, for example, has twenty-seven representatives and two senators, entitling it to twenty-nine electors.

Before Amendment XII was adopted in 1804, each elector in each state voted for two candidates. When the votes of all the electors of all the states were counted, the candidate receiving the highest number of votes was to be President, provided that he had a majority of the votes cast. The candidate receiving the second highest number of electoral votes was to be Vice-President, provided that he had a majority of the votes cast.

But suppose no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes? Then the President was to be chosen by the House of Representatives from the five candidates having the highest number of votes. (Later, in Amendment XII, the five was changed to three.) In this balloting, all the representatives from each state would cast one ballot, whether the state were large or small. If there should be a tie for second place, the Senate would choose the Vice-President.

*Why It Was Decided to Elect the President Not by Popular Vote But by the Electoral System.* James Wilson recommended to the Constitutional Convention that the President be elected by popular vote. But fear of the possible tyranny of the majority was in the minds of many Founding Fathers. Many felt, too, that the people, many of whom were illiterate, would not make a wise choice for such an important office as the Presidency. They felt that the legislatures, on the

other hand, would select electors on the basis of their wisdom and political experience. It was expected that such electors would use their independent judgment and make wise choices in voting for President and Vice-President. It was because they did not want these officers to be elected by direct popular vote that the Founding Fathers set up the indirect system of electing them by electors.

*Why the Method of Electing the President Was a Compromise Between the Large and Small States.* Suppose that the Constitutional Convention had apportioned electors among the states according to their populations. This would have left the small states with very little to say in the choice of the President. Instead, it was decided that each state, no matter how small, would have at least three electors.

However, even though this were done, states with large populations, having more representatives, would have more electors. So another concession was made to the small states at the Constitutional Convention. This was the decision to allow each state, large or small, a single vote in the event the presidential election was thrown into the House of Representatives. Naturally, the small states hoped that many elections would be thrown into the House of Representatives. However, this has happened only twice, in 1800 and in 1824.

*Amendment XII Corrects a Flaw in the Method of Electing the President and Vice-President.* A flaw in the method of electing the President showed up almost immediately. In the election of 1800, the two candidates receiving the highest number of electoral votes were tied. Which was to be President? The House of Representatives had to decide.

It was feared that such a tie might happen often. This would mean that a state with a small population would have as much to say in choosing the President as a state with a large population. It would, therefore, be possible for a group of small states to pool their single votes to select the candi-

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<sup>1</sup> Today a majority of the electoral votes would be at least 270, since there is a total of 538 electoral votes. Amendment XXIII, ratified in 1961, gave the District of Columbia three electoral votes, but no representation in the Congress.

date they preferred for President. To avoid such ties, *Amendment XII* was passed in 1804. This amendment requires the electors to indicate on separate ballots their selections for President and Vice-President.

**Factors Affecting the Election of the President Not Mentioned in the Constitution.** The method of choosing the President indirectly through electors is called the *electoral college system*. It would not seem to be very democratic. Actually, however, it almost never happens that the man elected President is not the choice of the people. It is true that the electors still elect the President. But for many years now, they have not used their independent judgment in doing so. They have become mere puppets, who vote the way the people have indicated on Election Day that they want them to vote. How did this come about?

As time passed, the state legislatures, instead of selecting the electors themselves, allowed the voters to do so. In time, more and more people won the right to vote.

In time, as political parties developed, it became the custom—occasionally violated—for the electors to vote for their party's nominees for President and Vice-President. In fact, they are pledged in advance to do so. Thus a voter can be virtually sure that when he casts his ballot for the electors of a particular party, he is really voting for that party's nominees.

It has also become the custom to turn over all the electoral votes of a state to the party that receives a majority of the popular votes in that state. Obviously, it would thus be impossible for a voter to split his ticket and select a Republican for President and a Democrat for Vice-President, for example, even if he wished to.

**Some Criticisms of the Electoral System.** Can a candidate for the Presidency who receives fewer popular votes than his opponent still win? Yes, if he receives a majority of the electoral vote. This happens when the winning candidate defeats his opponent by a small margin of popular votes in states

*A powerful political animal, the gerrymander prevents much of the populace from securing fair representation in the nation's legislatures. Investigate to find out more about the gerrymander and how it got its name.*



having a large number of electoral votes. Meanwhile, the loser gains a large margin of popular votes in states having a small number of electoral votes. Here is an imaginary example deliberately exaggerated to make this situation easy to understand:

Suppose that in Pennsylvania the Republican candidate received two million popular votes and the Democratic candidate received 1,999,999. The Republican candidate would then get all of Pennsylvania's twenty-nine electoral votes. Suppose that in Arizona the Democratic candidate received 300,001 popular votes and the Republican candidate none at all. The Democratic candidate would receive all of Arizona's five electoral votes. The score would then be: Republican candidate, twenty-nine electoral votes, Democratic candidate, five. However, the Democratic candidate would have 300,000 more popular votes than the Republican. If this situation, exaggerated though it is, were true of other large and small states, far more people would have voted for the Democrat. But the Republican would have been elected, because he would have far more electoral votes. Is this democratic? critics ask.

Here are some more questions raised by critics of our electoral system: Why should the President be elected indirectly by electors, especially when the electors are mere puppets or rubber stamps anyway? Why should there not be a direct election of the President by the voters? Why should the presidential candidate whose electors win the larger number of popular votes, however narrow the margin of victory, win all the electoral votes of a state? Why should they not be apportioned between the candidates according to the popular vote?

**Some Arguments for Keeping the Electoral System.** But the electoral system has strong supporters as well as critics. They ask: Why change an election system that has worked so well for so long? Only once (page 535) was a candidate who received a majority of the popular votes not elected. Furthermore, direct election of the President would re-

quire an amendment to the Constitution. The small states would probably not approve of such an amendment. Even the state with the smallest population has three electoral votes out of the total of 535. But if there were a direct election of the President by voters, such a state would have a far smaller percentage of the total vote cast. About half the population of the United States lives in nine large states. With direct election, these states would practically monopolize the choice of the President.

Suppose the electoral vote of each state were split among parties in proportion to the popular vote. Then many presidential elections might have to be settled by the House of Representatives. Why? Under the existing system, minority parties are discouraged from entering the presidential race. They know that they have almost no chance of winning electoral votes in any state, since the winning party gets them all. But if electoral votes were split proportionately, minority parties might win some electoral votes. Throughout the nation, they might draw off enough electoral votes so that neither one of the major parties would win the necessary majority of the electoral vote. Thus, any number of elections might have to be settled by the House of Representatives. The two major parties would be weakened. Minority parties might bargain with the major parties and gain influence out of proportion to their numbers. Their bargaining power would be based upon their agreeing to give their electoral votes to whichever one of the major parties offered the most favors.

**How the Constitution Is Formally Amended, According to the Constitution.** According to the Constitution, there are four possible ways by which formal amendments to it may be made. Twenty-two of the twenty-three amendments to the Constitution have been adopted in the following fashion. Each has been proposed by a two-thirds vote of the Congress and ratified by legislatures of three-quarters of the states. One amendment, the Twenty-first (page

755), was proposed in the same way but ratified by special conventions called for the purpose in three-quarters of the states. An amendment might be proposed by a special convention called upon the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. But this method of proposal has never been used. To amend the Constitution formally, either one of the two methods of proposing amendments can be combined with either one of the two methods of ratifying them. Neither the President's signature nor those of any state governors are needed for amendments.

**How the Constitution Is Amended in Other Ways.** So many congressmen's votes are required to propose an amendment by the usual formal method, and those of so many states to ratify it, that it is difficult to get an amendment passed. A minority of states, it is obvious, can prevent the majority of states from obtaining an amendment they desire. Of the hundreds that have been introduced, only thirteen amendments have been ratified since the first ten were ratified at the same time in 1791. And of these thirteen, one, the Twenty-first, simply repealed another, the Eighteenth (page 706).

Obviously, the cautious Founding Fathers did not want too hasty changes made in the Constitution. But nothing is more certain in history than change. Customs, ideas, opinions, and conditions change. When the Constitution was born, American civilization was mainly agricultural and relatively simple and self-sufficient. So many changes have taken place since that American civilization today is highly industrialized and extremely complex and interdependent. Fortunately, our Government does not have to depend entirely upon the formal methods of amending the Constitution to adapt itself to changing conditions.

**The Constitution Has Been Amended Through the Development of Certain Customs.** Over a long period of time, customs have developed that, because they are generally accepted, amount to amendments to the Constitution. These include the influ-

ence of the committee system in passing laws, the great role of political parties in government, and the fact that the electors no longer use their independent judgment in voting for the President and Vice-President. Such customs, which we have already studied, have come to be considered part of what is called our *unwritten Constitution*. Some also consider the Supreme Court's power of judicial review (page 134) part of the unwritten Constitution. This is because the Supreme Court has frequently approved of many actions of the Congress and the President based on powers that seem to be implied but are not specifically stated in the Constitution.

Another custom, also part of the unwritten Constitution, concerns the relationship of the President to the Senate. A majority of the Senate, as we know, is required to ratify all the President's appointments, including those to his Cabinet.<sup>1</sup> But ratifying Cabinet appointments has become a mere formality. Almost always, the Senate ratifies these without much question. The Senate usually feels that it should not interfere with the President's right to choose as his important advisers men with whom he can work smoothly.

In a sense, the President returns this courtesy. When he is about to make an appointment in a particular state, he consults with the senators from that state. This is true, of course, when the senators are members of his own political party. Such a practice, called *Senatorial courtesy*, is also part of the unwritten Constitution.

For a long time, the custom of a President to serve only two terms was part of the unwritten Constitution. But in 1940, this custom was upset when President Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected for a third term. He was elected for a fourth term in 1944. However, in 1951, the former custom, which

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, the Cabinet, made up of the President's principal advisers, is itself considered part of the unwritten Constitution. The Constitution does not specifically provide for its organization.

city-states, the Founding Fathers had learned that when liberty is stressed and unity lacking, liberty is in danger. From the ancient Roman Empire, they had learned that when unity is stressed and liberty curbed, unity is in danger. From the seventeenth-century English philosopher John Locke, they had learned that a major goal of governments should be the protection of life, liberty, and property. From the eighteenth-century French philosopher Montesquieu, they had learned that separation of powers and checks and balances might protect liberty.

They had also learned much from the English documents that gave Englishmen more liberties than the people of any other great power of the time. These include, among others, the Magna Carta of 1215, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, and the Bill of Rights of 1689.<sup>1</sup>

From the colonial governments, the

Founding Fathers borrowed and adapted such ideas or practices as these: the executive should have the power of veto; money bills should originate in the lower house; the civilian authority should be supreme over the military.

From certain state governments, established during or after the Revolution, the Founding Fathers borrowed and adapted such ideas or practices as these: the legislature should have the power of impeachment; the lower house should have a shorter term than the upper house; the judicial department should be separate from the legislative.

From a study of the attempts at union beginning with the New England Confederation and ending with the Articles of Confederation, they learned what weaknesses to avoid, as well as what strengths to retain.

All this indicates how wise the Founding Fathers were in knowing what to borrow from the past, what to reject, and how to adapt what was borrowed to the needs of our country. The Constitution proved to the world that it is possible to build a strong union of many communities having many different ideas and customs, and yet preserve liberty.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 7<sup>1</sup>

### Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

division of powers	loose interpretation of the Constitution	Congressional immunity	merit system
confederation	strict interpretation of the Constitution	intrastate commerce	State of the Union Message
federal system	states' rights	reserved powers	patronage
bicameral	general welfare clause	police powers	reprieve
delegated powers		concurrent powers	amnesty
elastic clause		extradition	Presidential Succession Act
		Cabinet	

<sup>1</sup> For answering all questions on the Constitution, read not only Chapter 7 but the Constitution itself and its annotation in the Appendix.

Speaker of the House	original jurisdiction	warrant	committee system
President Pro Tempore of the Senate	separation of powers	grand jury	filibuster
judicial review	checks and balances	double jeopardy	cloture
Federal district courts	impeachment	self-incrimination clause	lobbying
circuit courts of appeals	bill of attainder	eminent domain	electoral college system
appellate jurisdiction	ex post facto law	due process of law	unwritten constitution
	bail	slander	Senatorial courtesy
	treason	libel	Amendments I through XXIII
		pocket veto	

### ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Name the three branches of the Federal Government and the main function of each.
2. What is done to insure that the Constitution is recognized as the supreme law of the land?
3. Show by specific reference to the delegated powers granted the Congress that the Founding Fathers profited from the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation.
4. Explain the significance of the terms (a) delegated, (b) limited, and (c) enumerated powers.
5. Prove that the Founding Fathers showed wisdom and foresight in including the elastic clause among the delegated powers.
6. Show by examples how the elastic clause has been used to stretch specific delegated powers.
7. Why is the "implied powers clause" a good name for the elastic clause?
8. Why does it often happen that a party that has been in power switches from a loose to a strict interpretation of the Constitution when it is out of power?
9. As the years roll on, more and more individuals in both parties seem to support a loose interpretation of the Constitution. For what reasons?
10. How does the "general welfare clause"

lend itself to a loose interpretation of the Constitution?

11. Mention (a) one value and (b) one danger of Congressional immunity.
12. (a) Mention some powers denied to the states by the Constitution and (b) tell why they were denied to the states.
13. (a) List some important powers reserved to the states and (b) connect these powers with Amendment X.
14. Distinguish between interstate and intrastate commerce.
15. Prove by examples that it is the police powers of the state and local governments that touch our lives most directly.
16. Give examples to show that despite the great powers granted the Federal Government, the states are far from puppets.
17. Sum up the (a) executive (b) legislative, and (c) judicial powers of the President.
18. What officers make up the executive branch other than the President and Vice-President?
19. In what ways is the President able to exercise great power over American foreign policy?
20. Mention ways by which the President may exert pressure on congressmen to get his program adopted.
21. In some ways the President may have more judicial power than a Federal judge. Explain.
22. Outline the steps in the succession to the Presidency.



23. Give the (a) origins and (b) significance of judicial review.
24. Give examples of cases in which the Supreme Court has (a) appellate jurisdiction and (b) original jurisdiction.
25. Explain fully the purposes of the Founding Fathers in establishing (a) separation of powers and (b) checks and balances.
26. Distinguish between (a) separation of powers and division of powers, (b) delegated powers and implied powers, and (c) reserved powers and concurrent powers.
27. List the checks of each branch of the Federal Government upon the other branches.
28. Prove by examples that we do not have complete separation of powers, but, rather, overlapping of powers.
29. What are the roles of the (a) House of Representatives and (b) Senate in impeachment cases?
30. Explain (a) why some suggest additional checks on the Supreme Court and (b) what checks they suggest.
31. In what ways do the House and Senate check on each other?
32. Explain how the chart on page 138 also illustrates checks and balances.
33. How did the Founding Fathers make sure that there would always be experienced legislators in the Senate?
34. Indicate (a) some criticisms of checks and balances and (b) some answers to such criticisms.
35. List ways in which the American system of government differs from a dictatorship.
36. List the safeguards to human rights in the nameless bill of rights. Give a specific reason why each was included.
37. (a) For what reason and (b) in what way was treason defined in the Constitution?
38. Show specifically that the nameless bill of rights forbids (a) the Federal Government and (b) the states to interfere with property rights.
39. To many, Amendment I is the heart of the so-named Bill of Rights. Refer to its specific provisions to explain why.
40. In what way does Amendment IV stress the principle that "a man's house is his castle"?
41. Explain each of the points in Amendment V in your own words and show clearly how each is a protection to (a) an accused person or (b) a property owner.
42. Show specifically how Amendments (a) XIII, (b) XIV, (c) XV, and (d) XIX extended human rights or privileges.
43. Read Amendment IX in the Appendix and rephrase it in your own words. Show how it, too, extended human rights.
44. Give (a) examples of, and (b) reasons for, certain limitations on (1) human rights and (2) property rights.
45. How may a bill become a law (a) if the President vetoes it or (b) if the President fails to sign it?
46. How may a bill fail to become a law, even though both houses pass it and the President does not officially veto it?
47. Mention four institutions or practices not mentioned in the Constitution that strongly affect lawmaking.
48. Describe the role of the committee system in legislation.
49. Connect (a) committee chairmen, (b) the majority party floor leader, (c) the Rules Committee, and (d) patronage with the role of the political party in lawmaking.
50. Show how (a) filibustering, (b) the cloture rule, and (c) lobbying may affect the passage of a law.
51. Show by examples how lobbying might serve (a) useful and (b) evil purposes. How does the Congress try to control it?
52. Originally, the electors had practically everything to say in deciding who would be President. Today, they have practically nothing to say. Show how the (a) extension of the right to vote and (b) the growth of political parties help to explain this change.

53. For what reasons did the Founding Fathers set up an indirect method of electing the President through electors, rather than a direct method of electing him by the people?
54. With respect to the small states, (a) give reasons why they would have objected to a direct election of the President and (b) tell how they would benefit if an election for President was thrown into the House of Representatives.
55. For what reasons was it felt necessary to pass Amendment XII?
56. Explain how a man may be elected President even though he has fewer popular votes than his opponent.
57. How do the defenders of the electoral system answer its critics?
58. Show why it is difficult to amend the Constitution by using any one of the four possible ways of formally doing so.
59. Explain the many ways by which the Constitution may be informally amended.
60. Explain, by giving examples, the expression "unwritten Constitution."
61. For what reasons is ours called a "living Constitution"?
62. Show that, in framing the Constitution, the Founding Fathers profited from (a) ancient history, (b) English history, (c) French history, (d) colonial history, and (e) the early history of the states.

#### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. The idea of a federal system is one of America's greatest contributions to government. Tell in detail why this is so.
2. What dangers would result if state or local governments could pass laws contrary to the Federal Constitution?
3. What (a) advantage and (b) disadvantages might result if the Congress were unicameral, or made up of one house?
4. Suppose that the delegated powers were

- granted to the states and the reserved powers left to the nation. How do you think our government might be affected?
5. Would you, if you could, add to the delegated powers? If so, which additions? If not, why not?
6. In what sense did the inclusion of the elastic clause indicate that the Founding Fathers had elastic minds?
7. Under what circumstances might either (a) a loose interpretation or (b) a strict interpretation of the Constitution be dangerous?
8. It has been said that states' rights are the refuge of minorities. Explain.
9. Why, under a federal system, is it inevitable that there be concurrent powers?
10. Suppose that governors frequently ignored extradition. What dangers might result?
11. In today's world, would it be wise (a) to increase the powers of the President and decrease those of the Congress, or vice versa; (b) to make a general, rather than the President, commander in chief of the armed forces; (c) to create more appointive commissions to do more of the work of the Federal Government?
12. The two houses of the Congress, by a two-thirds vote, should have the power to override decisions of the Supreme Court. Explain fully whether you agree or disagree.
13. What was the reasoning behind giving the Supreme Court original, rather than appellate, jurisdiction in cases involving ambassadors and those in which a state is a party?
14. For what reasons would it be dangerous if impeachment of Presidents were a common practice?
15. To what extent do you agree with those who say that too much stress has been placed on human rights, and not enough on individual responsibility?
16. Renumber (a) the delegated powers in Article I or (b) the first ten amendments in what you consider the order

- of their importance. Justify your first three choices.
17. Do you believe that the limitations placed on (a) human rights and (b) property rights should be increased or decreased? Explain.
  18. Amendment XIV is essentially part of the Bill of Rights. To what extent do you agree?
  19. Some might say that the Bill of Rights is the most important part of the Constitution. Give your views.
  20. It might be argued that the committee system (a) promotes the democratic process or (b) hinders the democratic process. Give arguments for both (a) and (b).
  21. To what extent are (a) filibustering and (b) lobbying (1) democratic (2) undemocratic?
  22. Explain how it is theoretically possible for a man with fifty more popular votes than his opponent to win the presidency by a vote of 535 to 0 in the electoral college.
  23. Since the electoral college system has served us fairly well through the years, we should not try to tamper with it. Give arguments for or against this statement.
  24. The system whereby one party gets all the electoral votes of a state has hindered the growth of minority parties. Explain.
  25. A President can exercise great influence over Congress through "exercising all the arts of *persuasion*, *propaganda*, *patronage*, and *party discipline*." Show by examples how a President can exercise great power by exercising each of the methods suggested by the italicized words.
  26. Give arguments for or against the proposition that (a) a candidate who receives even a plurality of the electoral votes should be considered elected or (b) electors *must* vote their party's choice and never exercise their independent judgment.
  27. A newly elected President should take office immediately, instead of two and one-half months after his election. What arguments might be given (a) for or (b) against this proposition?
  28. Explain how the nonformal methods of amending the Constitution, even more than the formal methods, help to make it a "living Constitution."
  29. Should the formal amendment process be amended to make it easier to make formal amendments to the Constitution? Give arguments pro or con.

### ☆ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. For a bulletin board exhibit entitled "The Constitution in Action," obtain newspaper clippings that illustrate concretely any actions of the President, the Congress, the Federal courts, or any other Federal agencies in their official capacity.
2. In Column I, list political, economic, and social characteristics of life in the United States. In Column II, list political, economic, and social characteristics of life in a dictatorship. In Column III, as you study the Constitution, jot down points that help to explain the differences between Column I and Column II.
3. In Column I, list the weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation. In Column II, opposite each weakness, show how a provision of the Constitution helped to correct it.
4. Debate: Resolved that (a) control of education should be a delegated power of the Congress, instead of a reserved power of the states, (b) the President should be elected by a direct popular vote, (c) the electoral votes of each state should be divided in proportion to the popular vote, (d) seniority should be ignored in choosing Congressional committee chairmen, (e) all Federal judges, including Supreme Court judges, should

be elected instead of appointed, or (f) amendments should be made merely by a two-thirds vote of the Congress.

5. As a research project, investigate uses that have been made of (a) the filibuster, (b) the due process clause in Amendments V and XIV, (c) logrolling, or (d) lobbying.

6. In committee, make a mimeographed check list for distribution to the class on all the desirable qualities a President should possess. As the term progresses, rate each President studied according to this check list.

7. Assume that you are ambitious to become President of the United States. Trace the steps you would have to take to (a) win the nomination and (b) win the election. Consult, for example, Theodore H. White's *The Making of the President 1960*.

8. Assume that you are President of the United States. Write a State of the Union Message for delivery to the Congress. Look up the last State of the Union Message to get ideas. Consult the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, for example.

9. Make a list of questions you would ask the present President if you were granted an interview with him.

10. Investigate how the British system of government operates. Then write a paper answering all the arguments of an imaginary Englishman that Britain's

system of ministerial responsibility is more efficient and more democratic than America's system of separation of powers and checks and balances.

11. In committee, study a copy of your state's constitution. Then compare it with the Federal Constitution as to (a) bill of rights, (b) powers of (1) the executive (2) the legislature (3) the judiciary, (c) method of amendment, and (d) any other point of comparison.

12. Visit (a) either house of the Congress, (b) your state or local legislature, (c) a court session, or (d) the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Report to the class on your observations.

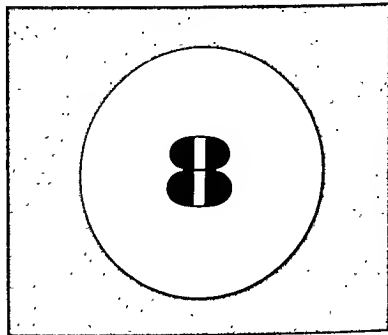
13. Opposite each aim stated in the Preamble to the Constitution, write one way in which the Constitution attempts to achieve it.

14. In Column I, list five rights guaranteed you in the Bill of Rights. In Column II, opposite each, write a duty or responsibility that goes hand in hand with the right.

15. Clip from a newspaper or magazine any item you think demonstrates protection or violation of an individual's rights. Give reasons why you think so.

16. "The defense of the civil liberties rests in part with the courts, in part with public opinion, and always in the alertness of each individual citizen." Write an essay showing concretely why this statement is true.

## CHAPTER



### *The New Government, With Its New Constitution, Survives Serious Testing In the Federalist Era*

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#### **Precedents Set in Domestic Affairs Under President Washington**

• Precedents Concerning the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, National Character Traits, the President, Vice-President, and Speaker of the House • Hamilton's Plan for the Financial Foundation of the Nation • Jefferson Is Fearful of Hamilton's Plan

#### **Precedents Set in Foreign Affairs Under President Washington**

• Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality a Precedent for Steering Clear of Foreign Politics and Wars • Frenchman Genêt's Defiance of Proclamation Dismays Washington • Jay's Treaty with Britain, Pinckney's Treaty with Spain, and the Greenville Treaty with the Indians Preserve Peace • Washington's Farewell Address Recommends Friendly, But Not Permanent, Alliances with Other Nations

#### **Party Friction During the Administration of President John Adams**

• America's Two-Party System Gets Started, Despite Warning in Washington's Farewell Address • The Federalist and Republican Parties Compared • The Alien and Sedition Laws of the Federalists Are Attacked in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of the Republicans • Federalists Help Elect Republican Jefferson President in 1800 • The Decline of the Federalists • Their Remarkable Accomplishments

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In town after town, girls strewed carpets of flowers for his coach to pass over. Church bells rang out. Cannons roared a welcome. Bonfires reddened the sky. Dancers filled the streets. Songs were composed, banquets

held, and triumphal arches erected—all in his honor.

Such was the reception given George Washington on his journey from Mount Vernon to New York to be inaugurated first

President of the United States. And on Inauguration Day, April 30, 1789, churches were crowded with people praying for the success of the new Government and its President. On the open balcony of the new Federal Hall on Wall Street in New York City, Washington took his oath to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." In the New World and in the Old World, many looked upon the new nation being launched under its new Constitution as a fresh source of hope for mankind.

### **The Testing Time Is a Tough Time For Washington**

Ten years after his first inauguration, at the age of sixty-seven, Washington was dead. He had twice been unanimously elected President and could have been elected a third time. Yet even Washington could not please everybody. After serving a few years as President, he found that among the many who had greeted him with cheers, there were now many hurling jeers at him. "American Caesar" and "Stepfather of His Country," his enemies called him. Such name-calling, or worse, has been practiced against many political figures, on both sides of the political fence, ever since Washington's time. Often people become so passionate over political issues that emotion prevails over reason, and name-calling over logical discussion.

As first President, Washington naturally faced many serious problems. The way his Administration tried to solve them aroused bitter disagreements. These disagreements help to explain both the name-calling attacks directed at him and his supporters and the name-calling counterattacks directed against his opponents. What were some of these serious problems? The country was saddled with debts. Indians in the Northwest and Southwest threatened the frontier. Frontiersmen not getting adequate protection threatened to secede from the United States.

Foreign nations were still treating us with contempt. Farmers in western Pennsylvania rebelled and challenged the authority of the Federal Government. Many in all states were still more loyal to their states than to the nation. Some predicted that the new Constitution would go the way of the Articles of Confederation. There was only a tiny army of about 700 men to protect a nation with a coastline 2,000 miles long. Manufacturers and farmers disagreed sharply as to what part the Government should play in protecting and promoting business.

Disagreements as to how to solve these many problems soon led, as we shall see, to the formation of two bitterly opposed political parties. Generally speaking, the Washington Administration was able to pass with excellent grades the test of finding solutions to its many problems. It proved to many doubters here and abroad that the United States was here to stay.

### **Many Precedents Are Set In the Administration Of the First President**

Washington seldom acted hastily. He thought not of the selfish interests of any special group but rather of the welfare of the whole country. Not only did he ask for advice but he listened to it, weighed it, came to conclusions concerning it, and then mapped out a plan for carrying out his conclusions. Washington would not permit pressure brought by friends or attacks made by opponents to prevent him from doing what he thought was his duty.

**Some Precedents with Respect to the Cabinet.** President Washington helped to breathe life into the Constitution by picking the right men for the right jobs. He picked Thomas Jefferson of Virginia to head the department of foreign affairs, called the *State Department*. He picked Alexander Hamilton of New York to head the *Treasury Department* and Henry Knox of Massachusetts to head the *War Department*. By appointing men from different sections of



*The first President and his chief advisers. From left to right: Knox, Jefferson, Randolph, Hamilton, and Washington. Imagine yourself as any one of Washington's advisers. What do you think your major problems would have been?*

the country, Washington hoped to get the sections to work together.

These three executive departments<sup>1</sup> had been created by the Congress to help the President get the machinery of government going. The Constitution merely states that the President

may require the opinion in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, . . .

But Washington developed the custom of having Jefferson, Hamilton, and Knox (along with Edmund Randolph, the first attorney

general) meet with him to discuss their respective responsibilities and the problems of the Government in general. This is how the *Cabinet* system of the United States originated. Thus Washington founded a Cabinet that was merely hinted at in the Constitution (footnote, page 148). All later Presidents have followed this precedent.<sup>1</sup>

It became the tradition for Cabinet members to be responsible to the President and not to the Congress. Cabinet members have always been barred from membership in the Congress. In fact, the first Congress made it clear that Cabinet members were not even welcome to speak before it. To permit such executives to appear before the legislature with their recommendations would, it was felt, violate the principle of separation of powers. This was quite different from the situation in Britain and many other democracies, where cabinet members were—and still are—*required* to be members of the parliament and responsible to it.

**Judicial Review Based Upon Precedent.** The many judicial powers granted the Federal Government by the Constitution meant nothing as long as there were no Federal courts. The Congress breathed life into the Constitution by creating Federal courts in the *Judiciary Act* of 1789. This act created certain lower courts and a Supreme Court consisting of six judges,<sup>2</sup> one being the chief justice. If Federal courts had not been created, every state system of courts could have interpreted the Constitution any way it wished. The *Judiciary Act* stated that the Supreme Court, not the state courts, had the final say in interpreting the Federal Constitution and the Federal laws and treaties made under it. In time, the Supreme Court was to declare unconstitutional acts of state courts, state legislatures, and even of the national legislature. Thus the *Judiciary Act* planted the seeds for another precedent—that of judicial review (page 134).

<sup>1</sup> Now there are ten.

<sup>1</sup> A *precedent* is an example so consistently followed by others that it becomes a tradition.

<sup>2</sup> Now there are nine.

**The Nation Develops Good Character Traits—Another Precedent.** During Washington's administration, our nation developed some fine character traits, which it has retained through the years. It developed a reputation for honesty because it paid its debts. It demonstrated its self-respect by refusing to permit itself to be bullied by other nations. And it showed a sense of responsibility for all its citizens when it protected its frontier settlements against Indians, against the British in the Northwest, and against the Spanish in the Southwest.

**Precedents with Respect to the President, Vice-President, and Speaker of the House.** Aristocratically minded men thought that the President should be addressed as "Your Highness" or "Your Excellency." Instead, the precedent was established in Washington's administration of calling the President simply "Mr. President." A precedent was established regarding the Vice-Presidency, too. Ever since Washington's time, the Vice-President has had little power as presiding officer of the Senate. But the Speaker of the House of Representatives, from the start, had great power.

**Three Precedents Are Smashed in the Twentieth Century.** The twentieth century has witnessed the smashing of at least three precedents established under Washington. One was the tradition limiting Presidents to two terms (now reinstated by Amendment XXII). Another was the tradition that there should be no compulsory military service in peacetime. A third was the tradition that the United States should, as far as possible, avoid alliances with foreign countries and involvement in their political problems and their wars (page 173).

### **Hamilton Sets Precedents In Building a Firm Financial Foundation for the Nation**

**Hamilton's Goal of Building a Powerful Nation Explains His Financial Program.** Personally, Alexander Hamilton showed little

interest in making money. He died a poor man. Yet he believed that to build a powerful nation, the Government needed the support of the powerful wealthy class. That is why he wanted the Government to do all in its power to enable the rich to make more money and to keep their wealth. He hoped that if the Government helped many more to become rich, it would win still more powerful backing for a powerful nation. A strong union, with a strong central government, was needed, he felt, to survive threats both from within and from without.

Hamilton had little respect for the intelligence or ability of the masses of the people. He feared that giving them much influence in the government would prevent the building of a powerful, well-united nation. He once said:

All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well-born, the other the mass of the people. . . . The people . . . seldom judge or determine right. Give therefore to the first class a distinct permanent share in the government.

**Jefferson's Democratic Philosophy Makes Him Fearful of Hamilton's Financial Plan.** The strongest opponent of Hamilton and his views was Thomas Jefferson. Hamilton had been born on a little island in the West Indies and had been so poor that he had had to go to work at the age of twelve. Yet his views, as we have just seen, were extremely aristocratic. Jefferson had been born on a big plantation and was a member of Virginia's aristocracy. Yet his views were extremely democratic. Of the people, Hamilton said: "Take mankind in general, they are vicious." Jefferson, on the other hand, had great faith in, and love for, the masses of the people, especially farmers (page 164). He disagreed with Hamilton that the Government should be controlled by the "rich and well-born" minority. Neither did he like Hamilton's idea of trying to make the United States a nation of big cities, with big factories and big banks. Jefferson believed



in a government by the majority, and this majority, he hoped, would always be farmers cultivating their small farms.

Hamilton's concentration on developing a strong central government also troubled Jefferson. He feared that unless the rights of the states were stressed, the rights of the people would be in danger.

Essentially, the disagreements between Hamilton and Jefferson were disagreements that, in one form or another, have cropped up again and again in American history. Hamilton and Jefferson seem to have set an example—an American way—for disagreeing, even violently, without resort to violence. This way is quite different from the violent methods used by certain political leaders in many countries, even today, to get rid of the opposition and achieve complete control of the Government.

**Hamilton's Plan: 1. Establish National Credit by Paying All Debts.** On foot, on horseback, and by fast sailing vessels, in 1790, frenzied messengers from Philadelphia, Boston, and New York hurried from state to state. They knocked on doors, especially in country districts. They would ask householders, in effect: Do you have any of those practically worthless paper certificates the Continental Congress issued during the Revolution? Would you like to get rid of them? I can't pay you the sum stated on the certificate, but I can pay you a fraction of it.

Householders, if they had any such certificates, accepted this offer with delight.

Who were the messengers? What was their hurry? Why did the delight of householders soon turn to anger and even despair? A plank in Hamilton's financial platform throws light on the answers to these questions.

Three types of debts faced the country when Washington became President. To France, Spain, and Holland, the national Government owed about \$12 million for money borrowed during the Revolution. This was the *foreign debt*. To the people of the United States, the national Government owed about \$42 million. This was the *domestic debt*. The people had lent the Govern-

ment this money to pay soldiers and buy war supplies during the Revolution and to pay expenses under the Articles of Confederation. To the people of the states, the state governments owed about \$20 million. These were the *state debts*. As secretary of the treasury, Hamilton drew up a plan in which he suggested that the national Government pay all these debts.

According to Hamilton's plan, people were to turn in to the national Government all their old paper certificates. Then they would receive from the Government new bonds guaranteeing the full value of the old paper certificates, including unpaid interest. This policy, called *funding the debt*, was popular with some but very unpopular with others.

**Why Most Favored Paying the Foreign Debt.** Practically all Americans agreed that the foreign debt should be paid in full. They agreed with Hamilton that only thus could the United States establish a reputation for honesty and insure its credit on a solid foundation.

**Why Many Opposed Paying the Domestic Debt.** The domestic debt was also paid. However, fierce opposition to its payment developed. Why? As we know, hard times had beset many after the American Revolution. As a result, many Revolutionary War veterans, and poor people in general, had been compelled to sell their certificates at low prices. Many others had sold their certificates at a fraction of their original value to those frenzied messengers of 1790. In the main, these messengers had been the agents of certain bankers and businessmen of Northern cities. They were frenzied because they were in a hurry to buy up the certificates before others beat them to it. The initial delight of the sellers soon turned to anger. They learned that these banking and business groups had had inside information concerning the Government's intention to redeem the depreciated certificates at full value. Their anger mounted when it was further learned that many members of the House of Representatives had also made considerable profits from such speculation.

Jefferson and his supporters charged that Hamilton's plan was nothing but a scheme to enrich the rich. They complained that the common people were being doubly cheated. They pointed out that people had first been cheated when they had received such a low price for their certificates. They would again be cheated, it was claimed, when they would have to pay taxes so that speculators who bought the certificates at a low price would be paid a high price for them by the Government.

**How Hamilton Answered Those Opposed to Paying the Domestic Debt.** Hamilton did not deny that he was trying to enrich the rich. But, as we know, he believed that this was a wise way of strengthening the Government. He told those who had sold their certificates early that it was *their own fault*. They had failed, he felt, to show sufficient faith in the future of their Government. He felt convinced that future Americans would benefit from their experience. He was right. In our own time, millions of Americans have, with confidence, bought billions of dollars in United States bonds.

**Why Many Opposed National Assumption of State Debts.** The payment of the state debts by the national Government was called *assumption*. Fierce opposition developed against this step, too. Some states, such as Virginia, had already paid their debts through taxation. Virginians complained: We burdened ourselves with taxes to pay off our own state debt. Why should we be burdened once more with taxes to pay off the debts of states not so conscientious? States with small debts objected to being taxed to pay the heavy debts of other states. Jefferson and other Southern critics of assumption charged that wealthy Northern speculators would profit from it, just as they were profiting from the payment of the domestic debt.

**How Hamilton Answered the Opponents of Assumption.** Hamilton did not deny the truth of these arguments. Again he pointed out that assumption was a way of getting the rich to support the Government. He further

contended that if the national Government could assume and pay off the debts of the states, it would increase its own importance. Finally, he appealed to the desire for national unity: since the Revolution had been fought in a common cause, the national Government should consider the state debts an obligation common to all.

**How Southern Congressmen Were Won Over to Assumption.** Hamilton almost failed to get the Congress to agree to his plan for assumption. But he saved it by a deal with Jefferson. Jefferson agreed to get enough Southern congressmen to support assumption in return for Hamilton's promise to get enough Northern congressmen to vote for establishing the national capital on the Potomac River.<sup>1</sup> This procedure, by which one congressman or group of congressmen agree to vote for the bill of another congressman or group of congressmen in return for a similar favor, is known as *logrolling*.

**Hamilton's Plan: II. Create a Partnership of Government and Bankers in the Banking Business.** Another of Hamilton's financial proposals was a source of friction not only during Washington's administration but off and on for many years afterward. What was this proposal? Why did it cause friction?

**Why Many Opposed Chartering a National Bank.** We told you so. This was what many persons who had opposed the Constitution were saying after Hamilton persuaded the Congress to pass a law in 1791 chartering a National Bank for twenty years. Such persons asserted that the establishment of the Bank proved their arguments that under the Constitution, (1) the wealthy would be favored, (2) the commercial and banking section of the North would be favored over the agricultural South, and (3) the national Government would grow so

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<sup>1</sup> The land for the capital, contributed by Maryland and Virginia, is called the *District of Columbia*. Washington, D.C., is not part of any state. It has been our capital since 1800. New York was our first capital, and our second, during the 1790's, was Philadelphia.

strong as to completely dominate the states. They asserted further that Hamilton was so eager for a strong national Government in the hands of the wealthy that he would even violate the Constitution. To many, including Jefferson, who had not opposed the Constitution, the establishment of the Bank was an unconstitutional act.

Hamilton did not deny charges (1), (2), and (3) above. But he did deny that the Bank was unconstitutional. What was the basis for charges (1), (2), and (3) against the Bank? Why was there a difference of opinion as to whether the Bank was constitutional? Let us now see.

*Ownership and Operation of the First United States Bank.* This *First United States Bank* was mainly a private bank, in spite of its name. Only one-fifth of its \$10 million of stock was bought by the Government.<sup>1</sup> The Government, as well as individuals, deposited money in the Bank. Using these deposits, the Bank would lend money to businessmen and charge them interest.

The country's business was constantly growing. There was not, however, enough gold and silver to take care of the increased volume. That is why the Bank was given power to issue paper money. Thus the Bank would be creating sound public credit, based upon a stable, uniform currency throughout the country. Within one hour after it was issued, the Bank's stock was bought up, mainly by the wealthy commercial and banking interests of the North. Within a few years, the Bank's stockholders were making an average of eight and one-half per cent on their investment.

*Arguments on the Constitutionality of the Bank.* By what right does the Congress establish a bank, when the word "bank" is not even mentioned in the Constitution? If the Congress can do this, what is to stop it from passing any law on any subject? From speakers' platforms and in newspaper articles

throughout the country, Jefferson's supporters aroused the people with questions such as these. Jefferson believed that the Congress had only those powers specifically delegated to it in the Constitution. In short, he believed in a strict interpretation of the Constitution (page 129). Throughout our history this view has been held by groups who emphasize their belief in states' rights. They have argued that if the national Government could stretch its specifically delegated powers, the rights of the states would be threatened.

These arguments are ridiculous, said Hamilton's supporters. They asked such questions as: Is it not true that the elastic clause (page 129) gives the Congress the power to stretch its delegated powers? Does not the Congress have such delegated powers as the powers to collect taxes, borrow money, and regulate the currency? In line with the elastic clause, is it not necessary and proper to establish a bank in which to deposit the taxes collected, to handle the Government's borrowing, and to issue currency? People who argue this way believe that the Congress has many implied powers (page 129). As we know, these implied powers are exercised through stretching delegated powers by means of the "necessary-and-proper" clause. As we know, too, this belief, called a loose interpretation of the Constitution, is held by those who believe in a strong central government.

Washington was more convinced by Hamilton's arguments than by those of Jefferson. Perhaps he also believed that in money matters, it was his duty to back his secretary of the treasury. He signed the Bank bill. There is no Bank of the United States today. However, in a sense, the Government is still a partner with private bankers in the banking business (page 615). Thus Hamilton established another financial precedent.

*Hamilton's Plan: III. Raise Revenue Through Excise Taxes.* The opposition to the first two phases of Hamilton's plan had been verbal. But the opposition to the third phase took the form of physical violence.

*The Suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion*

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, in those days, \$10 million was a far greater sum than it is today.



*The Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania. "The whole western country began, in the language of that time, to bristle with anarchy-poles. From some floated red flags bearing the number of the rebellious counties. On others were the words 'Liberty or Death,' or 'Liberty and Equality,' or 'No Excise.'" (Quoted from J. B. McMaster, History of the People of the United States, Vol. 2; Appleton-Century-Crofts.)*

**Process That the National Government Means Business.** One day in 1794, a group of ragged farmers were made to march through the streets of Philadelphia, each wearing a sign reading "Insurgent" (rebel). They had been arrested and were being exposed to public ridicule. Why? They had refused to pay a special tax on whiskey they made in their own stills. They had attacked tax collectors and even stripped, tarred, and feathered some. What explains this refusal and these attacks? Many farmers in western Pennsylvania and in many other frontier communities made a living by distilling their grain into whiskey. To carry grain over the mountain trails and long distances to the Eastern markets was costly and difficult. By turning their grain into whiskey, the farmers reduced its bulk and increased its value in the East. In fact, whiskey was used as money in many frontier communities. "Moonshine currency," it was called.

The tax on whiskey, levied in 1791, was part of Hamilton's plan for raising revenue to pay the debt. It was one of several taxes levied on goods manufactured and sold within the country. Such a tax for internal revenue is called an *excise tax*. Today many excise taxes are levied.

The whiskey tax infuriated frontier farmers.

Night riders wearing masks smashed the stills of other farmers who dared to pay the tax. They considered the tax an unfair one that was taking their livelihood from them. These independent frontiersmen regarded the tax collectors as snoopers.

In 1794, in western Pennsylvania, their bitterness turned to open resistance. Their resistance has been called the *Whiskey Rebellion*. Actually, it was such a small uprising that it could have been suppressed with a small number of soldiers. Instead, 15,000 militiamen from three states, without waging any battles, quickly restored order. The arrested rebels who were taken to Philadelphia were held for only a short time. Two were convicted of treason, but were quickly pardoned.

To Jefferson, calling out such a large force to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion was "like using a meat-ax to kill a spider." Why had it been done? George Washington had been persuaded to call out the state militiamen by Alexander Hamilton.

Hamilton looked upon the Whiskey Rebellion as a kind of test case for the new Government. He wanted to prove that the new Government under the new Constitution, unlike the old government under the Articles of Confederation, could collect taxes. He

wanted to find out whether the states, by contributing state militiamen, would show their willingness to enforce the laws of the Federal Government. He wanted to prove that the Whiskey Rebellion would not be permitted to go as far as Shays' Rebellion had in challenging authority. Among the strongest opponents of a strong national government and even of the Constitution itself had been the frontier farmers. Hamilton wanted to show them, especially, and everyone else as well, that this new national Government was going to be strong and lasting. As we know, he wanted to make sure that the new Government would get the full support of the wealthy and conservative property owners. He felt that one way of doing so was to prove to them that this new Government would not tolerate a challenge to law and order.

**Hamilton's Plan: IV. Institute a Tariff to Promote Manufacturing.** The Congress, in 1789, had passed a very low tariff. Such a low tariff, whose purpose is mainly to raise money, is called a *revenue tariff*. A *protective tariff*, on the other hand, entails higher rates. Its purpose is to make imported goods cost more, so that people will buy goods manufactured at home. Hamilton, who believed that the United States should be a land of many factories as well as farms, strongly urged a protective tariff.

**Why Hamilton Thought a Protective Tariff Would Benefit the Nation and Various Groups Within It.** In essence, this is how Hamilton argued in favor of a protective tariff. Weak industries just getting started must be protected. These *infant industries* [as such new industries are called] will grow into strong adult industries if protected by a high tariff. If such industries are left unprotected, English manufacturers, with their greater experience and more experienced workers, will be able to undersell American manufacturers in the American market. With a protective tariff, the country will prosper because there will be a good balance between agriculture and manufacturing. If the country grows and manufactures

what it needs, it will not have to depend, in time of war, upon any foreign country.

Such self-sufficiency, or economic independence, contended Hamilton, will encourage closer relations between the farmers of the South and the manufacturers of the North. As manufacturers become more prosperous, the Government will be able to collect taxes from them as well as from prosperous farmers. True, the main purpose of a protective tariff is to aid manufacturers. But workers will benefit from it, too; for more factories will mean more jobs. Farmers also will benefit; for, with more prosperity, they will sell more of their products. And there will be more people to sell them to; for immigrants from Europe will be attracted by jobs in industry.

Hamilton's arguments persuaded the Congress to raise the tariff somewhat in 1792. However, it was still far more a revenue tariff than a protective tariff.

**Why Jefferson Disagreed with Hamilton on the Protective Tariff.** American democracy will be preserved only so long as America remains a land of small farmers. So argued Jefferson. Summarized, his reasoning ran as follows: Widespread manufacturing in big cities will lead to great wealth for the few. This, in turn, will lead to discrimination against the many and to corruption. If big cities develop, they will breed propertyless city mobs. These mobs will be easily influenced by dangerous demagogues, who, through false promises, will win their support and thereby gain personal political power. And why should Americans, most of them farmers, have to pay high prices for home manufactures that might be inferior? This is what will happen if a high protective tariff keeps out European products.

Many merchants and shippers also objected to a high protective tariff. They protested that it would interfere with the free flow of goods—their stock in trade.

**Some Call Hamilton Our Greatest Secretary of the Treasury.** During Washington's administration, the nation in general enjoyed a period of prosperity. Hamilton's work in

establishing the nation's credit and in raising desperately needed revenue helped to make it so. By stabilizing the currency, he curbed inflation. By encouraging the use of the elastic clause for establishing the Bank, he showed the way by which the national Government could be more effective. His financial program has been criticized as favoring wealthy groups. Yet when Jefferson became President, he made no radical changes in Hamilton's financial program.

Throughout American history, people have disagreed as to the advantages of a protective tariff. Right down to the present, the trend of the tariff almost invariably has been upward. In securing the passage of higher and higher tariffs, people have used Hamilton's arguments over and over again. Thus, the protective tariff was another one of Hamilton's financial precedents.

Hamilton's vision of a great United States brought about by a strong national Government vigorously encouraging industrial expansion greatly influenced many Americans who came after him. The high standard of living in the United States owes much to his vision. So does the country's great international influence.

### **The Nation Establishes A Precedent for Demanding The Respect of Foreign Nations**

**Washington Refuses to Become Involved in France's War.** One night in Philadelphia in 1793, an elaborate banquet was held. There the chopped-off head of a roast pig was labeled "Louis XVI" and passed from one guest to another. Each one thrust his knife into it as he cried out some statement in praise of freedom and the rights of man. Louis XVI had been King of France in 1789 when the French Revolution broke out against him and the privileged classes. For centuries, ninety-five per cent of the French people had been burdened with numerous heavy taxes. But they had had no voice in the Government. The ruler was absolute. And

the privileged nobility, who lived in luxury, were virtually tax-exempt.

Most of the American people had rejoiced at hearing the news of the French Revolution. They rejoiced when severe restrictions were placed on the power of the king and when feudal dues to, tax exemption for, and titles of nobles were abolished. To many Americans, the French Revolution seemed like the American Revolution all over again. These Americans felt proud when they learned that the French revolutionaries were writing a Declaration of the Rights of Man very similar to the American Declaration of Independence.

Kings, emperors, princes, and nobles did not share this enthusiasm. Their ancestors had dominated the peoples of Europe for centuries. They were terrified that the French Revolution might become contagious. To prevent revolutions in their own countries, they organized armies to invade France and smash the revolution. The French revolutionaries feared that many Frenchmen, including Louis XVI, were plotting inside France to help the invaders. The revolutionaries beheaded the king, the queen, thousands of nobles, and others suspected of opposing the revolution.

Jefferson and most of his followers considered this Reign of Terror just a minor incident in the French Revolution. To them, the revolution as a whole was a smashing blow at the long-standing tyranny of aristocrats and a great step forward in the march of democracy. At this time, Britain had joined other monarchies in trying to crush the French Revolution. Jefferson was anti-British. He suspected that Britain had not given up the hope of winning back its lost Thirteen Colonies. Being anti-British made him all the more pro-French.

However, Hamilton and other conservatives condemned both the Reign of Terror and the radical nature of the revolution. Such conservatives pointed out that Americans had been able to wage a revolution without a reign of terror. They asked such questions as: Might not the seizure of much

of the property of nobles and the church by French revolutionaries encourage seizure of property in the United States by radical mobs? Since French revolutionaries worshipped a Goddess of Reason instead of God, might not religion here be threatened, too?

Hamilton strongly favored Britain. It is true that Hamilton had been a loyal supporter and even a leader in the American Revolution. His pro-British views after the Revolution were partly due to his admiration for the stability and aristocratic tone of the British Government. Furthermore, Britain was by far our best customer. Friendship with Britain would help Hamilton to raise the money to carry out his financial program.

**Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality a Precedent for Steering Clear of Foreign Politics and Wars.** What was Washington to do? He was convinced that if the nation could stay out of war for twenty years, other nations would think twice before they would dare to attack us. By that time, he believed, the United States would be blessed by a great population, prosperity, and power.

**The Arguments For and Against Giving Military Aid to France.** But staying out of war was not easy. Many Americans demanded that we go to the rescue of the French, who, they felt, were battling for freedom and the rights of man against European monarchs. They demanded to know: Did not Frenchmen sacrifice their blood in the cause of American freedom? Did we not make a treaty of alliance with France in 1778 that is still in force? If these tyrannical monarchs ultimately win out in their struggle with the French, may not America be next in line?

But Washington, like Hamilton, realized that all-out aid to France would mean certain war with our best customer, Britain. He felt that the United States, an infant nation, with its tiny army and navy, small population, and big debt, would easily be defeated by Britain and its European allies. He knew how easily the United States could be invaded from Spanish-held Louisiana and

Florida and from British-held Canada. Furthermore, Hamilton advised him that the alliance with France was not legally binding. Hamilton reasoned that the alliance had been signed with King Louis XVI and not with the radicals of the French republic.

Jefferson denied this opinion. He maintained correctly that alliances are made between nations and not between particular groups in control at the time.

To Washington, however, the Treaty of 1778 had been for defensive purposes only. But France, which had become a republic in 1792, was now fighting an offensive war. It had turned back the invaders and was invading other European countries to spread its revolutionary ideas. The French revolutionary leaders did not deny that they were inspiring a world revolution, a "war of all peoples against all kings." It was quite evident, too, that they were also fighting a war in both hemispheres and against the British Empire in particular.

For these reasons, Washington decided that we should mind our own business. He issued a *Proclamation of Neutrality* in 1793. In it, he declared that the United States had no intention of taking sides in the war. He warned Americans not to take part in it by fighting with or supplying war goods to either side. Even the pro-French Jefferson, like the other members of Washington's Cabinet, agreed that it was wise for the United States to remain neutral. So did the Congress, which passed an act in 1794 confirming Washington's action.

**Genêt Ignores the Proclamation and Fills Washington with Dismay.** One spring day in 1793, "Citizen" Edmond Genêt, minister of the French republic to the United States, arrived in Charleston. This was just two weeks before Washington issued his proclamation. The excitable Genêt received an exciting welcome. On his trip north to the then capital, Philadelphia, horsemen joyously galloped ahead to announce his coming. Banquets were held in his honor. Many newspapers sang his praises and those of his country. For pro-French sentiment in the

United States was still strong. All this enthusiasm misled Genêt. He concluded that anything he did to get backing for France would be backed by the American people.

Everywhere he went, Genêt made arrangements for using our ports or other territory as jumping-off places for waging war on English or Spanish shipping and colonies. He organized privateers and recruited American volunteers to sail under the French flag for this purpose. He set up French courts in the United States to bring about the sale of British ships captured by French privateers. Using American frontiersmen, Genêt expected to seize Louisiana from Spain. He planned, too, to launch attacks on Spanish-held Florida from South Carolina and Georgia. He furnished pro-French newspapers with propaganda to encourage revolutions in these areas, as well as in British-held Canada.

**Genêt Told to Go.** The worried Washington was convinced that a continuation of such conduct would embroil the United States in war with both Spain and Great Britain. However, he showed that he recognized the revolutionary republic of France by receiving its minister, Genêt. Washington had been persuaded by Jefferson that recognition was proper. Jefferson had argued that a government "which is formed by the will of the nation substantially declared" must be recognized. This is always true, Jefferson maintained, even if a particular government is in our eyes a cruel and evil one.

Washington, through Secretary of State Jefferson, informed Genêt that his actions were illegal according to international law. Genêt was warned that he must stop showing contempt for Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. But the Frenchman went right on trying to enlist Americans and selling captured British ships in our ports. Such defiance antagonized even pro-French Jefferson. He ordered Genêt to go.

**Why Genêt Decided to Stay.** By this time, the more moderate party of which Genêt was a member had been replaced in France by a more violent party, which was executing

many of its opponents. Had Genêt gone home, he would probably have lost his head to the guillotine.<sup>1</sup> Instead, he lost his heart to a rich American girl, daughter of Governor George Clinton of New York. He married her and stayed here.

**Washington Risks Personal Popularity by Avoiding War with Britain.** "He richly deserved to have his lips blistered to the bone!" This was one of many angry criticisms made of John Jay, a special representative of the United States in England in 1794. The rumor had spread that he had kissed the queen's hand after negotiating with the British a treaty that proved very unpopular with Americans.

When Americans heard the terms of this treaty, they went wild with anger. Effigies (stuffed figures) were made of Jay's body and burned at mass meetings. One such effigy was represented as greedy for "British gold" and saying: "Pay me what I demand and I will sell you my country." When Hamilton tried to defend the treaty in an open meeting, he was struck with stones. As the blood poured from his face, he remarked: "If you use such striking arguments, I shall retire!"

Why was it necessary for Jay to sign a treaty with Britain? What were the terms of Jay's Treaty? Why did they make so many Americans so angry? A study of our troubles with Britain will answer these questions.

**Trouble with Britain Over the Old Northwest.** How fortunate for the United States that the great powers of Europe were at war from almost the beginning of Washington's administration until 1815! These nations did not want to see the United States grow strong and expand. Expansion by the United States might mean a threat to British-held Canada and Spanish-held Louisiana and Florida.

The British even prevented the United States from expanding into its own territory of the Old Northwest (page 114). In the

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<sup>1</sup> A machine for beheading by means of a heavy blade or ax sliding in vertical guides.



Treaty of 1783 ending the American Revolution, the British had agreed to get out of this area's frontier posts, such as Detroit. But they stayed on, hoping to create an Indian buffer state between the United States and Canada. Britain's grip on the Old Northwest made it difficult for Americans to engage in the fur trade there, while the British trappers made fortunes.

When Americans complained, the British maintained that they had good reasons for holding on to the posts. They argued, in effect: Your state governments have done everything in their power to prevent Americans from paying debts owed British subjects since before the American Revolution. You have refused to return or pay for property stolen from the Loyalists during the American Revolution.

These British arguments were somewhat exaggerated. Most states had opened their courts to suits by British subjects to obtain collection of debts. And more Loyalist property was returned than was originally anticipated.

To check American expansion in the Old Northwest, some British agents even formed partnerships with Indian chiefs. Guns were given the Indians. They were stirred up to massacre American frontier families trying to clear the land and build homes across the Ohio River.

*Trouble with Britain Over Our Rights as a Neutral.* Often, when nations are at war, they interfere with what neutral nations consider their rights. This interference is especially true of nations with powerful navies. They frequently use their navies to try to prevent a neutral from using its right to trade with the enemy. France was at war with Britain and other European countries almost continuously from 1793 to 1815. This war led to a big demand in Europe and in the French and Spanish colonies in the West Indies for neutral America's products. It also led to a vast expansion in American trade and shipbuilding.

In this expansion, France's difficulties had proved to be America's opportunities. A main

French difficulty was Britain's powerful navy, which prevented France from supplying its colonies in the West Indies with food. America's opportunity came when the French took the step of opening their West Indies to American trade. Britain, which had barred American trade with the British West Indies, tried to do all it could to stop American trade with the French West Indies. The excuse given by the British was that since the French had not permitted Americans to trade with their colonies in peacetime, the opening of the colonial ports to Americans in wartime was illegal. This was the so-called *Rule of 1756*. Many of our ships trading with the French West Indies and at continental European ports were seized.

The United States protested the seizures. We admitted that a warring nation (called a *belligerent*) had the right to stop neutral vessels and seize war materials (called *contraband*) going to the enemy. But we accused the British of abusing this right by ransacking our neutral ships from top to bottom. Most of our cargoes, we pointed out, were food. And one of the rights of neutrals, the United States asserted, was the right to ship noncontraband materials, such as food, to belligerents on either side. In short, "neutral ships make neutral goods."

Freedom of the seas was another right the United States claimed neutrals were entitled to. But Britain declared the ports of France as well as other European ports blockaded. According to the United States, however, a blockade was not legal unless it was effectively enforced with enough ships at the ports of the enemy to prevent other ships from entering or leaving. Since relatively few British ships blockaded the European ports, we considered the British blockade a *paper blockade*. Paper blockades, the United States contended, need not be respected. Yet the few British ships in the blockade, whenever they could, seized American ships. Our Government's strong protest of this violation of what it considered neutral rights was ignored. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did most nations recognize that neutrals

had such rights as the United States claimed. Even then, when wars came, these rights were often ignored.

**Trouble with Britain Over Impressment of American Seamen.** The British stopped our vessels on the high seas not only to search for contraband but to search for sailors. Desertions were common in the British Navy. Deserters would often join the American Navy or merchant marine. Brutal treatment, bad food, cramped quarters, and poor pay explain the desertions. Desperately in need of sailors, British sea captains would sometimes remove from American merchant ships not only British deserters but Britishers who had become naturalized American citizens. As justification, Britain argued "once a Britisher always a Britisher."

Sometimes sailors who had been born in America and who had served only on American ships were also seized. This practice, known as the *impressment of American seamen* into the British Navy, provoked angry protests in America. Frequently, such sailors seized in error were returned. But bitter feelings lingered. Americans were furious, too, when they learned that sometimes British sailors, in searching an American vessel, would smash open trunks, cut up beds, and search the persons of passengers—male and female alike.

**Jay's Treaty, Though Unpopular, Preserves Peace.** War with Britain was what some Americans demanded. But the conservatives, led by Hamilton, realized how dependent economically we were on Britain. Indeed, ninety per cent of our imports came from Britain. Moreover, the tax on imports furnished much of the money for paying off our foreign, domestic, and state debts. It was to settle the many differences with Britain peacefully that Washington, on Hamilton's advice, had sent John Jay to England. The conservative Jay, like Hamilton, hated the radicalism of the French revolutionaries and admired the conservatism of the British Government.

**Why Jay's Treaty Was Unpopular.** The United States *did* make certain gains in Jay's



*John Jay is burned in effigy. Washington, like these demonstrators, disliked Jay's Treaty. But he felt that our infant nation could not afford to get into a quarrel with a great power. He said: "If this country is preserved in tranquillity twenty years longer, it may bid defiance in a just cause to any power whatever; such in that time will be its popularity, wealth and resources."*

Treaty, signed in 1794. The British promised to get out of the fur posts and forts in the United States' Northwest Territory within a short time. In turn, the United States Government promised to pay the private debts to British merchants incurred by Americans before the Revolution. It was also agreed that many of the disputed questions between the two nations should be settled by commissions made up of both British and American representatives. Peaceful settlement of disputes in this fashion, after investigation and discussion, is called *arbitration*.

Among the questions the two nations agreed to arbitrate was the exact amount the United States Government should pay on the above-mentioned private debts owed British merchants. Damages owed Americans

whose neutral ships had been seized by British belligerents, and disputed boundaries, such as the one between Canada and what is now Maine, were also subject to arbitration.

Why, then, was Jay so bitterly attacked for negotiating the treaty, Hamilton for supporting it, and Washington for signing it? There was every indication that Britain did not feel legally bound to respect the neutral rights the United States claimed. No promise was given that American ships carrying food to France or trading with the French West Indies would not be seized. No definition of blockade was given. Thus, paper blockades were still possible. Nothing was said in the treaty about the impressment of American seamen. Britain agreed to reopen the ports of the British West Indies to American ships. But there were so many strings attached to this promise that Washington turned it down.

All in all, there is no question but that Jay's Treaty was a poor bargain for the United States. From the start, it had been difficult for Jay to drive a better bargain. This was because Hamilton had quietly assured the British ambassador that the United States would not go to war no matter how tough the British made the treaty terms. Many Britishers condemned the treaty, too. To them, even the slight British concessions were "basely sacrificing British honor."

*Why Jay's Treaty Was Significant.* Yet Jay's Treaty maintained peace between the United States and Great Britain at a time when such peace was especially important to both nations. War with the United States would have hampered Britain's war effort against France. War with powerful Britain would have greatly weakened our infant nation. Indeed, this was the main reason why Washington signed the treaty in the face of savage attacks for doing so. His signing demonstrated once more his great moral courage, especially where the welfare of his country was concerned.

Again and again as the years rolled on, the United States and Great Britain were to

settle their disputes peacefully. In so doing, they followed the precedent of arbitration established in Jay's Treaty. By so doing, they were to demonstrate to the world one way of avoiding wars.

However, a wound left untended will frequently fester and threaten the life of a patient. Similarly, the problems left ignored in Jay's Treaty, such as impressment and the rights of neutrals, aggravated relations between the United States and Britain. Not subject to arbitration, according to the treaty, these problems were to play a part in causing the War of 1812.

*Pinckney's Treaty Makes Westerners Happy.* James Wilkinson was a general in the United States Army. Yet, in 1787, he secretly swore allegiance to the King of Spain and accepted a pension from him. In return, this traitor promised to plot with other Americans to tear away what is now Kentucky from the rest of the United States. This area was then to be set up as a separate country under the protection of Spain. Fortunately, the plot failed.<sup>1</sup>

*Why the Mississippi and New Orleans Meant So Much to Westerners.* What made many Westerners<sup>2</sup> so discontented that they were willing to listen to men like Wilkinson? Why was Spain so eager to get Western areas to secede from the United States? Many Westerners felt that Eastern bankers, merchants, and businessmen in general controlled the Government of the United States. Such Westerners charged that even if they starved, the Easterners would not lift a finger to help them. And farmers in western Pennsylvania, western North Carolina, and the area that is now Kentucky and Tennessee feared that they would starve unless they got free use of the Mississippi River.

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, however, Wilkinson was to engage in more plots against his country. In 1814, he was court-martialed for drunkenness and neglect of duty. But he was acquitted.

<sup>2</sup> Westerners in those days were people who lived in the Old Northwest, in the Kentucky and Tennessee regions, and in the Southwest east of the Mississippi.

Westerners also needed the use of the port at the mouth of the Mississippi, New Orleans. There they wanted the right to deposit their bacon and hams, corn and wheat, and tobacco and cotton, while waiting to transfer them to ocean-going or coastwise ships. This right, called the *right of deposit*, they wanted free of duties. They could not make a profit by transporting their products over the mountains and bad roads to the East. It was much cheaper to ship their goods down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers on flatboats and barges. These Westerners felt that the United States Government ought to do more to insure them the free navigation of the Mississippi. They also demanded the United States get Spain to stop charging them duties at New Orleans. They accused Eastern merchants of being more interested in acquiring trading rights in the Spanish West Indies than in obtaining rights for Westerners on the Mississippi. Some began to feel that if they were independent and allied to Spain, their transportation difficulties would be solved.

*Why Spain Wanted to Limit Western Expansion by the United States.* Great Britain had tried to check our expansion into the Northwest. Similarly, Spain wanted to check our expansion southward and westward into such thinly populated Spanish-held areas as Florida, Louisiana, and Mexico. If Spain and such men as Wilkinson had had their way, the United States today would have had the Alleghenies, instead of the Pacific Ocean, as its western boundary. Spanish fur traders did not want American competition in the Southwest. Nor did the autocratic Spanish king want to see democratic American ideas coming across the Alleghenies. To discourage American expansion southward and westward, the Spanish encouraged the Creek and Cherokee Indians to attack our settlements, and bribed traitors like Wilkinson.

*Why Spain Suddenly Adopted a Friendlier Attitude Toward the United States.* Spanish plots to get Americans to secede from the United States had not succeeded. Furthermore, the Spanish had heard of Jay's Treaty

and were alarmed. What was to stop the United States and Great Britain from forming a partnership to attack and seize Louisiana, Florida, and even Mexico? This helps to explain why Spain, in 1795, signed a treaty with the United States. This treaty was popularly called *Pinckney's Treaty*, after the United States negotiator, Thomas Pinckney.

Western farmers were overjoyed by its terms. Americans were given the right to the free navigation of the entire Mississippi. Westerners were delighted at gaining the right of deposit at New Orleans for a period of three years, subject to renewal. Another cheering feature was the agreement by the United States and Spain to try to prevent Indian attacks from the territory of either against the territory of the other. Pinckney's Treaty also stated that the thirty-first parallel would be recognized as the southern boundary of the United States and the northern boundary of Spanish-held Florida. This pleased many Americans, for Spain had been claiming as part of Florida a considerable portion of what they considered Georgia.

*The Greenville Treaty Brings Temporary Peace with the Indians in the Northwest.* "Beware of a surprise!" Washington had warned General Arthur St. Clair. But this aging general and his ill-equipped army, which included jailbirds, drunkards, and gamblers, were ambushed by hostile Indians on the Wabash River in the Northwest Territory. Most of them were massacred. Washington was furious. Indian raids against frontier settlements increased.

In 1794, three years after the St. Clair disaster, Washington appointed the efficient General "Mad Anthony" Wayne<sup>1</sup> to suppress the Indians there. He hoped thereby to encourage settlement. Wayne's well-drilled and well-disciplined army came upon the Indians near present-day Toledo, Ohio. On horseback, his soldiers hurdled the storm-topped

<sup>1</sup> Wayne was so called because of his reckless heroism during the American Revolution. His dashing surprise night raid on Stony Point on the Hudson River had been one of our most brilliant victories.

trees that the Indians were using as barricades. After a fierce battle—the *Battle of Fallen Timbers*—the Indians surrendered.

This victory was a major reason why such tribal chiefs as Black Wolf and Blue Jacket signed, in 1795, the *Treaty of Greenville* with the United States. In it, they gave up their claims to most of the present state of Ohio. By this time, they knew that the British had promised in Jay's Treaty to withdraw from the Northwest Territory. So they realized that they would get no further help from the British. Not until 1811 were the Indians in the Northwest again to be a serious threat to American pioneers there.

**Jay's, Pinckney's, and Greenville Treaties Speed Westward Expansion.** According to the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the land between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi belonged to the United States. But, as we have seen, the Indians and the British in the Northwest and the Indians and the Spanish in the Southwest challenged our ownership of this area. Attacks by savage Indian braves scared off all but the bravest of would-be American pioneers. Who wanted to risk losing his scalp or being burned at the stake? Some Indians even repaid kindness with savage cruelty. Yet many were only avenging cruelty with cruelty. A white missionary among the Indians said of the treatment of the red men by the white men:

Often I have listened to these descriptions of their hard sufferings, until I felt ashamed of being a white man.

Many an Indian village had been wiped out and people massacred. Many an Indian, intoxicated by the liquor of unscrupulous white men, had been cheated of his furs. Many an Indian felt cheated, too, when Americans broke the Greenville Treaty by pushing farther westward than had been agreed upon. Many an Indian hated to see families of American farmers clear away the land on his hunting ground to build settlements. To him, settlements meant fewer wild animals to furnish food and furs.

After 1795, it still took courage to settle in the West. But not as much as before 1795. By that year, the challenge to settlement in the Northwest had been met by the Greenville Treaty with the Indians and by Jay's Treaty with the British. The challenge of the Spanish in the Southwest had been met by Pinckney's Treaty. Western farmers and frontiersmen now began to feel that their Government was interested in their welfare no less than in the welfare of Eastern merchants and bankers. Thousands of settlers headed west from Virginia through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky and Tennessee. By as early as 1796, Tennessee had a large enough population to be admitted as the sixteenth state of the Union.<sup>1</sup> The first of the five states to be formed out of the Old Northwest Territory was Ohio, admitted as the seventeenth state in 1803. Settlers had entered Ohio mainly by way of the Mohawk Valley.

**Isolationism Becomes a Guiding Principle of American Foreign Policy for Over a Hundred Years.** Why not take advantage of our good fortune in being so far away from Europe, with its age-old political feuds and its many wars, thought Washington. Understandably, then, he was worried when he saw some Americans favoring the conservative British monarchy and others showing enthusiasm for the radical French republic. This situation provided the background for one of the most famous and most influential speeches in American history—*Washington's Farewell Address*.

*Washington's Farewell Address Recommends Friendly Relations, But Not Permanent Alliances, with Other Nations.* The Farewell Address was delivered a few months before Washington's retirement in 1796. In it, he warned the United States against developing any permanent hatred for certain nations or any passionate fondness for other nations. Either course would, he

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<sup>1</sup> The fourteenth had been Vermont, in 1791, and the fifteenth, Kentucky, in 1792.

contended, make the United States, in a sense, a slave nation. We should, he advised,

steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

Yet Washington never said that we should not co-operate with Europe and the rest of the world "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all," counsels his Farewell Address. He urged extending our trade with other nations. His Farewell Address even recommended "temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies." And, in a letter to Lafayette, he once wrote:

My first wish is to see the whole world in peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.

Thus Washington was no narrow isolationist, even though he warned against permanent alliances

For more than a hundred years, Washington's Farewell Address and his Proclamation of Neutrality strongly influenced our foreign policy. These documents established the precedent that has come to be called *isolationism*. In keeping with this precedent, the United States long avoided permanent political and military ties to foreign nations. There were many reasons, as we shall see, why the Government for many years considered this a wise policy.

### **Washington's Farewell Address Warns Against the Formation Of Political Parties**

To Washington, political parties were a curse. His Farewell Address made it clear that he considered political parties a great obstacle in the way of this nation's golden opportunity to build a peaceful, prosperous, and united republic. In this address, he accused political parties of promoting disunity by deliberately painting false pictures of the ideas and purposes of opposing parties. He

said that politicians frequently caused disunity by stirring up one section of the country against another. Such disunity, he warned, encourages riots and "opens the door to foreign influence and corruption."

Instead of forming opposing parties, the people of all sections, according to the Farewell Address, should unite for the welfare of the Union. This could be done, said Washington, through obedience to the laws, through showing respect for the national Government, and through promoting religion and widespread education.

Yet, at the very time Washington was so severely criticizing political parties, political parties were savagely attacking each other. In fact, American political parties were born during Washington's administration. Moreover, Washington soon found himself supporting the policies of one of these parties far more often than those of the other.

### **How Did America's Two-Party System Get Started?**

*Patriots versus Tories* during the American Revolution, *Federalists versus Anti-Federalists* during the battle over ratification of the Constitution—these are examples of like-minded people banding together to promote their own interests or ideas and oppose those with which they disagreed. But it was Hamilton's financial program that really gave birth to organized political parties in this country.

*Who Joined the Federalist Party.* Those who personally benefited from Hamilton's program tended to join the Federalist Party, of which Hamilton was the leader. Thus, in general, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, shipowners, speculators in Government securities, speculators in Western lands, and other property holders became Federalists. In general, too, those who had supported the ratification of the Constitution also were Federalists. And many had joined the Federalist Party mainly because they believed that Hamilton's financial policies were best



*Jefferson, who fought the Alien and Sedition Acts so fiercely, said: "When the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe." What are your sentiments regarding this statement?*

for the country. Included in this category were many newspaper editors and churchmen.

**Who Joined the Republican Party.** Those who felt cheated by Hamilton's financial program tended to join the Republican Party.<sup>1</sup> This was the party organized by Jefferson, with much help from Madison, after Jefferson had left Washington's Cabinet in 1793. Jefferson had resigned his post because he felt that Washington, who himself had marked Federalist sympathies, was paying too much attention to the advice of Hamilton. In general, small farmers, frontiersmen, small shopkeepers, city laborers, and, in fact, the majority of the people were Republicans.

Since the Federalists were pro-British, many anti-British groups became Republicans. These included Irish immigrants who resented British control of their homeland, French agents here to propagandize for American sympathy in their war with Britain, and Southern planters heavily in debt to British merchants.

**How the Federalists and Republicans Differed.** A reader of these pages, by reviewing what he has already learned, could easily sum up the differences between the views of the Federalists and the Republicans. A rereading of the comparison of the Federalist Hamilton and the Republican Jefferson would remind him that the Federalists favored a government by the few and the Republicans a government by the many. His summary would also point out that the Federalists favored businessmen and a strong central government, while the Republicans favored farmers and states' rights. In reviewing the story of the National Bank, he would be reminded that the Federalists favored a loose, or broad, interpretation of the Constitution, while the Republicans favored a strict interpretation.<sup>1</sup> In reviewing the bitter arguments over the payment of the national debt, the assumption of the state debts, the tariff, and the excise tax on whiskey, he would see once more that the Federalists favored the industrial and commercial Northeast and the Republicans the agricultural South and West. Finally, he would recall that the Federalists were pro-British and the Republicans pro-French.

## **A Great Federalist President, John Adams, Succeeds Washington**

To "Honest John" Adams, personal profit and popularity were far less important than

<sup>1</sup> This party was also called the Democratic-Republican Party. It is the ancestor of today's Democratic Party, rather than of today's Republican Party, which was organized in 1854.

<sup>1</sup> The party in power, as we know, usually favors a loose interpretation so that it can stretch its powers. As we shall see, when the Republicans got into power in 1801, they switched from a strict interpretation to a much looser one.

sticking to his principles. Back in 1768, the British had tried to bribe him with a position paying a high salary. But he had refused to desert the colonial cause. In 1770, because of his sense of fair play, he had acted as the lawyer for the British captain involved in the Boston Massacre. He had done so even though he knew that he would lose popularity with his fellow colonists.

In fact, for many reasons, Adams was widely unpopular. Despite his great learning and deep devotion to duty, he was tactless, stubborn, hot-tempered, and extremely vain. In the two terms that Washington had been President, Adams had been Vice-President. He felt that the roles should have been reversed. He considered the Vice-Presidency beneath his talents. Still another reason for Adams' unpopularity was the impression he gave that he was growing more and more aristocratically minded in a period when more and more Americans were growing more democratically minded. Adams feared that rule by the masses of the people would be dangerous. He once said:

There never was a democracy which did not commit suicide.

Actually, Adams feared rule by the few rich as much as rule by the many poor. He wrote:

There is no reason to believe the one much honester or wiser than the other.

In spite of his fears, Adams was imbued with the American Dream (page 59).

**Federalist Hamilton Makes It Possible for a Republican to Become Vice-President in the Federalist Adams Administration.** Largely through the efforts of Jefferson, the Republican Party remained well-organized. Jefferson kept in constant touch with political aides and political clubs throughout the country by writing encouraging letters and suggesting lively newspaper articles. Within the Federalist Party, however, there was a bitter feud between Hamilton and Adams.



*Charles Willson Peale's portrait of John Adams. Adams once said: "Reason, Justice, and Equity never had weight enough on the face of the earth to govern the councils of men. It is interest alone which does it." How much truth do you think there is in this statement? Explain.*

Why? As we have just seen, although Adams was fearful of the masses, he was also fearful of political control in the hands of the wealthy few, favored by Hamilton. Although Adams disliked the French revolutionaries, he was not as enthusiastic about the British as was Hamilton.

In 1796, Hamilton tried to prevent the election of Adams as President. Most Federalist leaders favored Adams for President and Thomas Pinckney for Vice-President. Hamilton schemed to make Pinckney President by getting more electors to vote for Pinckney than for Adams. His scheme backfired. When they learned of Hamilton's maneuver, some electors deliberately failed to vote for Pinckney. As a result, the Federalist Adams was elected President and



the Republican Jefferson Vice-President. The Federalist Pinckney, running third in electoral votes, lost out. This was because at this time, before the Constitution was amended, the candidate who received the highest number of electoral votes became President and the one with the next highest number Vice-President. Indeed, this was the only time in American history that the President and Vice-President were of different parties.

## John Adams Shows Courage in Avoiding A Declared War with France

Hail, Columbial happy land!  
Hail, ye heroes! heaven-born band!

Immortal patriots! rise once more;  
Defend your rights, defend your shore: . . .

—From the song "Hail Columbia!"  
by Joseph Hopkinson

Millions for defense, but not one cent for  
tribute!

—A popular slogan during Adams' administration

I will never send another minister to France without assurance that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation.

—From a statement by President John Adams

The song was composed, the slogan became a watchword, and the President's statement was hailed—all in 1798, when many Americans were angrily calling for war with France. What prompted their demand?

**Reasons for Hostility Between the United States and France.** The French were enraged when they learned of the treatment of Genêt and of the treaty made by Jay. They felt that Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality proved that the United States was ungrateful for the aid it had received from France in winning the American Revolution. To the French, the provisions of Jay's Treaty were proof that the United States favored their mortal enemy, Great Britain. The

French showed their anger in many ways, thereby provoking the anger of Americans. The United States had sent as minister to France a Federalist sympathetic to Britain, Charles C. Pinckney, to replace a Republican sympathetic to France, James Monroe. The French Government warned Pinckney that if he did not go home, he would be jailed.

Like the British, the French began seizing American merchant ships on the high seas. Sometimes they jailed American merchant seamen. The Federalists demanded war. The Republicans argued that France's action was what we deserved for signing Jay's Treaty. (Since most shipowners were Federalists, some Republicans were glad to see their ships seized!) In spite of the pressure brought by his party for war, President Adams was determined to have peace. He sent two representatives to Paris to join Pinckney in trying to get the French to stop seizing American ships.

**An Attempt to Bully the United States.** From 1795 to 1799, the French republic was in the hands of a corrupt group of five men called the *Directory*. Talleyrand, the French secretary of foreign affairs, made a practice of using his position to demand bribes. In 1797, he sent three henchmen, later identified in American diplomatic dispatches as X, Y, and Z, to see our representatives.

These three delivered a message along the following lines: You representatives from little United States will have the great honor of an audience with Minister Talleyrand to discuss your complaints if you fulfill certain demands. If you do not, French ships will attack your coast.

Messieurs X, Y, and Z demanded a direct bribe to Talleyrand and the Directory of \$250,000. In addition, an indirect bribe was to be paid in the form of a large loan to France, so arranged that it would never be paid back. To this virtual hold-up, Pinckney angrily answered: "No, no, no, not a six-pence!"

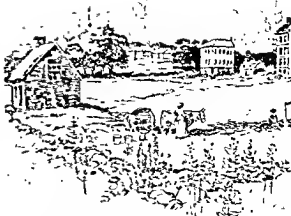
**The United States Refuses to Be Bullied by France.** Now even many Republicans, who heartily hated Adams, the Federalists,

and Great Britain, rallied behind their President. They still favored the French republic over the European monarchies. But their patriotism was aroused by Talleyrand's insults. In theaters, as patriotic songs were played, audiences would stand on their seats, wave their hats and walking sticks, and cheer madly. In preparation for war, the Department of the Navy was created, the Marine Corps revived, and the size of the Army increased. The treaties of 1778 with France were canceled. Trade with France was halted. Although war was not declared, an undeclared naval war was waged, beginning in 1793 and ending in 1800.

**France Decides That Bullying the United States Does Not Pay.** Suddenly, Talleyrand seemed to realize that this undeclared naval war between France and the United States was playing into Britain's hands. For one thing, it would further prolong the already long-drawn-out French war with Britain. Moreover, without food from the United States, the French West Indies might be starved out. The shifty Talleyrand realized that the attempt to blackmail the United States in the XYZ Affair had been a mistake. He implied that Messieurs X, Y, and Z had not really spoken for him and that he had been shocked at their rude behavior. He passed the word along that he would receive a representative of the United States "with the respect due to the representative of a free, independent, and powerful nation."

**Adams Resists Much Pressure in Making Peace with France.** But Federalist leaders, such as Hamilton and certain members of Adams' Cabinet, wanted to continue the fighting with France. Hamilton even pictured himself leading an American army in alliance with the British Navy against the American colonies of Spain, France's ally. He hoped to seize Florida and Louisiana, and help free the Spanish colonies of Latin America. He expected a great increase in trade between the United States and Latin America to follow.

It took great courage for Adams to resist the popular demand for war. He knew that



*The White House in 1799, when the building was newly finished and the grounds were not yet laid out. The first resident in the White House, John Adams, wrote to his wife, Abigail, "My Dearest Friend, . . . I pray heaven to bestow the best of blessings on this house, and on all that shall hereafter inhabit it. May none but honest and wise men ever rule under this roof! . . ."*

sending envoys to France at this time to discuss peace would endanger his chances of being elected for a second term. But, like Washington, the deeply patriotic Adams realized how much this infant nation needed peace, if it could preserve peace with honor. The peace envoys he sent were on the high seas when Napoleon Bonaparte seized control of the French republic from the Directory. Napoleon was ambitious to conquer all Europe. The undeclared naval war with the United States would only drain off needed men and ships from his major goal. Consequently, in 1800, Napoleon agreed that France would never insist that we live up to the terms of the 1778 treaty of alliance between France and the United States. The United States agreed not to demand payment for damages caused by the illegal seizure of our ships.<sup>1</sup> Thus the undeclared naval war with France came to an end. With the conclusion of the undeclared war, many

<sup>1</sup> However, Napoleon made it clear that American ships continuing to trade with Britain might be seized.

hotheads who had been shouting for war now came to the conclusion that Adams had been right in working for peace.

## **The Federalists Win Neither In 1800 Nor Ever After, But Their Influence Lingers On**

**The Alien and Sedition Acts, Aimed Against the Republicans, Boomerang Against the Federalists.** How dangerous excessive party strife can sometimes be soon became clear with the passage of certain intolerant acts under the Adams Administration.

*Friction with France and the Popularity of Republicans Arouse Federalist Fears.* Some hysterical Federalists feared that French revolutionaries were going to take over our Government. Some of them even pictured themselves as the victims of French assassins. This was the time, during Adams' administration, when the United States was on the verge of war with the French republic. Many Frenchmen, as well as Englishmen and Irishmen sympathetic to the French Revolution, had arrived here during the 1790's. Some of them had started publishing newspapers that were actually pro-French, anti-Federalist propaganda sheets.

Federalists knew that as immigration increased, so did the power of the Republican Party. Most of the immigrants were plain people who voted for the Republican Party because it seemed to them to have more concern for their interests. Federalists knew, too, that a wave of patriotism was sweeping the country. The insulting XYZ incident had stirred up many Americans against France. Federalists hammered away at the idea that both the recent immigrants and the Republican Party were pro-French. Thus they hoped to make many Americans look upon both groups as un-American. Hysterical with fear of France and ambitious to stay in power, they passed, in 1798, a series of intolerant acts, called the *Alien and Sedition Acts*.

*What Was Intolerant About the Alien and Sedition Acts.* One of the Alien and Sedition Acts changed the waiting period for becoming a naturalized American citizen from five to fourteen years. This *Naturalization Act* was a political trick. It meant that recent immigrants would have to wait nine years longer before they could vote the Republican ticket, as most of them did. It also signified the hostility of people whose ancestors had come earlier toward people who came later. This hostility toward recent immigrants, which has cropped up again and again in American history, was also evident in the *Alien Act*. Under this law, the President was given the power to deport (order out of the country) any foreigner he considered a threat to the United States.

Citizens, as well as aliens, were the targets of the *Sedition Act*. It provided that those who spoke or wrote words that were "false, scandalous, and malicious" against the President or the Congress, for the purpose of holding them up to ridicule or of stirring up resistance to our laws, could be fined and imprisoned.

In trying to prevent the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts, one Republican had warned:

The country will swarm with informers, spies, . . . and all the odious reptile tribe that breed in the sunshine of despotic power. . . . Do not let us be told that we are to excite a fervor against a foreign aggressor to establish a tyranny at home.

Many foreigners, in fear of imprisonment, left the country. And many an editor, also in fear of imprisonment or of an unfair trial by prejudiced Federalist judges, did not dare to write as he pleased. Actually, not one alien was deported by President Adams. And only ten Republicans, mainly editors, were convicted under the Sedition Act. The writings of these editors were critical of the Federalists, not a threat to the nation.

*How the Republicans Used the Alien and Sedition Acts Against the Federalists.* Many looked upon the imprisoned Republican

editors as martyrs persecuted by a Federalist reign of terror. The Republican propaganda machine, led by Jefferson, made the most of this. Through all the states word was spread that the Federalists were no better than the age-old tyrants of Europe. Republicans warned that the Federalists were trying to create a one-party system. Federalists were called enemies of the foreign-born and of the Constitution. People were told that the main goal of the Federalists was to preserve the privileges of the "rich and well-born" at the expense of the rights of the people.

*The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions Protest the Alien and Sedition Acts.* The Alien and Sedition Acts are unconstitutional. This is what Jefferson got the Kentucky legislature, and Madison the Virginia legislature, to declare. Each legislature adopted resolutions asserting that the Constitution was no more than an agreement, or compact, drawn up by the states, giving the national Government authority to act only as their agent. According to this states' rights interpretation (page 129), the states had granted only certain delegated powers to their agent, the national Government. And the power to interfere with freedom of speech and of the press, as in the Alien and Sedition Acts, was not to be considered one of those powers delegated to the Congress.

*The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions* held that the states, as creators of the Constitution, had the right to judge whether a law of the Congress was constitutional or not. A year after their passage, in 1799, the Kentucky legislature went a step further. It stated that whenever a state felt the Congress had exceeded its delegated powers in passing a particular law, that state could refuse to obey it. Such a refusal is called nullification.

The compact theory, states' rights, and nullification were later to be emphasized by Northern states as well as Southern. Which-ever section happened to be in a minority in the Congress tended to use these arguments to protest against some action of the majority. In time, certain Southern states were to

move from nullification to actual secession. As a result, a War Between the States followed in 1861.

Jefferson and Madison realized that the arguments in the Resolutions could lead to the break-up of the Union. They denied that they wanted the arguments used for this purpose. Their real purpose, they said, was to rally political opposition in all the states, and so win the coming election of 1800 from the Federalists. Jefferson knew that the arguments in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions would have a powerful appeal for the people of the South and West, most of whom were farmers. As we know, these people disliked the Federalists for what they considered their favoritism to the merchant, manufacturing, and banking groups of the East. It is true, too, that this was still a period when the first loyalty of many persons was to the state, rather than to the nation. Such persons still looked upon the states as the guardians of their liberty. They feared that the efforts of the Federalists to build a strong national government so speedily might lead to tyranny.

*Federalists Help Elect the Republican Jefferson President in 1800.* "Tyrants" and "monarchists," "autocrats" and "rats"—these were some of the printable names Republicans called Federalists during the election campaign of 1800. "Dangerous radicals" and "traitors," "wild men" and a "murderous mob"—these were some of the more polite descriptions hurled by the Federalists at the Republicans. Federalist Hamilton urged his party to use every means to prevent "an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics" from becoming President. He meant Jefferson.<sup>1</sup> But Jefferson and his Republican Party won anyway.

*Hamilton's Strategy to Keep Adams Out Backfires Again.* Oddly, Hamilton had helped to make Jefferson Vice-President in

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Adams, however, Jefferson wrote: "An atheist I can never be. I am a Christian in the only true sense Christ ever wished one to be."

## The Federalist Era

1789

- Washington's inauguration
- State, Treasury, and War Departments created
- French Revolution breaks out

1790

- First United States census
- Assumption of state debts

1791

- First Bank of the United States chartered
- Bill of Rights adapted



1793

- French Reign of Terror provokes Federalist fears
- Proclamation of Neutrality
- Genêt affair



1794

- Whiskey Rebellion
- Jay's Treaty

1795

- Pinckney's Treaty
- Treaty of Greenville

1796

- Washington's Farewell Address



1797

- John Adams inaugurated
- XYZ Affair

1798

- Undeclared war with France begins
- French alliance canceled
- Alien and Sedition Acts
- Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
- Navy Department created



1800

- Washington, D.C., becomes nation's capital
- Undeclared war with France ends
- Jefferson elected President

1796 (page 175). Oddly, too, as we shall now see, he helped to make Jefferson President in 1800. Both times, Hamilton's object was to prevent the election of John Adams. Most Federalist leaders wanted Adams for President and Charles C. Pinckney for Vice-President in 1800. But the Hamiltonian Federalists had not forgiven Adams for ending the undeclared naval war with France by negotiation. To get Pinckney in as President and to keep Adams out, Hamilton repeated his tactics of 1796. This only helped the Republicans. They won with seventy-three electoral votes each for Jefferson and Aaron Burr.

Almost the entire South and the frontier went Republican. Only in the North did the Federalists show strength. In many future elections, political parties were thus to divide along sectional lines.

*A Federalist-Controlled House of Representatives Chooses Jefferson Over Burr.* Had he followed his party's wishes, Burr would have accepted the Vice-Presidency and permitted the Presidency to go to Jefferson. Instead, he refused to yield the claim he had earned by winning the same number of electoral votes as Jefferson. According to the Constitution, it is the House of Representatives that picks the President in case of a tie or in case no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes (page 145). Thus it was up to the Federalists, who controlled the House of Representatives, to select the Republican President.

In the House, ballot after ballot was cast. Still there was no decision. Anger mounted. Threats of civil war were heard. Many Federalists were exercising their hatred for Jefferson by voting for Burr. They reasoned that the defeat of its leader would be a severe blow to the Republican Party. Some Federalists also thought that Burr, more likely than Jefferson, would support business groups and a large navy. Hamilton, however, considered Burr a scoundrel, far more dangerous than Jefferson. And Representative James A. Bayard of Delaware felt that the delay in electing the President was danger-

ous for the nation. These two were instrumental in persuading some Federalists to drop their support of Burr. Jefferson was then elected on the thirty-sixth ballot.

**To Avoid Ties in Future Presidential Elections: The Twelfth Amendment.** The Congress wanted to rid future presidential elections of the problem of a tie involving candidates of the same party. Therefore, in 1804, the Twelfth Amendment was adopted (page 145). *This amendment states that electors must indicate specifically which candidate they want for President and which for Vice-President.*

**Republicans Resent the Defeated Federalists' Grip on Federal Courts.** In the election of 1800, the Federalists lost control not only of the Presidency but also of the Congress. They were, therefore, all the more determined to keep control of the judiciary. One month before Jefferson's inauguration, President Adams appointed the Federalist John Marshall chief justice of the Supreme Court (page 225).

On his last night as President, Adams was busy signing papers appointing new judges. Because these appointments were signed so late at night, the new judges were nicknamed "midnight judges." The positions these judges were to fill had been created—also at the last minute—by the outgoing Federalist Congress so that the Federalists could keep control of the courts. This action angered the incoming Republicans. They accused the Federalists of being poor losers, who refused to accept the will of the people as expressed at the polls. The Federalists, however, felt that their action was a sign of their great patriotism. They hoped that through controlling the courts, they would be able to check the radical policies they were convinced Jefferson would speedily introduce.

**Why the Federalist Party Declined and Soon Died.** "The stupid populace!" Thus did a leading Federalist newspaper express its contempt for the masses of the people. Of course, not all Federalists had such an uncomplimentary opinion of the people. But,

although the country in general was growing more democratic, many Federalists continued to believe that it should be run by the aristocratic few. Americans who thought of their country as a land of liberty were shocked by the Federalist passage of the intolerant Alien and Sedition Acts.

A large number of those who turned against the Federalists did so because they felt that Hamilton's financial program had not helped them. The suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion and the signing of Jay's Treaty made Federalists unpopular, too. And the feud between the Federalist supporters of Hamilton and the Federalist supporters of Adams also contributed to the party's decline.

After controlling the Government for twelve years (1789–1801), the Federalists were out of power. They were never again to win an election. Soon the party disappeared entirely (page 219).

**What Were the Remarkable Accomplishments of the Federalist Party?** The Federalists got the new Government going under the new Constitution when many doubters predicted disaster. They built a strong financial foundation for our country when failure to pay might have crippled our credit forever. They preserved peace at a time when war might have destroyed us. They increased the power of the central Government when a stress on states' rights might have revived the heartaches of the nation under the Articles of Confederation. They earned respect for our infant nation by refusing to allow big nations to bully it. They recovered our Northwest Territory from Britain and secured the right of deposit from Spain. They curbed Indian attacks when many were convinced that the Government had no interest in protecting Westerners. In fact, so numerous were the good examples set by the Federalists that their bitter opponents, the Republicans, when they took office in 1801, felt obligated to follow many of them.

**The Basic Ideas of the Federalists and Republicans Live On.** Throughout its history,

except for a brief period, the United States was to have two major political parties in opposition to each other. Although party names changed, the opposing views of major political parties were to be much the same as those of the Federalists and the Republicans. Each of these major political par-

ties was to borrow ideas from the other and also act as a check upon the other. This was to prove a good thing for our country. From the start, we needed a Hamilton to win the support of the business community and a Jefferson to win the support of the plain people.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 3

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Henry Knox	Proclamation of	right of deposit	Directory
Edmund Randolph	Neutrality	Pinckney's Treaty	XYZ Affair
Judiciary Act	Edmond Genêt	Greenville Treaty	Alien and Sedition
of 1789	Jay's Treaty	Arthur St. Clair	Acts
funding the debt	Rule of 1756	"Mad Anthony" Wayne	Kentucky and
logrolling	belligerent	Battle of Fallen	Virginia
First United	contraband	Timbers	Resolutions
States Bank	paper blockade	isolationism	compact theory
Whiskey Rebellion	impressment of	Washington's	nullification
excise tax	seamen	Farewell Address	midnight judges
revenue tariff	arbitration	Federalist Party	
infant industries	James Wilkinson	Republican Party	

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. What serious (a) internal and (b) external problems faced Washington's Administration?
2. Mention three precedents established by Washington's Administration and describe each.
3. Which three precedents established under Washington have been broken?
4. Describe the basic differences of opinion between Hamilton and Jefferson.
5. Concerning the debt problem, (a) mention the three types of debts confronting the country, (b) show why funding the debt was popular with some and unpopular with others, (c) tell why most favored paying the foreign debt, (d) tell

why many opposed paying the domestic debt, and (e) give the arguments for and against national assumption of the state debts.

6. (a) Why did Jefferson charge that the common people were being doubly cheated to enrich the rich and (b) how did Hamilton answer him?
7. Give the arguments (a) for and (b) against chartering a national bank.
8. Give the (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) significance of the Whiskey Rebellion.
9. Sum up the arguments of (a) Hamilton and (b) Jefferson on a protective tariff.
10. Hamilton laid very important foundations for the new nation. What foundations?

11. What was the attitude of (a) Jefferson and his followers, and (b) Hamilton and other conservatives toward the French Revolution?
12. For what reasons did Washington decide to issue the Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793?
13. Concerning Genêt, tell (a) why he came here, (b) how he was received, (c) what he did here, and (d) the significance of his story.
14. With respect to Jay's Treaty, describe (a) frictions leading up to it, (b) its provisions, (c) why it was unpopular with many Americans, and (d) its significance.
15. Describe (a) the troubles the United States had with Spain during Washington's administration and (b) specifically how they were settled.
16. For what reasons were Westerners delighted with (a) Pinckney's Treaty and (b) the Greenville Treaty?
17. How did Jay's Treaty, Pinckney's Treaty, and the Treaty of Greenville affect westward expansion?
18. Washington's Farewell Address expressed (a) hopes, (b) fears, (c) recommendations, and (d) warnings. Prove.
19. For what reasons did Washington oppose political parties?
20. Describe the membership and views of (a) the Federalist Party and (b) the Republican Party.
21. Show how a Federalist feud helped to elect a Republican Vice-President in 1796.
22. Give the (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) results of French-American friction during Adams' administration.
23. Adams and Napoleon both showed wisdom—but of a different kind—in their attitude toward the undeclared naval war. Prove.
24. Concerning the Alien and Sedition Acts, tell (a) how politics and the times explain their passage, (b) their provisions, (c) how they were used as political propaganda by the Republicans, and (d) their connection with the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.
25. In what respects did the Alien and Sedition Acts violate the Bill of Rights?
26. Show specifically how the reasoning in the compact theory, the states' rights interpretation, and the device of nullification was a serious threat to the Union.
27. How did a feud within the Federalist Party help the Republicans win the election of 1800?
28. How did it happen that a Federalist-controlled House of Representatives elected the Republican Jefferson?
29. Connect Amendment XII with the election of 1800.
30. How did the defeated Federalists retain control of the judiciary?
31. Connect with the decline of the Federalist Party (a) the Alien and Sedition Acts, (b) Hamilton's financial policies, (c) an intraparty feud, and (d) Jay's Treaty.
32. The gratitude of all Americans is due the Federalists. For what reasons?

#### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What do you think was our first President's Number One (a) domestic problem and (b) foreign problem? Give reasons for your choices.
2. Would you have been a supporter of (a) Hamilton's or (b) Jefferson's general views? Give reasons.
3. Do you agree that those who opposed (a) paying the domestic debt or (b) assumption of state debts were justified? Support your opinions.
4. Who do you think had the better argument on the constitutionality of the Bank, Hamilton or Jefferson? Give reasons.
5. The Whiskey Rebellion had all the ingredients of a good movie. What ingredients?
6. To what extent do you believe that Hamilton's arguments for a protective tariff

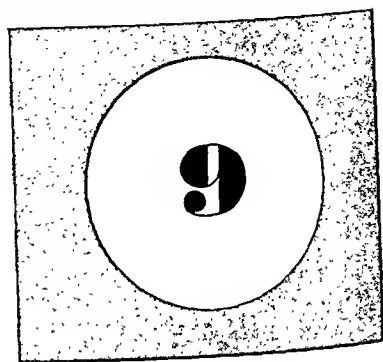


- are as valid today as in Hamilton's day?
7. Show specifically how each of Hamilton's financial measures was designed to increase the power of the national Government.
  8. For what reasons could one have predicted that Hamilton and Jefferson would take the contrasting views they did on the French Revolution?
  9. Emotion, rather than reason, explains the wild enthusiasm of many Americans for the French Revolution. To what extent do you agree?
  10. How would you reply to the argument that since the French aided us in our Revolution, we should have aided them in theirs?
  11. It would have been impossible for Jay to bring back a treaty satisfactory to most Americans. For what reasons?
  12. The rights of neutrals, often recognized in peacetime, are often violated in wartime. Give your comments on this statement.
  13. For what reasons might James Wilkinson be an excellent candidate for your Hall of Infamy?
  14. Suppose that Spain had permanently withheld free navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans from the United States. For what reasons might this have been a tragedy for our nation?
  15. How would you answer a person who said that all the points made in Washington's Farewell Address are as valid today as they were then?
  16. In a free society, political parties are not only inevitable but valuable. State your views on this matter.
  17. It was a good thing for the infant nation to have two political parties, one with the ideas of the Federalists and the other with the ideas of the Republicans. Explain why.
  18. What mistakes could (a) President Washington or (b) President John Adams have made that might have been fatal to our infant nation?
  19. The XYZ Affair was (a) a sad commentary on the French Government and (b) an indication of the status of the United States at the time. Explain why in each case.
  20. The Alien and Sedition Acts were in the spirit of the Old World, rather than of the New. Explain.
  21. The name-calling that marred the election of 1800 reflected some of the fears of the times. Prove.
  22. How might the Federalists have stayed in power longer than they did? Explain fully.
  23. What was the most important achievement of the Federalists? Give reasons for your selection.

☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check Presidents (a) Washington and (b) John Adams.
2. Write a commentary on Washington's inauguration such as might be written by a newspaper columnist today. See, for example, Number 45 in *The Heritage of America*, edited by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins.
3. Make a list of questions you would like to have asked (a) Washington or (b) John Adams on his retirement as President.
4. After consulting at least two sources, point out (a) similarities and (b) differences, if any, in the historical treatment of Hamilton and Jefferson.
5. Sum up the contrasting views of Hamilton and Madison on "How Shall the Debt Be Paid?" See *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link.
6. After investigating, select apt adjectives to describe (a) Henry Knox, (b) Edmund Randolph, (c) "Citizen" Genêt,

## CHAPTER



# *America Gains in Democracy, Territory, And the Respect of Foreign Nations Under Some Republican Presidents*

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### Jeffersonian Democracy in Operation

• Jefferson Demonstrates His Democratic Views in His Pre-Presidential Career and, as President, in His Simplicity, His First Inaugural Address, and Certain Policies for the People • His Election Is Called the 'Revolution of 1800' • Republicans and Federalists Switch Arguments to Maintain Aims • Jefferson Stretches the Constitution in Purchasing Louisiana • Expeditions by Lewis and Clark, and Pike

### Jefferson's Administration Faces Foreign Threats

• War Is Waged Off 'the Shores of Tripoli' • Britain and France Violate Our Neutral Rights • Why Britain's Violations Caused Greater Bitterness • The Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts: Attempts to Answer the Violation of Our Neutral Rights

### The War of 1812: Its Heartaches, Heroism, and Results

• President Madison Inherits Jefferson's Troubles with Britain and France • Indian Attacks, a Spirit of Nationalism, and a Hunger for Land Incite War Fever • The Country Is Not Fully Behind the War Effort • Occasional Victories Brighten Dark Moments • The War Results in Increased Respect for the United States and Increased American Nationalism, Isolationism, and Industrialization

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On Jefferson's Inauguration Day, church congregations rose to sing a song in his honor. Its title was "The People's Friend." The Declaration of Independence, which Jefferson had written, was read from the pulpit. With bells ringing and cannon booming, the plain people in particular celebrated

what they considered victory in another revolution. To the plain people, their first victorious revolution had been against the tyranny of King George III. To them, Jefferson's election now came as the *Revolution of 1800*. This time, what they considered the tyranny of aristocratic Federalists over

small farmers, shopkeepers, frontiersmen, laborers, and plain people in general had been overthrown.

"Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God" had been Jefferson's motto from boyhood. It was in the Declaration of Independence that he summed up his belief in the American Dream. As we know, too, the Northwest Ordinance, another great democratic document, was based upon a plan previously worked out by Jefferson. With James Madison, he led the fight for religious freedom in his home state, Virginia. They succeeded. He worked to do away with feudal systems of landholding, such as primogeniture (page 21), in Virginia. He succeeded.

Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. . . . They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty.

Thus did Jefferson express his belief that a successful democracy depends upon the education of all the people. This leader in the drive for free public schools in America pioneered in higher education, too. He founded the University of Virginia, where students of all faiths were welcome. He suggested that this university, unlike others of the time, set an example in stressing science, student self-government, and greater freedom in teaching. As Jefferson expressed it,

Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error.

The well-educated, many-sided Jefferson had a lifelong love for learning in all fields. Of him, it was said that he

could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play the violin.

## How Jefferson Demonstrated His Democratic Views as President

Jefferson Rejects Pomp and Elaborate Ceremonies as Undemocratic. Republicans

had accused George and Martha Washington and John and Abigail Adams of living in the manner of royalty. They asked, for example, why Washington, the President of a republic, should be attended by ornately dressed footmen and ride around in an ornate, golden-colored coach, drawn by six snow-white horses, whose teeth had been polished until they shone. They complained that presidential receptions were as pompous and elaborate as those held by the King and Queen of England. At these receptions, Washington, instead of shaking hands, would greet each guest with a dignified nod. He wore black velvet knee breeches, yellow gloves, hair powdered white, sparkling buckles at his knees and on his shoes, and a sword in a green and white scabbard. His cocked hat, which he held, was decorated with a feather. The First Lady's attire was equally elegant. Washington felt that such formal dress and behavior were necessary to win respect for the new nation.

Even on his Inauguration Day, Jefferson did not ride in a coach to the ceremony. Instead, he walked from his boarding house with friends to the Capitol to take the oath of office. Every day he held open house in the White House, wearing careless, even ill-fitting clothing, and mingling and shaking hands with the visitors. At his dinners, seats were not assigned according to rank or title. Instead, guests took whatever seats were available. Many representatives from aristocratic European countries found all this informality shocking. Perhaps Jefferson meant it to be.

To the Republicans, Washington's speeches before the Congress seemed like the King of England's speeches from the throne to Parliament. Jefferson had his messages to the Congress read by a clerk. By so doing, he wanted to make it clear that he was not trying to dictate to the Congress. Jefferson was no orator. Perhaps this was another reason why he had his speeches read. Not until 1913 did a President, Woodrow Wilson, once more deliver his messages to the Congress in person.

**Jefferson's First Inaugural Address Illustrates Some of His Democratic Views.** The nation has rid itself of intolerance in religion, said Jefferson in his *First Inaugural Address*. It should also, he urged, rid itself of intolerance in politics, because political intolerance, like religious intolerance, could lead to "bitter and bloody persecutions." He went on to say that

the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, . . . [but] the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, . . .

He made it clear, too, that he believed that Federalists and Republicans—indeed, all

*A panel from the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C.*



ALMIGHTY GOD HATH CREATED THE MIND FREE. ALL ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE IT BY TEMPORAL PUNISHMENTS OR BURTHENS . . . ARE A DEPARTURE FROM THE PLAN OF THE HOLY AUTHOR OF OUR RELIGION . . . NO MAN SHALL BE COMPELLED TO FREQUENT OR SUPPORT ANY RELIGIOUS WORSHIP OR MINISTRY OR SHALL OTHERWISE SUFFER ON ACCOUNT OF HIS RELIGIOUS OPINIONS OR BELIEF. BUT ALL MEN SHALL BE FREE TO PROFESS AND BY ARGUMENT TO MAINTAIN THEIR OPINIONS IN MATTERS OF RELIGION. I KNOW BUT ONE CODE OF MORALITY FOR MEN WHETHER ACTING SINGLY OR COLLECTIVELY.

persons and parties—were entitled to their opinions, even though others might regard them as dangerous to the Government. He said:

If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

Jefferson feared the establishment of a military dictatorship, such as Napoleon had set up in France. He also feared that a big army and navy would place a big tax burden on the plain people. These are clues as to why his First Inaugural Address stressed "the supremacy of the civil over the military authority." Proudly he called the great American experiment in self-government "the world's best hope."

**Some Jeffersonian Policies in Behalf of the People.** "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." In line with this statement of principle, President Jefferson pardoned the few individuals still serving jail terms under the Sedition Act. His Administration refused to renew the undemocratic Alien and Sedition Acts, which had expired. Jefferson firmly believed that our country was, and should be, a haven for the oppressed from all lands. His Administration restored the five-year residence requirement for prospective citizens, in place of the fourteen-year one introduced by the Federalists. To lift the tax burden from the shoulders of the plain people, it repealed the excise taxes, including the one on whiskey, and sharply reduced the size of both the army and navy.<sup>1</sup>

Jefferson feared that the liberties of the

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson's navy consisted mainly of small gunboats to patrol the coast. A storm lifted one of these out of the water and blew it eight miles inland. One Federalist asked sarcastically whether this was another one of the President's agricultural experiments!

people would be threatened if the final say on constitutional questions were left in the hands of Federal judges. His fears were based in part upon the fact that these judges had been appointed by the Federalists. His supporters asked why a party that had been defeated at the polls by the people should have so much power over the judiciary. The question was answered when the Republican Congress repealed the Judiciary Act of 1801, which had created many new Federal judgeships. Thus, the appointments of Adams' "midnight judges" were canceled. Jefferson urged not only judges but all public officials to remember that they were not privileged characters but servants of the people.

**Jefferson Finds Certain Federalist Policies Worth Retaining.** "We are all Republicans—we are all Federalists." By this statement in his First Inaugural Address, Jefferson was appealing to his own party to let bygones be bygones. He was also trying to calm Federalist fears that he would introduce radical changes. Indeed, he realized that there were Federalists who considered him an atheistic anarchist and who trembled at the very sound of his name. He even hoped to convert some Federalists into Republicans. Some were won over.

Earlier, before he took office, Jefferson's views, as we know, had been quite different from those of the Federalists. However, while in office, although he remained strongly democratic, he adopted many Federalist policies. His Administration kept both the Bank and the tariff. Like Washington, he tried to practice an isolationist foreign policy. As Washington had warned against permanent alliances in his Farewell Address, Jefferson warned against "entangling" alliances in his First Inaugural.

In general, Washington had appointed officials whose views were similar to those of the Administration. In general, Jefferson did likewise. To do so, he had to dismiss many Federalist appointees. Like Federalist Presidents Washington and Adams, he selected men for his Cabinet who were not poor radicals but "rich, well-born, and able."

For example, he made James Madison<sup>1</sup> secretary of state and Albert Gallatin secretary of the treasury.

Gallatin was a naturalized citizen who had been born in Switzerland. Some aristocratic Federalists attacked him as a foreigner who spoke with a foreign accent and, to make matters worse, a French accent. Yet this lover of democracy had a love for his adopted nation that could match that of any native-born American. Gallatin's thrifty financial policies reduced the expense of running the Government and cut the national debt nearly in half. This is why some have called Gallatin a secretary of the treasury second only to Hamilton in brilliance. Gallatin's economies suited Jefferson, who opposed building up a debt that generations yet unborn would have to pay.

Federalists, we know, believed in a loose interpretation of the Constitution. Prior to taking office, Jefferson had opposed this principle. While in office, he, as we shall soon see, stretched the Constitution further than the Federalists had.

Even many of the headaches of the Jefferson Administration were similar to those faced by the Federalists. Jefferson, too, had trouble with the British, the French, and the Indians, and for fairly similar reasons.

**Why Jefferson's Election Has Been Called the 'Revolution of 1800.'** In the light of all these similarities between Jefferson's Administration and those of the Federalist Presidents, some deny that the so-called Revolution of 1800 was a real revolution. Yet those who call it a revolution make these points.

The election of 1800 shifted power from the hands of aristocratic Federalists to those of the more democratic Republicans. Thus

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<sup>1</sup> Not only were Washington and Jefferson Virginians, but Madison, Jefferson's secretary of state, also was a Virginian. Madison succeeded Jefferson as President and Madison's secretary of state, James Monroe, still another Virginian, succeeded Madison as President. Because so many Virginians became Presidents in our early history, people began to refer to the Virginia dynasty.

a shift took place from those who believed that government should be by a select few to those who believed that government springs from the people as a whole. The election also tended to shift control from the minority, made up of wealthy merchants and bankers, to the majority, made up of farmers and middle-class city people. Before the election, the North, notably Massachusetts, had dominated the Government. After the election, the South, notably Virginia, dominated it. Furthermore, Jefferson believed, especially with respect to problems at home, that "That government is best which governs least." He was convinced that the political and economic freedom of each individual was best protected when local affairs were handled by the state, the city, or the county, rather than by the national Government. This view of government was quite different from that held by the Federalists.

Nowhere at this time, except in the United States, did the people have many freedoms. A few freedoms were enjoyed by the people of Great Britain. But even there, as throughout Europe, undemocratic forces were in the saddle and riding high. In France, a military dictatorship set up by Napoleon had wiped away some of the democratic reforms of the French Revolution. Especially because the world picture of democracy was so dark, Jefferson's election in 1800 *did* seem like a revolution. In this dark picture, his dedication to democratic principles convinced many in reactionary Europe that America remained "the world's best hope."

### **Jefferson Doubles the Size Of the United States By Stretching the Constitution**

In 1802, angry Western farmers were in the mood for war with Spain. The Spanish official in charge of the port of New Orleans had closed it to American use. Thus the right of deposit gained in Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 had been canceled. In dealing with this problem, Jefferson, who had always favored a strict interpretation of the Con-

stitution, thrift in government, and friendship with France, made a complete switch. He stretched the Constitution even further than the Federalists had, spent more money in a lump sum than they had, and even suggested an alliance with Great Britain against France. Why?

Jefferson and the angry Western farmers suspected that the order to close the port had actually been issued by Napoleon of France. Back in 1682, France had been the first European nation to claim Louisiana, of which New Orleans was the leading port. France's claim was based on the explorations of La Salle (page 10). In shape, Louisiana resembled an enormous triangle.<sup>1</sup> It covered the area approximately from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada and from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. France turned over Louisiana to Spain in 1763, after losing the French and Indian War. But in 1800, Napoleon demanded that Spain give it back. In a secret treaty, which did not remain secret very long, Spain complied. To have weak Spain as a neighbor in control of New Orleans was bad enough. But to have powerful Napoleon as a neighbor created a highly dangerous situation. This explains why Jefferson, who never had much love for aristocratic Great Britain, wrote:

The day that France takes possession of New Orleans . . . we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.

The ambitious Napoleon sought to control all Europe. He also dreamed of restoring to France its lost empire in the New World. He hoped to use the little French island of Santo Domingo in the Caribbean as headquarters for a powerful French fleet. This fleet would be used to prevent the ships of any other nation from landing troops for

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<sup>1</sup> The present state of Louisiana, which was admitted to the Union in 1812, was carved out of the extreme southern section of this vast Louisiana territory.

an attack on all Louisiana by way of New Orleans.

With Napoleon in control of the land west of the Mississippi, there would be very little chance of our expanding westward. And who could be sure that this greedy conqueror would not try to expand east of the Mississippi into our territory? Jefferson knew that many of the desperate Western farmers might even use force to win New Orleans. Force might mean war. Peace-loving Jefferson wanted to avoid war, if possible. He believed that there was scarcely a dispute between nations that could not be settled by peaceful means.

Although Jefferson did not want the Western farmers to use force, he did want them to achieve their goal: control of New Orleans. The closing of this port once before had led to a threat of secession by some Western farmers (page 170). Now angry threats in a similar vein were being heard again. As we know, Jefferson had always felt that farmers were the backbone of the country. If New Orleans were in the hands of the United States, still more Americans would be encouraged to go west to cultivate the fertile fields of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. Furthermore, the Western farmers had been among Jefferson's strongest supporters in the election of 1800. This and the fact that almost forty per cent of the products of the nation passed through New Orleans made Jefferson all the more determined to obtain that port.

**Napoleon Amazes Americans by Offering All of Louisiana for Sale Cheap.** "What will you give for the whole of Louisiana?" This astonishing question was put to our representative in France, Robert Livingston, by Napoleon's agent in 1803. Livingston and James Monroe, who later joined him, had been trying to buy only New Orleans and West Florida.<sup>1</sup> But when they realized that they could get the whole territory of Loui-

siana for only \$15 million, they could not resist the bargain.

**Why Napoleon Decided to Sell Louisiana.** This "greatest real estate transaction in history" was made because Napoleon had given up hope of building a powerful French empire in the New World. Why? For one thing, a fierce rebellion had broken out against Napoleon in Santo Domingo. Led by a former slave, Toussaint l'Ouverture, the Negro population of the island destroyed two French armies. Deaths of French soldiers from yellow fever also helped the rebels. Obviously, Santo Domingo was not going to be a great French naval base for protecting a Napoleonic empire in the New World. Napoleon reasoned that the British, backed by their powerful fleet, would probably seize Louisiana. If the British didn't, the Americans would. Indeed, American frontiersmen, merchants, and thousands of small farmers, as well as big planters, were swarming into the southern part of the Louisiana Territory. Furthermore, by early 1803, it looked as though France and Britain, after a short period of peace, would soon be at war again. Napoleon was back working at his major goal: conquest of the entire European continent. With such a goal, \$15 million would come in mighty handy. Napoleon felt, too, that the sale of Louisiana would make it unnecessary for the United States to form an alliance with Britain, his biggest obstacle to the conquest of Europe.

**Why Napoleon's Offer to Sell Louisiana Troubled Jefferson.** Napoleon's offer to sell Louisiana placed Jefferson in a dilemma. How could he, a man who believed in the exercising of economy in government, permit the national Government to spend \$15 million? How could a man who favored strict interpretation of the Constitution buy foreign territory? After all, nothing in the Constitution gave the national Government the express power to do so. Anyway, how could a man who advocated government by the will of the people buy territory without obtaining the approval of the French, Spanish, and Indians living there?

<sup>1</sup> No one was sure whether West Florida was part of Louisiana or belonged to Spain.

Much as his conscience bothered him about stretching the Constitution, Jefferson felt that it was his patriotic duty to buy Louisiana. To satisfy both his conscience and his sense of patriotism, he drew up an amendment to the Constitution giving the Congress the right to buy foreign territory. But from our representatives in France came a warning. They said, in effect: We've got to act quickly. By the time the Congress and the states agree to an amendment, Napoleon may have changed his mind and the Louisiana bargain may have slipped through our fingers.

Louisiana was, therefore, quickly purchased by a treaty, which the Senate ratified. By thus using his treaty-making power to purchase foreign territory, Jefferson, who had preached strict interpretation of the Constitution when out of office, was now practicing loose interpretation.

### **Federalists, Now the 'Out's,' Switch to Strict Interpretation**

To many Federalists, the purchase of Louisiana seemed a many-sided Republican plot. They considered it a plot to build up the political influence of the West and South at the expense of the East, especially New England and New York. They considered it a plot to strengthen the Southern class of slaveholding planters as against the Eastern merchant, manufacturing, and banking class. They considered it a plot to favor farmers and debtors in general as against creditors in general. They considered it a plot to build up Jefferson's Republican Party and destroy the Federalist Party forever.

What arguments did the Federalists give to support their charge that the Louisiana Purchase was an evil Republican plot? The Federalists knew that many Western and Southern states were sure to be created out of the vast Louisiana Territory. Such states, like other Western and Southern states, would be sure to vote for Jefferson's Republican Party. The Republican Party

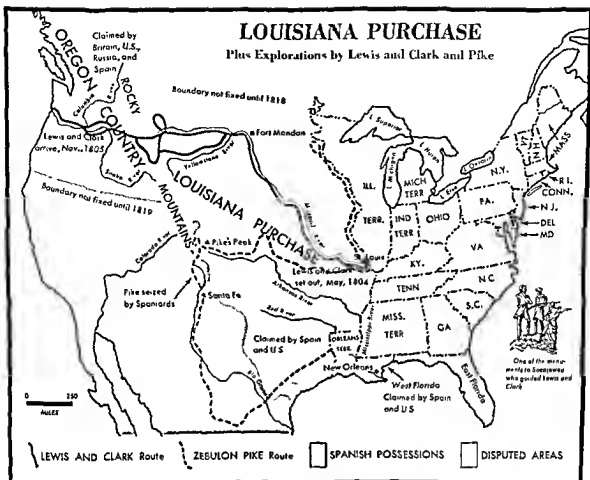
would become increasingly strong in the Senate, since each of the new states, like the old states, would be entitled to two senators. The Federalists feared that this situation would lead to the complete destruction of the Federalist Party. The West and the South, controlled by Jeffersonian Republicans, would be able to pass laws benefiting their sections, especially the farmers and debtors there. New England and New York, where the Federalists were strong, would then have a hard time getting laws passed to benefit merchants, manufacturers, and bankers.

The Federalists feared that the increasing power of the West and the South would mean the end of Eastern prosperity. Eastern laborers and farmers, they said, would head west. Thus the East would lose manpower and representation in the House of Representatives, which is based upon population. Southern planters would grow ever more powerful as the years rolled on. For, out of the Louisiana Territory, Southern slave states would be created. Because of the three-fifths compromise at the Constitutional Convention (page 121),

twenty thousand owners of fifty thousand slaves [would have] the same voice in an election as fifty thousand free men.

As we know, the Federalists, when in power, had supported a loose interpretation of the Constitution, more power for the national Government, and expenditures for the benefit of the nation. Through this policy, they were able to get the laws passed that they wanted. Once out of power, however, they switched their stand. They now adopted a strict interpretation of the Constitution. They argued that the Louisiana Purchase was unconstitutional because there was no specific provision in the Constitution giving the Congress the right to buy foreign territory. Now they championed states' rights. They argued that the purchase should not be made unless the states approved. Now they preached economy. They said that it would be unfair to the people to spend





"wagonloads of dollars" on purchasing Louisiana.

**Republicans and Federalists Switch Arguments in Order to Maintain Aims.** In switching their interpretations of the Constitution from loose to strict, and vice versa, both parties could be accused of being inconsistent. However, in each case, the switch was made so that the party could achieve its basic aims. Thus both parties were inconsistent in their arguments but consistent in their aims. All this leads to a helpful conclusion. It is wise to examine not only the arguments given by individuals, groups, or political parties but also the basic aims behind the arguments, in order to arrive at valid conclusions.

## Aftermath of the Louisiana Purchase

**Certain Federalists Plot Secession from the Union.** Certain Federalists who had considered the purchase of Louisiana an evil plot of Southern planters and Western farmers now plotted a real evil themselves. They felt that the Federalist Party was finished in the Union anyway. They therefore plotted to take New England and New York out of the Union and, if possible, unite them with Canada. To carry out their scheme, these Federalists planned to make use of Vice-President Aaron Burr. Burr had been practically thrown out of the Republican Party for challenging Jefferson for the Presi-

dency in 1800 (page 180). The plotting Federalists backed Burr for the governorship of New York in 1804.

It was rumored that the Federalists had offered the ambitious Burr the presidency of the government they planned to form out of New England and New York, provided he won the election. There was no definite evidence that Burr was involved in the secession plot. Nevertheless, Hamilton and other Federalists, staunchly loyal to the national Government, urged their followers to vote against him, calling him a traitor. Burr was defeated. Embittered, he challenged Hamilton to a duel and killed him.<sup>1</sup>

**Why the Louisiana Purchase Meant So Much.** From Europe and our East millions were to pour into the fertile Mississippi River Valley. In this valley, called "the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode," farmers were to raise bumper crops of cotton, wheat, and corn. The forests and the mines of the Louisiana area were to yield huge fortunes. Now that they had use of the Mississippi and the port of New Orleans, Westerners stopped talking about quitting the Union. As the West grew more populated and more prosperous, it also grew more powerful politically. Often in alliance with Southerners, Westerners were to dominate the national Government until about the middle of the nineteenth century. Not until that time—and then only with the help of the West (page 370)—was the commercial and industrial East to regain the power that it had held before Jefferson's election.

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<sup>1</sup> The bullet that killed Hamilton was also the finishing blow to Burr's political future in the East. His defeat and Hamilton's death meant that the Federalists, as well as the Republicans, were through with him. Still burning with ambition for fame and fortune, he is said to have engaged in more plots in the Southwest. Some say that he was plotting to wrest Mexico and Central America away from Spain and make himself emperor of the area. Some accuse him of demanding bribes from Britain and Spain in a plot to get Louisiana to secede from the United States. He was tried for treason, but acquitted.

Both Washington and Jefferson had preached an isolationist foreign policy. The Louisiana Purchase helped to make one possible. It rid the United States of a dangerous next-door neighbor, the French Empire. Furthermore, now that the United States had the rich resources of Louisiana, it did not need to depend so much upon imports from foreign countries.

How else was the Louisiana Purchase to influence our later history? The area of the United States was doubled by it. Fifteen states, in whole or in part, were to be created out of it. As some of these applied for admission to the Union, bitter and sometimes violent conflicts were to break out over whether these states should be admitted as free or slave states. Eventually this friction was to contribute to the terrible war between the North and the South, known as the War Between the States. In time, the Western states created out of the Louisiana area were to adopt many democratic practices. These were to serve as examples for other states.

The treaty purchasing Louisiana had been vague about its boundaries. Some Americans claimed that West Florida and Texas were part of the purchase. This was to contribute to friction with Spain over West Florida and to war with Mexico over Texas. The purchase was an important step in helping the United States to round out its natural boundaries. Now that our Western boundary was the Rockies, some wanted to extend it to the Pacific.

**Lewis and Clark Are Helped by Sacajawea in Exploring Louisiana and the Far Northwest.** In honor of Sacajawea, an Indian woman, monuments stand in Oregon, Wyoming, and North Dakota. Sacajawea had played an important role in one of the most valuable explorations in the history of the United States. The story follows.

Jefferson was blessed with great curiosity. He wanted to know all about Louisiana and the Far Northwest, about the Indian tribes living there, and about the area's geography, its plants, animals, and minerals. He hoped



*An artist's conception of the Lewis and Clark expedition. On reaching the West coast, Clark, who was a better explorer than speller, wrote: "Great joy in camp. We are in view of . . . this great Pacific Ocean which we been so long anxious to see and the roaring or noise made by the waves braking on the rocky shores . . . may be heard distinctly."*

to get the Indians there to shift from selling furs to the British in Canada to selling them to Americans here. So Jefferson sent a small band of explorers to go up the Missouri River, cross the Great Divide of the Rocky Mountains, and go down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean.

The courageous leaders of the expedition were two of Jefferson's fellow Virginians, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. They faced such obstacles as roaring rapids, dangerous mountain passes, heavy snowfall, wild animals, and some unfriendly Indian tribes. Yet, to Jefferson's joy, they accomplished their hazardous mission. The round trip, begun in 1804 near St. Louis, in what is now Missouri, was completed in 1806. It covered more than 8,000 miles of territory.

Why, then, the monuments to Sacajawea? With her new-born babe strapped to her back, she guided the *Lewis and Clark expedition* through a pass in the Rockies. The carefully kept records and maps of the expedition might have been lost had she not courageously rescued them when a canoe capsized. She talked her Indian chieftain brother out of killing the explorers and seizing their supplies, and talked him into furnishing them with horses and desperately needed food instead.

**Some Reasons Why the Lewis and Clark Expedition Was Important.** A much better picture of the size and resources of the Louisiana Territory was given the American people by the Lewis and Clark expedition. The information brought back encouraged

some Americans to establish fur posts west of the Mississippi. Some were even encouraged to establish fur posts in what is now our Far Northwest. At that time, what is now our Far Northwest, plus what is now Canada's far southwest, was known as the *Oregon country*. It was claimed by Russia, Great Britain, Spain, and the United States (page 327). The explorations of Lewis and Clark strengthened our claim to this region.

**Pike Explores Central Louisiana and Much of the Far Southwest.** "Two of his men had their feet so frozen that the bones came through the flesh."

Extreme cold, gnawing hunger, and capture by Spaniards were only a few of the hardships suffered by another group of explorers, led by Lieutenant Zebulon Pike. Some of its members mysteriously disappeared. In 1806, Pike's expedition traveled across what are today Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. In Colorado, Pike discovered the mountain peak that was later named after him. He then headed south to the Rio Grande in Spanish territory. After the Spaniards captured and released him, he headed home through Texas.

Just as Lewis and Clark had done for the Far Northwest, Pike's expedition gave us valuable information about the Indian tribes, geography, plants, animals, and minerals of the Far Southwest. The description by both expeditions of hardships undergone, of treeless plains, and of barren deserts tended to delay settlement of the West for about thirty years. Accustomed as would-be settlers were to the forests of the East, they believed that such an area could not make fertile farmland. As we know, they were mistaken.

### Jefferson Preserves Our Honor By Waging War Off Tripoli

Into a harbor of Algeria in North Africa sailed an American vessel bringing a bribe from the United States Government. Showing his contempt, the Algerian ruler responded by ordering the American ship to

carry a message for him to his fellow Moslem, the ruler of Turkey. It seemed as though insult were being piled upon insult when another Moslem ruler in North Africa, the Pasha of Tripoli, demanded that the bribe he was being offered by the United States be increased.

For centuries, Algeria and Tripoli and the two other *Barbary States* of North Africa, Tunisia and Morocco, had been acting like pirates. They had been seizing and plundering ships on the Mediterranean Sea. Captured crews held for ransom were sometimes enslaved. The only ships that escaped were those of nations willing to pay the tribute demanded by the pirate nations. Some nations paid because they thought tribute was

*A sailor is supposed to have saved Decatur's life at Tripoli. Decatur toasted America's victory over the Barbary pirates thus: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."*



cheaper than war. Some paid in hopes that the pirates would then attack their commercial competitors who could not or would not pay. Even Great Britain, long predominant on the seas, permitted itself thus to be blackmailed.

In 1801, however, Jefferson answered Tripoli's demand for increased protection money by sending part of our small fleet to the Mediterranean. Its orders were to blockade the shores of Tripoli. The resulting *Tripolitan War* (1801-1805) was dramatized by the daredevil deeds of such naval heroes as Stephen Decatur and Richard Somers.

The United States Navy and Marine Corps, weak as they were, inflicted enough damage to make Tripoli willing to sign a peace treaty. In it, Tripoli promised American ships greater consideration than that given European powers. Thereafter, the rulers of the other Barbary States also showed the United States somewhat greater respect. However, piracy in the Mediterranean and the payment of tribute and ransom did not end completely until 1815.

**Why Jefferson's Action on the Shores of Tripoli Was Important.** Our nation and all nations using the Mediterranean Sea benefited from Jefferson's action against the Barbary pirates. Our people's patriotism soared at news of the exploits of our naval heroes. Our infant navy learned much that was to prove valuable in later wars.

According to the Constitution, only the Congress can declare war. But the war with Tripoli was fought without such a declaration. Jefferson's orders to our fleet had been based upon his authority as Commander in Chief of the armed forces. This shows how much power the President may exercise in an emergency. As we have seen, Jefferson had started out as a strong supporter of thrift, peace, and states' rights. But, to stamp out piracy, he had to spend large sums, wage war, and stretch the power of the national Government. This shows, as did the Louisiana Purchase, that a President may sometimes have to change his ideas and policies to meet new situations.

## **Jefferson, Who Began His First Term As President Feared by Many, Ends It Popular with Most**

In the election of 1800, Jefferson had received seventy-three electoral votes to Adams' sixty-five. In the election of 1804, Jefferson received 176 electoral votes to Charles C. Pinckney's fourteen. As we know, in 1800, many had looked upon Jefferson as a dangerous radical and a threat to organized government. The figures above, however, indicate that many had changed their minds. A powerful reason for this change was that Jefferson had adopted many Federalist policies. Even that stronghold of the Federalists, New England (except for Connecticut), gave him its electoral votes in 1804. Jefferson's Federalist opposition had been further weakened by the secessionist plot of certain Federalists, their association with Burr, and the death of their great leader, Hamilton.

There were many reasons for the popularity of Jefferson's first administration. The reduction of the national debt by Gallatin, the increase in exports, and the strong stand against the Mediterranean pirates pleased businessmen especially. The purchase of Louisiana, the repeal of the whiskey tax, and Jefferson's program for building a road to the West at Federal expense were particularly pleasing to farmers. People in general were pleased because, in general, peace prevailed throughout Jefferson's first term.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Jefferson was in tune with the growing democratic spirit of the country. One evidence of this spirit was the fact that in 1804, an increased number of states permitted voters, rather than state legislatures, to make the choice of electors for the presidential election.

But just as things seemed to go well in Jefferson's first administration, so everything

<sup>1</sup> Except for the trouble with Tripoli, and some arguments with Spain over West Florida, which Jefferson claimed as part of the Louisiana Purchase

seemed to go wrong in his second. Hanging over the country was the constant threat of war.

## Events Building Up To the War of 1812

### **The Chesapeake-Leopard Affair Dramatizes Impressment as a Cause of the War.**

An American warship, the *Chesapeake*, left Norfolk, Virginia, in June, 1807, bound for the Mediterranean. Lying in wait for the *Chesapeake* off the coast was the British warship *Leopard*. The *Leopard's* commander demanded that the *Chesapeake's* commander, Commodore James Barron, permit him to search the *Chesapeake* for deserters. Barron refused. Thereupon, the *Leopard* crippled the unprepared *Chesapeake* with cannon fire. Three American sailors were killed and eighteen wounded. The *Chesapeake* yielded. Of the four sailors whom the British removed from the *Chesapeake*, one was British and the other three were Americans who had been impressed by the British and escaped (page 169). Until this incident, the British had impressed American sailors from merchant vessels only, not from naval vessels.

The British paid for the damage to the *Chesapeake*. But they still insisted that they had the right to impress seamen. Often they did so for no other reason than that an American sailor seemed to have a British accent. Horrified and humiliated by the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, Americans throughout the country clamored for war.

The *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair occurred five years before the War of 1812 broke out. But it dramatized impressment, which continued and became a major cause of the war. Oddly, however, many Americans who were greatly affected by impressment did not want the war. These included New England shipowners, merchants, and sailors. A further study of the causes of the War of 1812 will serve to explain their attitude.

**Violation of Our Neutral Rights as a Cause of the War.** By 1805, Napoleon, mili-

tary dictator of France, had made himself master of most of the European continent. He was then ready to invade England. But in 1805, too, British Admiral Horatio Nelson battered the combined French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar, Spain. Britain was thus once more proved to be mistress of the seas. The invasion scheme was dropped. But this conflict between "the tiger," Napoleon—then invincible on land—and "the shark," Britain—then invincible on the sea—was to last until 1815.

**Both Britain and France Violate Our Neutral Rights.** Desperate for supplies, both Britain and France at first placed huge orders with American merchants. Not until nearly thirty years later was our foreign trade as great as it had been in the year of the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, 1807. Each of these warring powers wanted the trade of neutrals—especially American trade—for itself. Each wanted to prevent the other from securing much of it. Because of the military stalemate, each decided to wage war with economic weapons. If Britain could limit neutral trade with the continent of Europe, such hardships might result that revolutions might break out against Napoleon. If Napoleon could prevent neutrals from trading with Britain, Britain, in desperation, might have to surrender. Napoleon knew how much Britain, a manufacturing and trading nation, needed to import raw materials, including food. Preventing neutral trade with Britain, he hoped, would result in British factories closing, British people starving, and revolution brewing.

In hopes of limiting trade between neutrals and the continent of Europe, the British declared a blockade of all European ports under Napoleon's control. If goods were shipped to the continent, Britain wanted them shipped in British ships. Neutrals were warned not to ship goods to continental ports unless they first stopped at a British port and paid certain fees. Such fees would not only hinder neutral trade but also help Britain pay its war costs.

Neutrals were also warned by Britain not

to carry food to continental ports from the French West Indies. This warning especially angered American merchants, who were at this time making huge profits from the West Indies trade. In peacetime, the French had closed this trade to other nations. They had opened it in wartime only because the British had driven most of their ships from the seas. The French action, the British angrily declared, was a violation of the Rule of 1756 (page 168). They said that their victories over the French fleet would mean nothing if neutrals carried food to France from the West Indies anyway. These British warnings in 1806 and 1807, called *Orders in Council*, were aimed not only at Napoleon but at the United States as well. Because of the war, American shippers and merchants were challenging the long-held leadership of Britain in shipping and in trade.

In hopes of preventing trade between neutrals and Great Britain, Napoleon at about the same time declared a blockade of all British ports. Neutrals were warned not to trade with Britain or its colonies, not to stop at British ports to pay fees, and not to permit inspection by British naval vessels. Napoleon's warnings were called the *Berlin and Milan Decrees*. Neutrals were warned that if they ignored these decrees, their ships would be liable to seizure.

British efforts to stir up trouble for Napoleon by limiting trade to the continent were more successful than Napoleon's to starve out Britain. Napoleon had ordered the European nations under his control not to do business with Britain. This attempted boycott, called the *Continental System*, boomeranged. Hatred for Napoleon increased on the continent. Europeans missed the manufactured goods from British factories and the sugar and coffee usually brought to them in British ships from the West Indies. Prices mounted. Smuggling increased. Moreover, because of France's weak navy, Napoleon's blockade was merely a paper blockade.

**Why Britain's Violation of Our Neutral Rights Caused Greater Bitterness Than**

**France's.** Obviously, if American merchants and shippers had obeyed the British orders, their ships would have been liable to seizure by the French. If they had obeyed the French decrees, their ships would have been liable to seizure by the British. Many ship captains obeyed neither. They tried, often successfully, to slip through both blockades. Nevertheless, the British seized hundreds of our ships and impressed thousands of our seamen, treating some of them brutally. The French were also guilty of seizures, impressments, and brutality. But they were less successful than the British. Because of their weak navy, it was harder for them to make many seizures. It was harder, too, because of the language difference, to accuse an American seaman of being a French deserter. Consequently, anger at Britain was much greater than anger at France.

All this showed how difficult it was to remain isolated, as Washington and Jefferson had preached. A war in Europe between Britain and France had involved the United States in an undeclared war with France in 1793. Now, another war between the two war soon to involve the United States in the War of 1812 with Britain.

**The Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts: Attempts to Answer the Violation of Our Neutral Rights.** Many Americans wanted to use force to punish Britain for the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair, for impressing American seamen, and for violating our neutral rights. But to Jefferson, peace was a passion. He thought that both Britain and France should be punished not by the force of arms but by the withholding of goods. Both Britain and the countries controlled by Napoleon were, he believed, in desperate need of our goods. It was his conviction that if we were to stop exporting goods to these countries, they would stop interfering with our neutral rights in hopes of getting our goods. Therefore, in December, 1807, he persuaded the Congress to pass a law forbidding American ships to leave our ports for foreign ports.

This law, the *Embargo Act*, hurt Britain

and France somewhat, but us much more. In some ways, it actually helped Britain. British shippers and farmers no longer had such stiff competition from the United States. Thousands of American sailors, made idle by the embargo, signed on British ships.

In some ways, the embargo actually helped Napoleon, too. In effect, it helped to place Britain with its powerful navy on a par with Napoleon and his weak navy. Before the embargo, Napoleon's navy had been able to do very little to prevent American ships from reaching Britain with American goods. So the embargo did more for Napoleon than his fleet could do.

In many ways, the Embargo Act hurt the United States. Ships began to rot in harbors and goods in warehouses. Many shipowners and merchants went bankrupt. Farmers, losing their markets in Europe, were forced to sell their cotton, meat, wheat, and tobacco at home for almost nothing. Many sailors, ship carpenters, and longshoremen were driven to beg in the streets. Our exports in 1808 dropped to twenty per cent of what they had been in 1807.

One would expect that the war fever against Britain would have been strongest in New England, since most of the ships seized and most of the sailors impressed had sailed from New England ports. One would expect, too, that New Englanders would have favored the embargo, hoping, like Jefferson, to have Britain punished thereby. But, oddly enough, they hated the embargo and were the most opposed to war with Britain. Why? One out of every three ships that set sail succeeded in slipping through the embargo, with huge profits the result. New Englanders realized that war with Britain and its powerful navy would probably completely destroy our commerce. Such a war would help the French, whom the Federalists of New England still considered dangerous radicals.

Once more, as in their attack on the Louisiana Purchase, New England Federalists accused Jefferson and the Republican Congress of stretching the Constitution too far. "The embargo is unconstitutional!" was the

cry that rang out throughout New England. The New Englanders argued as follows: True, the Congress has the right to regulate commerce. But by what right does the Congress go so far as to order a man not to transport his own property in his own ship from an American port to a foreign port? Some New Englanders even talked about seceding from the Union. Some New Englanders evaded the embargo by smuggling goods across the border to Canada.

Even some of Jefferson's own Republicans turned against the embargo. This was true, for example, of some Southern and Western farmers who were losing their foreign markets. However, most such farmers supported Jefferson's embargo.

In early 1809, after a fifteen-month trial period, the Embargo Act was repealed. Jefferson still felt that an economic boycott or, as he called it, "peaceable coercion" was preferable and probably more effective than war. For the repealed Embargo Act, another act, the *Non-Intercourse Act*, was substituted. This act, a milder embargo, prohibited trade with Britain and France, but permitted it with the rest of the world.

Three days after he signed this act, on March 4, 1809, Jefferson retired from the Presidency to Monticello, his plantation home in Virginia. A tired man, he wrote that he felt like a prisoner just released from his chains. The many problems of his second administration had worn him out. He could have had a third term. Instead, he recommended that his party nominate his secretary of state and best friend, James Madison. Madison was nominated and elected.

**President Madison Inherits Jefferson's Troubles with Britain and France.** Like Jefferson, Madison was a brilliant thinker. This "father of the Constitution" (page 117) had shown his great knowledge of history and past governments in helping to write the Constitution in 1787. He had shown his scholarship and patriotism once more in helping to write *The Federalist*, urging the ratification of the Constitution. He had shown his love of freedom by vigorously





*James Madison, who said "I believe there are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations" Explain whether you agree or disagree.*

supporting religious liberty and by vigorously attacking the Alien and Sedition Acts. He had shown his good taste by choosing a lovely wife. The charming Dolley Madison was, in effect, "First Lady" for sixteen years, since Jefferson, who was a widower, had often asked her to preside at presidential receptions. The Madisons' happy married life was a model for the country long after Madison retired from office to his estate, Montpelier, Virginia.

**Eager for Peace, Madison Errs in Dealing with France.** Like Jefferson, Madison loved peace. Like Jefferson, he believed that an economic boycott of Britain and France would help to preserve peace. But it was soon obvious that the Non-Intercourse Act was not causing either Britain or France to stop seizing our ships and seamen. In his attempts to solve these problems, Madison made a serious mistake in his relations with Napoleon.

In 1810, another act, called *Macon's Bill*

*Number Two*, had replaced the Non-Intercourse Act. This act permitted Americans once more to trade with Britain and France. However, it stated that if either country stopped interfering with our neutral rights, the President would reward such action by reviving the Non-Intercourse Act against the other. This Macon Act, on paper, does not seem to favor either Britain or France. Actually, it benefited Britain, for the big British Navy could be very effective in cutting down on trade between France and the United States.

But the crafty Napoleon fooled Madison into making the Macon Act benefit France. Napoleon "loves the Americans," Napoleon announced, implying that France would stop interfering with our neutral rights. He pointed out that, in line with the Macon Act, the President should therefore revive the Non-Intercourse Act against Britain. Eagerly, Madison snatched at this offer. He should have known better. Although the Non-Intercourse Act was revived against Britain, Napoleon continued to interfere with our neutral rights. In effect, what Napoleon had done was to make us his ally in blockading Britain.

**Westerners Are Bitter at the British, Whom They Blame for Indian Attacks.** To Indians in the American Northwest, British agents in Canada continued to supply guns, hoping they would use them to discourage Americans from settling there. True, Britain had given up its forts in the area, as promised in Jay's Treaty (page 169). But it had not given up hope of limiting American expansion by making the Northwest a kind of buffer region between the United States and Canada. Moreover, the British wanted to continue engaging in the rich fur trade there.

Indians in the Northwest welcomed the encouragement British agents gave them to attack American settlers. Why? For many years, white frontiersmen, fur traders, and land speculators had been pushing the Indians farther and farther westward. This was in spite of the promises made in the Treaty of Greenville (page 172). Sometimes by

trickery, sometimes by force, and sometimes by getting them drunk, some such whites got Indians to turn over their land to them.

To William Henry Harrison, governor of the Territory of Indiana, the eloquent Indian chief Tecumseh made this combined complaint and warning in 1810:

[My people were] once a happy race, but now [are] made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. They have driven us from the great salt water, forced us over the mountains, and would shortly push us into the lakes—but we are determined to go no further.

If possible, Tecumseh, unlike some of the other chiefs, wanted to avoid war with the whites. This dignified man and his twin brother, called "The Prophet," warned their followers that the rum of the white man was poison for the red man. The Prophet preached that red men had a superior culture and that they should not adulterate it by mingling with white men. Tecumseh, a man of great vision, planned a strong confederation of the Indian tribes in the Northwest and Southwest, extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Such a confederation, he felt, would improve the Indian bargaining position. It would, he hoped, enable the Indians to hold on to their remaining lands and even to recover some of their lost lands.

One November day in 1811, while Tecumseh was away organizing the tribes in the South, Governor Harrison decided to attack the tribes in the North. But before he could attack them, they attacked him. In what is present-day Indiana, where Tippecanoe Creek and the Wabash River meet, a fierce battle was waged. Losses were heavy on both sides. Neither side won a decisive victory. But the Indians retreated. Throughout the West, Harrison became a hero. Western fury at the British increased when he asserted that the Indians at this *Battle of Tippecanoe* had been armed with British guns. More and more Westerners began to

feel that only war with Britain could prevent further Indian attacks. Victory in such a war, they were convinced, would drive the British out of Canada. Then, they thought, the British would no longer be able to encourage Indian attacks. (Such attacks, with guns, tomahawks, and scalping knives *did* continue, even after Tippecanoe.) Westerners dreamed that, with the Indians crushed and the British defeated, Americans would monopolize the fur trade of North America.

**A Spirit of Nationalism and a Hunger for Land Encourage the War Spirit.** "I am not for stopping at Quebec, but I would take the whole continent." Thus spoke Henry Clay of Kentucky. He and other intensely nationalistic young congressmen felt that a war with Britain would be the first step toward reaching this goal. Such a war would, they were certain, gain the United States Canada and Florida. Florida belonged to Spain, Britain's ally against Napoleon. Because these young congressmen were war-minded, they were nicknamed *War Hawks*. They were mainly from the West and South. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was a leading Southern War Hawk.

These proud patriots burned with anger at what they considered British insults. They argued that so long as Britain could impress our seamen, seize our ships, violate our neutral rights, and encourage Indian attacks, the United States was not really independent. From childhood, many of the War Hawks had been brought up to hate Britain because of bitterness aroused by the American Revolution. They looked upon another war with Britain as almost a second war for independence.<sup>1</sup> Victory in such a war, they were confident, would make the United States really independent and start it on

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<sup>1</sup> Even Jefferson, in retirement, wrote: "... War or abject submission are the only alternatives left us. I am forced from my hobby, peace." And Madison, whose hobby had been peace, too, had, by 1812, come to the conclusion that economic pressure alone would not get Britain to respect our rights.

the road to becoming a great world power.

The United States, as we know, had almost as much reason to go to war with France as with Britain. But it was a *British* ship, the *Leopard*, not a French ship, which had killed three American sailors on the *Chesapeake*. Furthermore, the War Hawks remembered France as our ally in the American Revolution. Nor could France, now ousted from the continent, be accused of encouraging Indian attacks. And France did not own Canada, with its fertile fields and forest lands, which Western War Hawks especially desired.

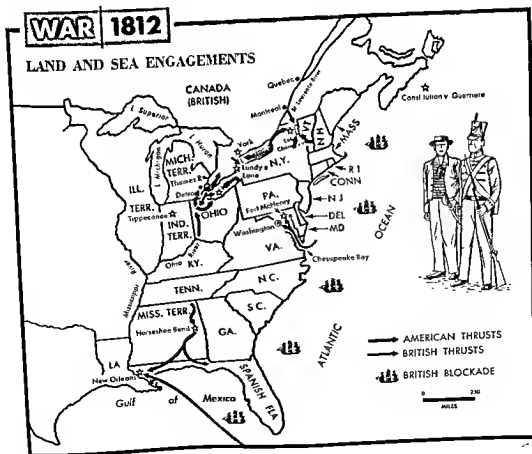
Southern War Hawks hated to see Florida under the control of Spain. Spain's control was so weak that Florida had become a hide-away for pirates and other outlaws. To Florida, runaway slaves fled from Southern plantations. From Florida, bands of Indians raided Southern plantations and farms. War

Hawks also wanted Florida in order to round out the nation's natural boundary on the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean.

## The War of 1812: Its Heartaches and Heroism

**To Many—Then and Now—There Should Have Been No War of 1812.** Too bad there was no Atlantic cable in 1812! Too bad War Hawks had talked President Madison out of sending special representatives to Britain before war was declared on June 18! Such representatives would have learned that the British were ready to stop interfering with most of our neutral rights. And the cable would have brought news that, two days before our Congress declared war, the British had agreed to repeal the Orders in Council.

Why had the British finally done so? They



were weary of the long-drawn-out war they had been waging with Napoleon. They did not want another war on their hands. Many merchants and workers demanded better relations with the United States. The effects of America's Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts had finally caught up with the British. The loss of American customers had caused British exports to fall off sharply and British debts to rise. Factory after factory shut down. Making matters worse was a farm depression caused by the failure of British crops. All this indicates that Jefferson had probably not been so far wrong in believing that "peaceable coercion" without war might bring the British to terms.

**The Country Is Not Fully Behind the Declaration of War.** Don't do us any favors. You say you want war with Britain to protect our ships, our seamen, and our neutral rights. What you *really* want is land and more land. We don't want a war. We don't want our commerce completely ruined. These were the sort of sentiments that New England and New York congressmen expressed in answer to the War Hawks.

On the declaration of war, the Congress was far from united. The vote in the House was seventy-nine to forty-nine and the vote in the Senate was nineteen to thirteen. Five months after the declaration of war came the election of 1812. The election results indicated that many New Englanders continued to feel that the war was unnecessary. In the election of 1808, Madison had won easily. But in the election of 1812, De Witt Clinton of New York, the peace candidate, gave Madison, supported by the War Hawks, a very close race. Clinton was, like Madison, a Republican. But his support came from a combination of peace-loving Republicans and Federalists. New England, the center of commerce and bitterly opposed to war for reasons already given, voted overwhelmingly for Clinton. The land-hungry agricultural West and South voted overwhelmingly for Madison.

**The Country Is Not Fully Behind the War Effort.** To many New England merchants, the

war was not their war but "Mr. Madison's War." They therefore felt no obligation to support it. Many New Englanders refused to buy war bonds, even though the Government paid rates of interest as high as seven and one-half per cent. Governors of most New England states would not order their state militia to leave their own states to take part in the invasion of Canada. British soldiers in Canada were even fed food smuggled in from New England. New England Federalists especially and some moderate Republicans considered the war a stab in Britain's back. They asked why we should be helping a military dictator, Napoleon, while Britain was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with him.

The eloquent Daniel Webster, a brilliant New England lawyer, swayed crowds there with speeches suggesting resistance to the war effort. He charged that the declaration of war proved that the South was dictating to the New England section of the nation. He even hinted that the New England states would have the right to nullify a law that the Federal Government was trying to pass for the conduct of the war. It is interesting that Webster was later on to become one of the strongest opponents of nullification and one of the strongest supporters of the Union.

*The Hartford Convention Aims to Increase New England's Power and Expresses Hostility to the War.* Late in 1814, while the war was raging, representatives from certain New England states met in secret sessions in Hartford, Connecticut. The major purpose of this *Hartford Convention* was to build up the power of commercial New England in the Federal Government and to cut down on the power of the agricultural South and West.

To achieve this purpose, certain amendments were drawn up. These amendments, if accepted by the Congress and the states, would have radically changed the Constitution. One amendment would have wiped out the three-fifths compromise (page 121). Thus the South would have less representation in the House of Representatives, since

Negro slaves would no longer be counted as part of its population. Another proposal would have limited the President to one term and would have prevented succession of a President by *one who lives in the same state*. This, too, was aimed at the South, especially at Virginia. For all our Presidents up to this time, except John Adams, had been Virginians (See the Virginia dynasty, footnote, page 189.)

The Hartford Convention also sought to increase the power of the states and decrease the power of the national Government. This was because New England had lost control of the national Government to the West and the South. In time, more and more Western states would be created out of the Louisiana Purchase. As a result, New England's influence in the Federal Government would grow proportionately less and less. The Hartford Convention therefore proposed that a two-thirds vote of the Congress be required for admission of new states. Thus a small number of states might prevent the national Government from admitting new states. The Convention also proposed that a two-thirds vote be required for a declaration of war. Thus a small number of states could prevent the national Government from declaring a war such as that of 1812.

The Hartford Convention asserted that if a state considered a law unconstitutional, the state could nullify that law. Its arguments were really a repetition of the compact, states' rights, and nullification theories as expressed in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (page 179). Then it was the South, out of power, that expressed these ideas. Now it was New England, out of power, that expressed them. Soon it was to be the South, out of power once more, that would again do so. In short, each section was to uphold or criticize these ideas, depending upon whether it was in or out of power and whether it would benefit or suffer by their use.

The Hartford Convention severely attacked the war and Madison's conduct of

it. A minority of delegates even hinted that if the proposed amendments were not accepted, New England might secede from the Union. To get them accepted, the Convention sent delegates to Washington. But by the time they arrived there, the war was over. They looked ridiculous protesting a war that had ended and whose result seemed to many a great victory.

**Obstacles Facing the United States in Fighting the War.** "The conquest of Canada is within your power; the militia of Kentucky alone are competent to place Montreal and Upper Canada at your feet! . . ." Clay, who made this statement, was completely wrong in believing that the conquest of Canada would be easy. Many War Hawks were completely wrong in believing that the Canadians would rejoice at an American invasion. Very few wanted to break with Britain and unite with the United States. The optimistic Clay overlooked some important facts in dreaming of a speedy conquest of Canada. Let us consider some of these facts.

One of our generals described many of his fellow generals as lazy, old, ignorant, boastful drunkards.<sup>1</sup> Even many of the younger officers were appointed not so much for what they knew about military tactics as for whom they knew in politics. The regular army had fewer than 7,000 men, although our population was more than seven million. Most of these had to be used to protect frontier posts. The Congress, expecting a speedy victory, depended upon volunteers and militiamen to do the fighting. But volunteers were few. And many militiamen would fight only within the boundaries of their own states.

Furthermore, the United States was challenging the greatest sea power on earth. Britain had a fleet of more than 800 vessels. We had sixteen or so, plus some gunboats of

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<sup>1</sup> One of the generals upon whom this country unfortunately had to depend was the corrupt James Wilkinson (page 170). Wilkinson had earlier proved to be a traitor to his country on more than one occasion. He had taken part in the so-called Burr conspiracy in the West (footnote, page 194).



*The Battle of New Orleans. A popular song of the time boasted of the American victory:*

*"Behind it stood our little force—  
None wished it to be greater;  
For ev'ry man was half a horse,  
And half an alligator."*

was the day the British marched on Washington and burned the Capitol, the White House, and other public buildings. James and Dolley Madison and the President's Cabinet were forced to flee. An American raiding party had previously marched on Toronto (then called York) and destroyed Canada's parliament building and other public buildings. Thus, to some Britishers, the destruction in Washington was an act of revenge. After entering Washington, the British admiral sat himself in the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives and shouted to his men: "Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy be burned?" "Aye!" rang throughout the hall. And the burning began. To many Americans, this action was an outrage. Indeed, it even shocked many British at home.

'Our Flag Was Still There' in 'the Dawn's Early Light.' After leaving Washington, the British sailed up Chesapeake Bay to the port of Baltimore. British General Robert Ross had confidently announced that he would make Baltimore his winter headquarters. But, in an attempt to take Baltimore by land, the British were beaten back and Ross was killed. In an attempt to take Baltimore from the sea, the British fleet bombarded

Fort McHenry for a full day and most of the night. In "the dawn's early light," "our flag was still there," as Francis Scott Key described the sight in "The Star-Spangled Banner."<sup>1</sup> Failing to take Baltimore, the British soldiers returned to their ships. The British fleet then left Chesapeake Bay.

**Jackson Checks Indian Efforts to Retain, and British Efforts to Conquer, the Old Southwest.** At the *Battle of Horseshoe Bend*, Alabama, in 1814, Creek Indians suffered a crushing defeat. Their conqueror was Andrew Jackson, in command of the Tennessee militia. What caused this battle? A few months before, Creek Indians in the Old Southwest had massacred several hundred men, women, and children near Mobile, Alabama.

Many blamed the British and their Spanish friends in Florida for encouraging such Indian outrages. It was believed that this was part of a British scheme to capture the entire Southwest, including New Orleans and the Mississippi River Valley. Southern War Hawks, especially in Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, felt that these hostile designs gave the United States all the more reason to try to seize Florida.

As a result of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, the Creeks were compelled to give up almost all their land in Alabama. Thus, just as Harrison had crushed the power of the Indians in the Northwest, so Jackson crushed their power in the Southwest.

In Spanish-owned Pensacola, Florida, the British had established a military base as a springboard for an invasion of the Southwest. Jackson succeeded in capturing Pensacola from the British and their Indian allies. But the greatest threat to the Southwest was the British effort to capture New Orleans.

**Jackson Wins the Battle of New Orleans After a Peace Treaty Has Been Signed.** Columns of redecoats in close formation

<sup>1</sup> In 1931, the Congress declared "The Star-Spangled Banner" our national anthem.

marched bravely across the level plain. Waiting for them behind hastily constructed fortifications made of earth and bales of cotton was Jackson's rather unusual army. In it were crack riflemen from Kentucky and Tennessee and army regulars, fierce pirates led by Jean Lafitte and regular sailors, and a mixture of Frenchmen, Negroes, and Creoles from the New Orleans area. Their deadly fire resulted in heavy British losses. On the American side, however, losses were extremely light.

This *Battle of New Orleans* was won in January, 1815, two weeks after a treaty of peace, the *Treaty of Ghent*, had been signed. Thus, if there had been a cable or wireless at the time, the battle would never have been fought.

### **Results of the War of 1812: Respect for the United States Abroad and at Home Increases**

**The Peace Treaty Says Nothing About the Causes for Which We Fought.** Had the United States achieved the objectives for which it had fought the war? Had the British agreed to stop impressment, searching and seizing our ships, and interfering with our neutral rights in general? No! Not a word was said in the treaty about these grievances. All the treaty did say was that fighting should stop, that neither side should gain any territory, and that certain disputes such as those over boundaries should be settled later.

**Why the United States Was Willing to Sign the Treaty of Ghent.** As we know, many Americans had never wanted the war. As we know, too, the Indians had been suppressed in the Northwest and in the Southwest. This had removed one of the arguments given by the War Hawks for war with Britain. Now there was little to interfere with westward expansion. Furthermore, Britain's war with Napoleon at sea was over. Therefore, there should no longer be any

reason for Britain to practice impressment or to interfere with our neutral rights.

**Why Britain Was Willing to Sign the Treaty.** Many of the British, too, had never wanted the war. The British were deep in debt and war-weary. For over twenty years they had been fighting first the French revolutionaries and then Napoleon. Moreover, after Macdonough's victory, it was obvious that invasion of the United States from Canada would be difficult. And British manufacturers, merchants, and shipowners wanted peace in order to start doing business with the United States again. Finally, British aristocrats had at last come to the conclusion that the United States was not going to break up, but was here to stay.

**The War of 1812 Intensifies Nationalism, Isolationism, and Industrialization.** As time passed, Americans forgot the dark days of the War of 1812. They remembered with pride the victories of such ships as "Old Ironsides" and of such heroes as Perry on Lake Erie, Macdonough on Lake Champlain, and Jackson at New Orleans. National pride was so great that two heroes of the war, Jackson and Harrison, were later to be elected Presidents of the United States. National pride explains the death of the Federalist Party as well. Because of the Hartford Convention and their failure to support the war effort, people looked upon the Federalists as unpatriotic. Americans were proud, too, that the adult nations of the world no longer looked down upon the United States as an infant nation. They knew that the world was astonished that the United States had not been badly beaten by that great naval power, Great Britain.

Until the end of the War of 1812, the politics and wars of Europe involved us closely, whether we wanted them to or not. Our political parties always seemed to be either pro-British or pro-French. But after the war, our country came closer to practicing the sort of isolationism Washington and Jefferson had preached. No general war involving most European countries broke out between 1815 and 1914. Thus we were not

faced with the problem of taking sides in Europe's quarrels.<sup>1</sup>

Americans began to feel, after the War of 1812, that they no longer needed the manufactures of Europe. They argued that if we produced all the goods we needed here, we would become economically self-sufficient. Thus it would be easier to become isolationist. The Embargo Act, the Non-Intercourse Act, and the war had made it almost impossible to buy manufactured goods from abroad. Yet individual Americans needed manufactured goods and so did our army and navy. Seeing this market as offering a golden opportunity to make money, many Americans invested their money in factories.

To make national pride and isolationist thinking count, action was necessary, many Americans felt. In response to their demands, the Government began building roads. The purpose of this action was to strengthen the nation by tying the various sections of the

nation closer together. Also to strengthen the nation, the size of the army and navy was increased. To protect home industries and make us less dependent upon Europe, tariff rates were increased. To make the nation's currency more uniform and stable, a Second Bank of the United States was chartered. To make the Western territories feel that they had a greater stake in the nation, many were admitted as states. From this time on, the West was to play an increasingly important part in deciding national policies. After the War of 1812 also, the Supreme Court acted more vigorously. It handed down many decisions that upheld the nation over the states.

In 1823 came a most dramatic action illustrating America's growing nationalist and isolationist sentiment. Our little nation warned the big powers of Europe not to meddle in the Western Hemisphere. For our part, we promised not to interfere in European affairs. The story of this dramatic action and more details on the growing nationalism will appear in the next chapter. So will the story of strong threats to this nationalism.

<sup>1</sup> However, it is interesting to note that when a general European war did break out in 1914, the United States was soon involved in it.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 9

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

"Revolution of 1800"	Stephen Decatur	Dolley Madison	Battle of the Thames
Albert Gallatin	Orders in Council	Montpelier	Thomas Macdonough
Louisiana Territory	<i>Leopard-Chesapeake</i>	Macon's Bill	"Old Ironsides"
Toussaint l'Ouverture	affair	Number Two	Battle of Lundy's
Sacajawea	"the tiger and the	William H. Harrison	Lane
Lewis and Clark	shark"	Tecumseh	Fort McHenry
expedition	Berlin and Milan	Battle of Tippecanoe	Francis Scott Key
Oregon country	Decrees	War Hawks	Battle of
Aaron Burr	Continental System	"Mr. Madison's War"	Horseshoe Bend
Zebulon Pike	Embargo Act	Hartford Convention	Jean Lafitte
Barbary States	Non-Intercourse Act	William Hull	Battle of New Orleans
Tripolitan War	Monticello	Oliver H. Perry	Treaty of Ghent



★ Questions to Check  
Basic Information

1. Give examples of how Jefferson demonstrated his belief in democracy by his words and actions.
2. What democratic views did Jefferson express in his First Inaugural Address?
3. Mention three policies of the Federalists that were canceled by the Jefferson Administration and three that were retained.
4. Explain why Jefferson was opposed to the Judiciary Act of 1801.
5. Jefferson's choice of Gallatin as secretary of the treasury was a wise one. Why?
6. Why do (a) some deny and (b) some assert that Jefferson's election was a revolution?
7. Why did Jefferson's election convince many in reactionary Europe that America remained "the world's best hope"?
8. Give three reasons why control of New Orleans seemed vital to Jefferson.
9. What practical considerations convinced Napoleon that he ought to sell Louisiana?
10. For what reasons did Jefferson (a) at first hesitate and (b) finally decide to purchase Louisiana?
11. For what (a) political and (b) economic reasons did many Federalists object to the purchase of Louisiana?
12. Prove that in switching interpretations of the Constitution, the Federalists and the Republicans were not as inconsistent as they seemed.
13. Connect Aaron Burr with the anger of the Federalists over the purchase of Louisiana.
14. Show that the purchase of Louisiana had (a) political, (b) economic, (c) territorial, and (d) military effects.
15. Sum up the highlights and results of (a) the Lewis and Clark expedition and (b) the Pike expedition.
16. Sum up the (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) results of the Tripolitan War.
17. Show that there were (a) economic, (b) patriotic, and (c) democratic reasons for Jefferson's enthusiastic re-election.
18. Describe relations of the United States with (a) Britain and (b) France during Jefferson's administration.
19. Point out ways in which the (a) Continental System and (b) Embargo Act boomeranged.
20. For what reasons was the United States less bitter at France's violation of its neutral rights than at Britain's?
21. For what reasons were New England Federalists opposed to the embargo imposed in 1807?
22. How did Napoleon try to take advantage of Madison's eagerness for peace?
23. List the causes of the War of 1812.
24. Connect with the Battle of Tippecanoe (a) British agents, (b) the Treaty of Greenville, (c) William Henry Harrison, (d) Tecumseh, and (e) the fur trade.
25. For what reasons did the War Hawks (a) look upon the War of 1812 as a second war for independence and (b) desire Florida?
26. For what reasons have some called the War of 1812 a "needless war"?
27. Show specifically how some obstructed the war effort.
28. Connect the Hartford Convention with (a) the three-fifths compromise, (b) presidential succession, (c) the Louisiana Purchase, (d) a declaration of war, and (e) the nullification theory.
29. Sum up the highlights of (a) the fighting on land and (b) the fighting on water during the War of 1812.
30. Describe how the power of the Indians was broken during the War of 1812 (a) in the Northwest and (b) in the Southwest.
31. For what reasons did (a) the United States and (b) Britain feel that it paid to call a halt to the war?
32. Describe the effects of the War of 1812 upon American (a) politics, (b) economy, and (c) foreign affairs.

## ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Throughout history, many Americans and many foreigners, even of competing political parties, have claimed to be following in the footsteps of Jefferson. Give reasons why.
2. Opinions might differ as to whether Jefferson raised or lowered the dignity of the Presidency by his behavior on Inauguration Day and at White House ceremonies. Give arguments on both sides.
3. To what extent would the quotations in this chapter from Jefferson's First Inaugural Address apply to America today?
4. Paraphrasing Jefferson, "We are all Republicans; we are all Democrats" today. To what extent do you agree that this is (a) true and (b) desirable?
5. Prove by examples that in Jefferson's administration, there were (a) some things borrowed and (b) some things new.
6. To call Jefferson's election the "Revolution of 1800" is a gross exaggeration. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
7. Both our agents in Paris and Jefferson showed (a) resourcefulness and (b) adaptability with respect to the purchase of Louisiana. Prove.
8. Would it be fair to call the Federalists and the Republicans hypocrites for switching their interpretations of the Constitution? Explain.
9. "Great minds care little for small morals," Aaron Burr once said. What did he mean? Explain whether you agree with him.
10. It would have required greater moral courage for Hamilton to have refused to duel with Burr than to have accepted his challenge. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
11. Explain whether Americans can take pride in (a) Commodore Barron's conduct in the *Leopard-Chesapeake* affair, (b) the Embargo Act, (c) the Hartford Convention, (d) the treatment of Tecumseh's people, (e) the aims of the War Hawks, and (f) the Treaty of Ghent.
12. The Lewis and Clark expedition, the Pike expedition, and the American attitude toward the Barbary pirates illustrate certain character traits of our infant nation. What character traits?
13. List lessons that our nation today might learn from our experiences in the War of 1812.
14. Explain why you agree or disagree with each of the amendments drawn up at the Hartford Convention.
15. Neither the United States nor Britain won the War of 1812. Discuss the truth or falsity of this statement.
16. The results of the War of 1812 for the United States were more indirect than direct. Explain, giving examples.
17. Give your views of any one of these statements of Jefferson and its timeliness today: (a) "Promote popular education as an essential condition to the safety of the republic." (b) "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." (c) ". . . never to engage, while in public office, in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of my fortune."
18. "I have sometimes asked myself whether my country is the better for my having lived at all," said Jefferson. How, specifically, would you have answered Jefferson if he had said this to you?

## ☆ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities that a President should possess, check Presidents (a) Jefferson and (b) Madison.
2. After investigation, write an essay entitled "Jefferson, Like Leonardo da Vinci, Was a Many-Sided Man."

3. Select five significant statements from Jefferson's First Inaugural Address that are not mentioned in the chapter. Explain to what extent you think they would be appropriate statements for a presidential inaugural address today.
4. Make placards for display around the room of any three important statements from Jefferson.
5. Write an "if" essay entitled (a) "If the United States Had Not Purchased the Entire Louisiana Territory," (b) "If Burr Had Been Elected in 1800," or (c) "If I Had Been a Canadian During the War of 1812."
6. On an outline map of the United States, (a) outline the boundaries of the Louisiana Territory, (b) indicate mountains or waterways in it or bordering on it, and (c) show states that have been carved out of it.
7. On an outline map of the United States, trace the route of either (a) the Lewis and Clark expedition or (b) the Zebulon Pike expedition. Indicate what important present-day cities are located along the route.
8. Study either "Jefferson on the Importance of New Orleans" or "Jefferson's Message on the Burr Conspiracy" in *Documents of American History*, edited by H. S. Commager. From either document select five of the most important points made and give reasons for your selections.
9. Read "Alexander Hamilton Loses a Duel," from *Diary of America*, edited by J. and D. Berger. Tell how this record by Gouverneur Morris appeals to both the heart and the mind.
10. Write a poem entitled (a) "Sacajawea to the Rescue," (b) "Napoleon the Trickster," (c) "Francis Scott Key Is Inspired," or (d) "Tecumseh Addresses His Braves."
11. In a letter to a movie producer, argue the merits of making a movie about (a) the Tripolitan War or (b) the War of 1812.
12. Imagine yourself secretary of state in 1811. Write a note to the British foreign secretary protesting Britain's violation of America's neutral rights.
13. After some research, write a paper entitled (a) "Dolley Madison, a Model First Lady," (b) "What Madison Was For and Against," (c) "Facts and Fiction About Jean Lafitte," (d) "Opinions Differ on Burr's Activities in the West," (e) "Gallatin Proves His Americanism," or (f) "Geography's Role in the War of 1812."
14. Make a series of newspaper headlines on highlights of the War of 1812.
15. In committee, prepare an illustrated chart for the bulletin board of the major causes and consequences of the War of 1812.
16. In committee, prepare a report on the architecture of Mount Vernon, Monticello, and Montpelier.
17. Report on "If Only Mr Madison Had Waited" (*American Heritage*, April, 1956).

## CHAPTER

# 10

### *Nationalism Holds the Center of the Stage, But Sectionalism Waits to Go On*

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#### **Nationalism Is Strong After the War of 1812**

- Clay's American System: An Attempt to Make of Americans One, Big, Happy Family • Internal Improvements, the Tariff of 1816, and the Second Bank of the United States as Evidences of Nationalism • Monroe's Two Terms Are an Era of Good Feelings • Our Relations with Britain and Spain Indicate Nationalism
- The Monroe Doctrine Aims to Guard the New World Against Evils of the Old World

#### **Bold Supreme Court Decisions as Evidences of Nationalism**

- The *Marbury v. Madison* Decision Proves the Power of the Supreme Court, Formerly a Weak National Agency • Some Sample Decisions in Which the States Were Overruled in Favor of the National Government

#### **Sectionalism Challenges Nationalism in the Era of Good Feelings**

- The Quarrel Over Missouri Is an Omen of More Serious Quarrels to Come
  - The 1824 Election: Each Section Wants a Favorite Son as President • Nationalistic President John Quincy Adams Is Handicapped by Political Strife and Sectionalism • Friction Over the Tariff, Among Other Troubles, Illustrates Sectionalism in Adams' Administration • Political Strife and Sectionalism Doom Adams' Latin-American Policy
- 

Up to the War of 1812, many Americans had been more loyal to their state or section than to the nation. After the war, more and more were proud to say not so much "I am a Virginian" or "I am a New Yorker" but "I am an American." Such persons felt that they had much in common. In short, their spirit of loyalty to the nation—their nationalism—was strong. It was widely felt that the

American nation had been chosen by God to build a great civilization as a model for the world.

Strange as it may seem, the seeds of American nationalism had originated in Europe. Beginning in the seventeenth century, many Europeans, who shared a heritage of oppression, had pulled up stakes and come to the New World seeking a better life. Slowly, dur-

ing the colonial period, many Americans had begun to develop a feeling of belonging together. Many of them were of different origins and religions. But most shared a common background of the English language, English customs, and English legal traditions. In the Declaration of Independence, in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, in the many opportunities for making a better living here, many Americans saw their common hope for a better life beginning to come true. In his Farewell Address, Washington had expressed the nationalistic idea that the American nation was different from all other nations. He had said that Americans would be better off if they cut themselves off from Europe's wars and its political problems.

### **Why Many Connected Increasing Nationalism and Isolationism With the American Dream**

After the War of 1812, more and more Americans were convinced that Washington had been right. Nationalism grew stronger as the belief spread that through isolationism, we could better realize the American Dream. Americans became all the more convinced that Europe was backward, undemocratic, and corrupt. Looking eastward toward Europe less, they began to concentrate their attention on our own West. They overflowed with optimism. What is to stop us, they asked, from using the fertile fields and rich resources of the West to give the average American a standard of living as yet undreamed of? What is to stop us from settling millions on our vast frontier and creating a powerful nation, dedicated to liberty?

Nevertheless, many Americans continued to look eastward toward Europe. Many continued their business connections with Europeans. Many continued to consider European culture superior to that of America.

**Despite Increasing Nationalism, Sectionalism Continues to Exist After the War of 1812.** In spite of the strong spirit of nationalism

that existed, there were still many who were more loyal to their state or section than to the nation. And the various sections, whether the West, the South, or the Northeast, continued to be rivals of one another. In short, *sectionalism* and nationalism existed side by side. *Sectionalists are much more interested in getting laws passed for the benefit of their sections than for the benefit of the entire nation.* Sectionalists usually uphold states' rights, in order to prevent the national Government from passing laws they consider harmful to their sections. It would be wrong to believe, however, that every person who suggests a law to benefit his section is not also loyal to the nation. In fact, many persons sincerely believe that what is good for their section is good for the nation.

Today, too, there is a strong spirit of nationalism in our nation. But sectionalism exists, also. In fact, the same person might be strongly nationalistic on certain questions, yet strongly sectionalistic on others.

For a time after the War of 1812, nationalism was to be much stronger than sectionalism. As the years rolled on, however, sectionalism was to grow stronger and stronger, until the Union split. Then the War Between the States broke out.

### **Clay's American System: An Attempt to Make of Americans One, Big, Happy Family**

During the War of 1812, swamps, rivers, and forests had slowed down the movement of our troops. Good roads, bridges, and canals had been desperately needed then, patriots believed. After the war, settlers from the East crossed the Appalachians and swarmed into the Old Northwest and Old Southwest. To get there, to ship products to and from there, and to unify the nation, good roads, bridges, and canals were even more desperately needed.

During the war, our nation had been handicapped because it could not get the manufactured goods it had long been accustomed



*By 1852, these three brilliant and influential political leaders—Webster, Clay, and Calhoun—were all dead. For what reasons might it be said that their deaths marked the end of an era?*

to import from Britain. After the war, British manufacturers sold in the United States great quantities of manufactured goods at very low prices. Such a practice is called *dumping*. They dumped goods here, according to a British lord, in order

to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war has forced into existence . . .

American iron and woolen industries were especially hard hit by British dumping. The British hoped to force American factories out of existence, and then to increase their own prices.

How can we improve transportation and prevent British dumping, and thus strengthen the nation? This question troubled many Congressmen, especially the former War Hawk Clay. To answer it, he urged the building of internal improvements, such as roads, bridges, and canals, at na-

tional expense and the placing of a high protective tariff on foreign imports. Clay argued that a high protective tariff would make foreign imports so costly that American consumers would buy from American manufacturers. This would end British dumping. It would also encourage the continued growth of manufacturing in the Northeast, where infant industries had made a good start during the War of 1812. Without such protection, such infant industries would never become adult industries.

As the Northeast specialized more and more in manufacturing, the West would have a bigger market there for its farm products, and the South for its cotton. A prosperous West and South would be in a better position to buy more manufactured products from the Northeast. The United States would become its own best customer. It would depend more and more upon the various sections of the nation, and less and less

and profitable. A fairly high protective tariff had been passed in 1816, during Madison's administration. Although there had been some opposition to it then, in general, men from all sections had voted for it. So nationalistic had the nation become that many Republicans, formerly opposed to a protective tariff, had come to favor one. The *Tariff of 1816* was our first tariff definitely aimed at protecting American industry from foreign competition. We have had high protective tariffs practically ever since.

**Internal Improvements as Evidence of Nationalism.** The argument of nationalistic congressmen that to build roads and canals at national expense would aid defense and increase trade and national unity won out in part. In 1806, in Jefferson's administration, the Congress had appropriated funds for the building of a national road. This was to extend from Cumberland, Maryland, on the Potomac River, to what is today Wheeling, West Virginia, on the Ohio River. But, by the end of the War of 1812, very little work had been done on this road. In 1816, the Congress, under the pressure of nationalistic congressmen to get the job done in a hurry, appropriated ten times the amount appropriated in 1806. By 1818, the road from Cumberland to Wheeling had been completed. Twenty years later, it had been extended across Ohio and Indiana, and halfway across Illinois, to within a hundred miles of St. Louis on the Mississippi. A Maryland state road, running from the port of Baltimore, linked up with this National Road (called the *Cumberland Road*). For many years the Cumberland Road was the most heavily traveled highway taken by Easterners and European immigrants heading for the Old Northwest.

The former War Hawk Calhoun proposed that many more national roads, and canals too, be built at national expense. The Congress, President Madison and his successor, Monroe, and most of the country liked the idea. Yet both Madison and Monroe felt that the national Government had no constitutional right to build national roads at na-

tional expense. They therefore vetoed bills that would have extended the national program for internal improvements. This explains why many of our roads and canals were built by state governments or private groups.

**The Second Bank of the United States as an Evidence of Nationalism.** The Republicans, who wanted banks chartered by the states, had bitterly opposed Hamilton when he first proposed a Bank of the United States. They had called it unconstitutional. In 1811, when the Bank's charter ran out, they had refused to recharter it. As a result, the war effort during the War of 1812 was severely hampered by the difficulty of borrowing money through the sale of bonds. Many small, privately owned banks, chartered by the states, sprang up like mushrooms all over the country. These state banks had very little gold or silver to back up the paper money. Yet they issued great quantities of it to satisfy the great demand for money.

Why did this demand for money exist? Many persons were speculating in Western lands and many settlers in the West wanted money to buy and develop their land. As more and more money was put in circulation, its value dropped more and more and prices rose more and more. Soon, except in New England, where the banks were in good shape, businessmen of one state often refused to accept the paper money issued by the banks of another state. In fact, businessmen would often refuse to accept paper money issued by banks in their own state. Business suffered greatly. Many a businessman, not knowing from day to day what the value of the money he received would be, hesitated to sell his goods.

The Republicans, learning from these experiences, began to quote the Federalist Hamilton's arguments in favor of a Bank of the United States. In 1816, Republican President Madison signed the charter for a Second Bank of the United States. The Bank, sponsored by the national Government, was a private bank. But one-fifth of the money

for it was put up by the national Government and one-fifth of its directors were appointed by the national Government. Its powers were similar to those of the First Bank of the United States (page 161).

At first, the Second Bank's managers made some serious blunders. But soon, throughout the nation, the Bank helped to create a uniform currency, that is, the currency had the same value in all states. Soon, this uniform currency, issued by the Bank of the United States, forced much of the worthless paper money issued by the state banks to disappear. The Bank of the United States also forced the state banks to adopt sounder banking policies. The rechartering of the Bank indicated that many had become convinced of the need for strong national control of banking for the welfare of the nation.

### Monroe's Two Terms: An 'Era of Good Feelings,' But Not Entirely

*Some Signs of 'the Era of Good Feelings.'*  
Who would have believed that Boston, the long-time stronghold of the Federalist Party, would have greeted James Monroe, a Jeffersonian Republican, with wild enthusiasm! It did, on his triumphal tour of the nation, shortly after his inauguration in 1817. The Boston welcome was only one of many wildly enthusiastic receptions given Monroe in every section of the nation. What dramatic evidence of the rapidly spreading nationalism!

Who would not be an American? Long live the republic! All hail! Last asylum of oppressed humanity.

Thus a national weekly, *Niles Register*, expressed the nationalism of the times. And a Massachusetts newspaper described the times as "the era of good feelings." This phrase came to be identified with Monroe's two administrations.

Of fellow Virginian, hard-working, pleasant, capable James Monroe, Jefferson said:

If his soul were turned inside out, not a blot could be found upon it.

Monroe had been Jefferson's law pupil, American delegate on missions to France, Spain, and Britain, and Madison's secretary of state. In the presidential election of 1816, he practically swamped his Federalist opponent, Rufus King. In the election of 1820, he did even better. He won all but one electoral vote.

Monroe's victories resulted not so much from his personal popularity as from the popularity of his party and the unpopularity of the Federalist Party. In fact, in the election of 1820, the Federalists did not even bother to put up a presidential candidate. Nor did they ever again. We shall see, however, that even during the era of good feelings, there were heated disputes in the Congress between representatives of different sections. True, nationalism held the center of the stage during this era. But sectionalism was ready, even eager, to compete with it.

*James Monroe, who declared in his First Inaugural Address: "National honor is national property of the highest value." How do you interpret this statement?*





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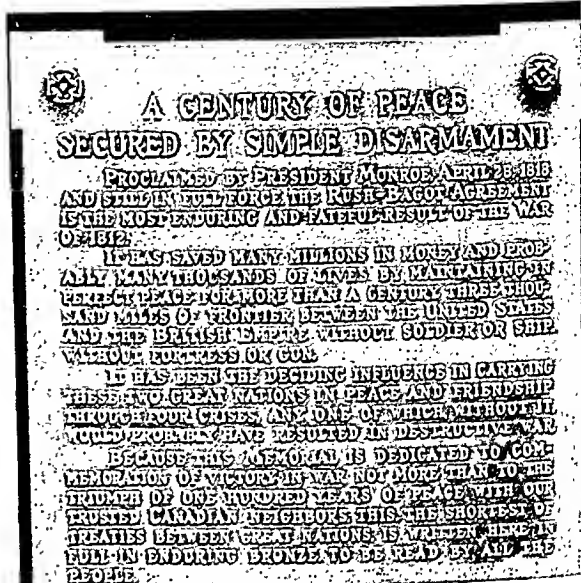
## Our Foreign Relations Are An Evidence of Nationalism

Britain and the United States Develop Respect for Each Other. Even before the War of 1812, there had been bad feeling between Canadians and Americans. During the American Revolution, many Loyalists, who had opposed the Revolution and whose property had been seized, had sought refuge in Canada. Americans and Canadians had accused each other of encouraging Indian raids and of trying to monopolize the fur trade in the Northwest. Boundary disputes had also caused trouble.

When Americans invaded Canada in the War of 1812, Canadian nationalism flamed. Canadians had patriotically defended their homeland. How did the war's end affect Canadian-American relations? The cry "On to Canada!" had been hushed. Nevermore was the British Government to try to create a powerful Indian nation in the Northwest to act as a buffer state between Canada and the United States. With these worries removed, the British and Americans were less suspicious of each other. They were thus more willing to discuss their disputes and other problems around the conference table.

*The Rush-Bagot Treaty a Trail-Blazer in Disarmament.* What were some of the remarkable results of this willingness to discuss? In the *Rush-Bagot Treaty* of 1817 the United States and Britain agreed upon practically total disarmament on the Great Lakes and on Lake Champlain. Never before in history had two nations agreed upon naval disarmament for a given area. Later, in 1871, both agreed to keep their entire border, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River on the Atlantic to Puget Sound on the Pacific, unfortified. Thus, the longest unfortified border in the world—over 3,000 miles—lies between Canada and the United States.

There have been some serious disagreements between Canada and the United States since the War of 1812. Yet the respect each has for the other has kept rival battle fleets off the Great Lakes. And the unforti-



*The Canadian-American peace tablet commemorating the Rush-Bagot Treaty.*

fied border has given each increased confidence, which has led to increased respect. Moreover, millions have been saved that would otherwise have been spent on battleships and forts.

*Discussion, Not Might, Is Used in Fixing the Canadian-American Boundary.* Look at a map of the United States today. Notice that there is a straight line on the northern border extending from a lake at the western end of the Great Lakes (called Lake-of-the-Woods) to the Pacific Ocean. In 1818, Great Britain and the United States agreed that this line—the *forty-ninth parallel*—should be the Canadian-American boundary as far west as the Rockies.

From the Rockies to the Pacific, and between Spanish-owned California and Russian-owned Alaska, was the Oregon country. In the treaty of 1818, Britain and the United States agreed on a joint occupation of the area for ten years. This meant that both British and Americans could settle and engage in the fur trade there. The agreement

ishers after a speedy trial. The Britishers had encouraged Indians to attack Americans. The President, most of the Cabinet, and especially Secretary of War Calhoun felt that the hot-tempered Jackson had gone too far in invading Spain's territory. But Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, who felt that Jackson was justified, got them to back his action. The nationalistic Adams, an expansionist, dreamed of one day seeing the American flag flying over all of North Amer-

Jackson's action made the Spanish Government furious. It demanded an apology from the United States. Instead of an apology, Spain got a warning. Adams warned Spain that, since it could not preserve order there, it had better sell Florida to the United States. Spain did why? The Spanish were afraid that angry Americans might seize Florida anyway. They had counted on backing from Britain, which they did not get. Furthermore, at this time, Mexico and Spain's colonies in Central and South America were in rebellion. Spain had its hands full trying to crush these rebellions.

In the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, the United States agreed to pay the \$5 million owed by the Spanish Government to American citizens, in exchange for all of Florida. In this same treaty, Spain surrendered its claim to the Oregon country, and the United States its claim to Texas. We had previously claimed that Texas was part of the Louisiana Purchase. The 1819 treaty also defined the boundary between the United States and Mexico. (See map on page 329.) Mexico remained Spanish territory until 1821, when it won its independence.

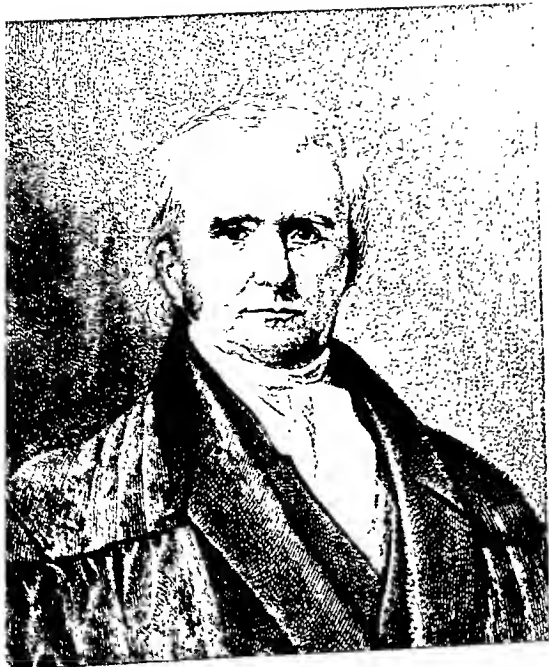
**The Monroe Doctrine: A Confident United States Seeks to Guard the New World Against Evils of the Old.** What chance is there of achieving peace, prosperity, and liberty in the New World so long as so much of it is controlled by the reactionary monarchies of the Old World? This kind of question was in the minds of many Americans after the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Many hoped that the day would

be later renewed. In 1846, as we shall see, it was agreed, also without bloodshed, that the forty-ninth parallel should be our northwestern boundary west of the Rockies to the Pacific. Our present northeastern boundary, between Maine and New Brunswick, Canada, had been arbitrated in 1842 (page 261).

**The United States Demands Respect in Florida.** Again, look at a map of the United States today. Notice that the states of Alabama and Mississippi have coastlines on the Gulf of Mexico. The narrow strip making up these coastlines as far west as the Mississippi River was claimed by Spain as part of West Florida. American farmers north of this strip hungered for it. Without it, they felt hemmed in. Without it, they could not use the rivers flowing through it into the Gulf of Mexico. American seamen sailing out of New Orleans also wanted to see this Gulf coast in American hands. They were furious at having pirates use Florida ports as bases of operation against their ships. And Jefferson had laid a claim to West Florida as part of the Louisiana Purchase. The farmers' hunger, the seamen's fury, and Jefferson's claim helped to explain why the United States, by 1813, had occupied West Florida.

East Florida, owned by Spain, had long been a major headache to the United States. For years the area had served as a hideout for hostile Indians, pirates, smugglers, and fugitive slaves. Spanish control in Florida was inefficient politically and weak militarily. About the fierce border raids of Seminole Indians. Since Spain seemed unable or unwilling to protect American lives and property, President Monroe ordered General Andrew Jackson to do so. Deep into the semitropical jungle of central Florida Jackson led his troops in 1818. He captured Spanish forts. He captured and executed two Indian chiefs without a trial, and two Brit-

1 Part of the present state of Louisiana was also part of West Florida



*John Marshall. Partly parent-educated and mainly self-educated, Marshall had no college education except for six weeks at law school. Yet his Supreme Court decisions were always crisp, clear, and logical.*

right the United States had set itself up as guardian of the Western Hemisphere.

The Monroe Doctrine did not have much influence on Europe at the time it was declared. It did not stop European powers from sending armies to Latin America. What did stop them was jealousy of one another and fear of the British Navy, which Britain made it clear it would not hesitate to use. In any case, it is highly doubtful that the Quadruple Alliance was ever serious about sending armies to Latin America. And even before the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed, Russia had already decided not to expand

warnings to Europe and the isolationist ideas contained in the Monroe Doctrine became fundamental principles of American foreign policy for many years.

At first, some groups in the newly independent Latin-American countries were pleased by the Monroe Doctrine. They welcomed it as an instrument for their protection. However, many felt that a greater protection than the Doctrine was the British fleet. Later, many Latin Americans came to fear the Doctrine as a threat to their liberty. They accused the United States of using it to keep other nations from intervening in, or taking territory from, Latin-American republics, while doing so itself.

The Monroe Doctrine was the most dramatic evidence of American nationalism and optimism after the War of 1812. It seemed to Americans to indicate that the United States was no longer an infant nation to be guided, scolded, or punished by the adult nations of Europe. Although not yet an adult nation, the United States was at least a vigorous adolescent nation of ten million people, with virtually unlimited possibilities for development. Now, at last, the United States felt confident that Europe had been warned off from the Western Hemisphere. Thus, it could now concentrate its attention on expansion toward the Pacific and on promoting liberty and prosperity within its borders.

### **Bold Supreme Court Decisions Under Marshall Reflect Nationalism**

**The Marbury v. Madison Decision Asserts the Power of the Supreme Court.** William Marbury was one of Federalist President John Adams' "midnight judges" (page 181). A paper appointing him had been signed by Adams just before Jefferson's inauguration. Republicans Jefferson and Madison (the secretary of state) decided not to give the Federalist Marbury the job. Their attitude was that the election of 1800 had proved that the people wanted Republicans in control of

**State Legislature of Georgia is Overruled.** The *Marbury v. Madison* decision had declared a law of the national legislature unconstitutional. The *Fletcher v. Peck* decision of 1810 declared a law of the Georgia state legislature unconstitutional. Georgia had tried to repeal a law that the Supreme Court considered a contract. And, according to the Constitution, when a contract has once been made, it may not be changed against the will of either of the parties to it. Thus this decision showed the concern of the Supreme Court under Marshall for the protection of property rights.

**Highest Court of Virginia is Overruled.** Another defeat for the supporters of states' rights was the *Marlin v. Hunter's Lessee* decision of 1816. This time, the Supreme Court declared that the highest court of Virginia was wrong in stating that a certain case could not be appealed to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court accepted the case and reversed the decision of the state court.

In these decisions overruling Georgia and Virginia, Marshall and his fellow judges were really asserting the supremacy of the Constitution and of the Supreme Court in interpreting the Constitution. It followed then that the states did not have the right assumed by them in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and at the Hartford Convention to decide what is constitutional and what is not.

**State Legislature of New Hampshire is Wamed That a Charter is a Contract.** "It is a small college, but there are those who love it." This was the comment of alumnus Daniel Webster in support of his alma mater, Dartmouth College. The state of New Hampshire had tried to change the charter of Dartmouth College without the consent of its Board of Trustees. The Supreme Court agreed with the defense lawyers, including Webster, that, in line with the Constitution, a charter is a contract. It followed that, as long as Dartmouth College was living up to its obligations in the charter, the state could not change the charter without the college's consent. The decision in this *Dartmouth*

the country. Why, they asked, should the Federalists, defeated at the polls, control the judiciary? Contending he had been cheated out of his appointment, *Marbury*, in 1803, sued Madison in the Supreme Court.

Chief Justice John Marshall, writing the opinion of the Court, stated that Jefferson was right. But Marshall and the Court decided that they had no power to order Madison and *Marbury* were wrong and that *Marbury* son to give *Marbury* the job. The Congress had passed a law giving the Supreme Court the power to compel officials of the executive branch of the Federal Government to carry out such appointments. But the Court now ruled that this power given it by the Congress was unconstitutional.

Probably no subsequent decision of the Supreme Court has been as important as that handed down in the *Marbury v. Madison* case. This was the first time the Supreme Court had declared a law passed by the Congress unconstitutional. This a precedent was established. Thereafter, any law of the Congress that the Supreme Court found unconstitutional would be null and void. This process of judicial review (page 134), highlighted by Marshall, caused a later chief justice to observe: "The Constitution is what the judges say it is."

Marshall's emphatic practice of judicial review in the *Marbury v. Madison* case gave the Supreme Court increased power and prestige. Before Marshall's appointment, few persons had had any respect for the Supreme Court. John Jay, first chief justice, had refused reappointment. He felt that the job was beneath his dignity. Using its increased power and prestige, the Supreme Court underter Marshall went on to render many more important decisions. In these decisions, however, the Court did not overrule acts of the Congress. But acts of the states. By helping to establish the supremacy of the nation over the states, such decisions did much to promote nationalism.

1 Not until 1857 did the Supreme Court again declare a law of the Congress unconstitutional.

*College case* (1819), like that in the *Fletcher v. Peck* case, exerted tremendous influence on America's future, as we shall now see.

In the past century or so, many businesses have been organized as corporations (page 436). To form a corporation, businessmen must obtain a charter from the state. Some corporations have at times used unfair methods in the conduct of business. For this reason or for other reasons, states have passed laws regulating corporations. However, corporations have succeeded in getting such laws declared unconstitutional. They did so by quoting the decision in the *Dartmouth College* case and pointing out that the corporations' charters were also contracts. Therefore, they said, the states had no right to interfere with them.<sup>1</sup> Without the fear of such interference, more and more businesses formed corporations, and more and more corporations expanded into big businesses. Thus the *Dartmouth College* and *Fletcher v. Peck* decisions became vital contributions to the great business expansion of the United States.

**The State of Maryland Is Forbidden to Tax a Bank Established by the National Legislature.** All Americans want their country to be prosperous and contented. To make it so, the Congress should use all powers not specifically forbidden to it in the Constitution. Let us not place our national legislature in a strait jacket by insisting that it stick strictly to its delegated powers. It should be permitted to stretch these delegated powers by means of the elastic clause. This was the sort of reasoning that Marshall used in delivering the Supreme Court decision in the famous *McCulloch v. Maryland* case of 1819.

During a depression in that year, many farmers had lost their homes and farms through inability to pay the interest on their mortgages. These farmers argued that this

would not have happened if the branches of the Bank of the United States in the various states had been more generous in extending them credit. In anger against the Bank of the United States, some states began to tax its branches. It was when James W. McCulloch, cashier of a branch of the Bank of the United States in Maryland, refused to pay such a tax that the case went to the Supreme Court.

The *McCulloch v. Maryland* case involved two questions. First, does the Constitution of the United States give the Congress the power to establish a bank? Second, if the national legislature, the Congress, does have this power, does a state have the right to tax such a national institution as a bank? Marshall's answers were "Yes" to the first question and "No" to the second.

In explaining his "Yes" to the first question, Marshall repeated Hamilton's arguments on the power of the Congress to establish a bank (page 162). In explaining his "No" to the second question, Marshall said: "The power to tax is the power to destroy." If a state has the power to tax a national institution such as a bank or a post office, Marshall reasoned, it could tax it so high as to destroy it entirely. Then the states would be supreme over the national Government. Marshall seemed to fear that under such circumstances the Constitution would be no stronger than the weak Articles of Confederation.

**The State of New York Is Reminded That Only the National Government Controls Interstate Commerce.** What right does the state of New York have to give a few men a monopoly of all steamboat transportation on the waters of New York State? (Such a monopoly had been given over the use of the Hudson River between New York and New Jersey.) No right, said Chief Justice Marshall in giving the Court's decision in the *Gibbons v. Ogden* case of 1824. The regulation of interstate commerce, he continued, is a power delegated by the Constitution to the Congress, not to the states. Marshall gave a very broad interpretation

<sup>1</sup> However, states have sometimes regulated corporations when they have felt that the health, safety, or morals of their people were seriously involved. (See police powers, page 131.)

Marshall's last days were sad ones. He saw the national unity to which he was so dedicated threatened by such issues as slavery and the tariff.

## How Sectionalism Challenged Nationalism During the Era Of Good Feelings

**The Missouri Compromise: A Title-Page to a Great Tragic Volume.** "You have kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out—which seas of blood only can extinguish!" This angry warning was hurled by a Southern congressman at Northern congressmen in 1819. It expressed the feelings of many Southern congressmen toward Northern congressmen at this time. The Southerners' anger had been aroused by an amendment to a bill for the admission of Missouri as a state. The *Tallmadge Amendment*, introduced by Representative James Tallmadge of New York, stated that after Missouri became a state, no more slaves should be brought into it. Furthermore, all the children of slaves born in Missouri after its admission to the Union should be freed on their twenty-fifth birthdays. This, of course, meant that it would only be a matter of time before Missouri would become a free state. But many Southerners had by this time come to the conclusion that the economic survival of their section depended upon slavery.

In Congress and throughout the nation, arguments on the *Tallmadge Amendment* reached the boiling point. These arguments indicate that even at the height of the period of nationalism following the War of 1812, there was also a spirit of sectionalism. In the North—in mass meetings, in newspaper editorials, and from church pulpits—sharp protests were made against admitting Missouri as a slave state. Some Northerners even threatened secession if it was. Northerners asked: Does not the Constitution state that "New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union"? Therefore,

of the Congress' power to regulate interstate commerce (page 129). It is not always a simple matter to decide what is interstate commerce and what is intrastate commerce. So broad has the Congress' interpretation of Marshall's decision been that it has been frequently criticized for regulating intrastate commerce as well as interstate commerce.

**Summing Up the Importance of Marshall.** "I consider that Constitution [ours] as the rock of our political salvation, which has preserved us from misery, division, and civil wars; and which will yet preserve us if we value it rightly and support it firmly." True to this statement of his philosophy, practically all of Marshall's decisions<sup>1</sup> as chief justice of the Supreme Court stress the constitutional supremacy of the national Government over the states. As chief justice from 1801 to 1835, Marshall upheld extensive use of the elastic clause to give the national Government great power. This power has enabled the Congress in recent years to pass social security laws, wage-and-hour laws, laws for public housing, and countless other laws designed to protect our welfare. This power has helped make our Constitution a living document, capable of meeting the emergencies of changing times. Jefferson feared that Marshall's decisions were making the central Government so strong as to threaten the rights of the states. He feared, too, that Marshall was more interested in protecting property rights and businessmen than in protecting human rights and farmers. Jefferson was also deeply concerned that by assuming great power for the appointed judiciary, Marshall had weakened the elected executive and legislative branches. But it is interesting to note that even the Republican Supreme Court judges, who had been appointed by Jefferson, voted with Marshall on many decisions.

<sup>1</sup> In almost all cases, majority of his fellow justices voted with Marshall, so persuasive were his arguments.



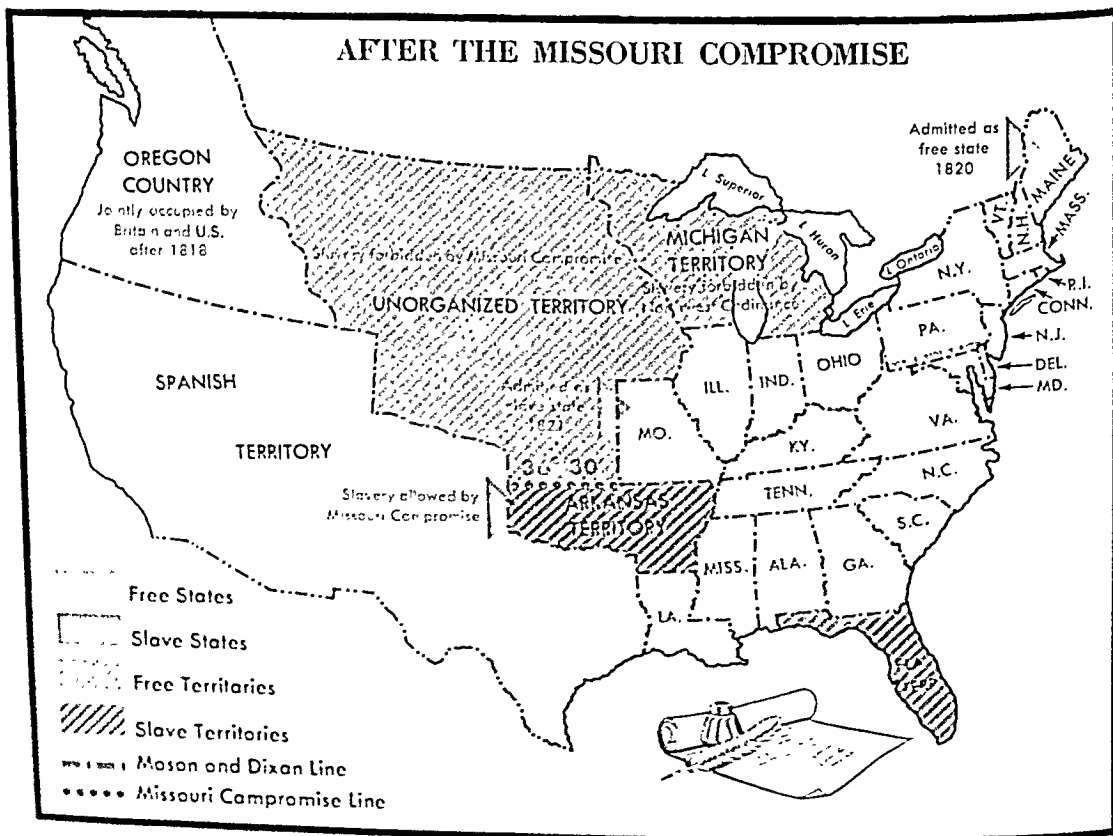
does not the Congress have the right to decide under what conditions a state may be admitted? Consequently, does not the Congress have the right to decide whether Missouri should be a free state or a slave state?

In the South, writers and speakers demanded with equal passion that Missouri be admitted as a slave state. Some Southerners even threatened secession if it was not. True, Southerners agreed, the Congress has the right to admit or to refuse to admit states. But the Congress does not have the right to decide on any conditions for their admission. Once in the Union, a state has a perfect right to decide for itself whether it should be a slave state or not. Southerners also insisted that slaves were property. They said that if the Congress forbade them to take their slaves into any territory of the United States, it would be interfering with their property rights. Therefore, they concluded, the Congress has no right to prohibit slavery in a territory of the United States.

To this argument, Northerners answered that the United States had already prohibited slavery in a territory by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and that the South had agreed to this.

After such heated arguments in the heat of the summer of 1819, the Tallmadge Amendment was passed in the House of Representatives. But it was defeated in the Senate.

*The North-South Argument Over Missouri Is Really a Struggle for Control of the Nation.* To many Southerners in 1819, getting Missouri admitted as a slave state seemed almost a matter of life and death for their section. Why? By this time, as we shall see, Southerners were planting more and more cotton. More cotton planting required more land, and more land required more farmhands. To cotton planters, more farmhands meant more slaves. By this time, too, the North, with its larger population, was in control of the House of Representatives. And the South realized that there was almost no



states. The South, with its smaller population, would then control the Senate. Furthermore, Northerners feared that if Missouri was admitted as a slave state, a precedent would be established for the admission of other slave states, created out of the Louisiana Purchase. Of course, Louisiana itself had been admitted earlier, in 1812, as a slave state. But Louisiana was so far south that most Northerners did not expect it to be a free state. Much of Missouri, on the other hand, lay north of what had been for some time considered in the East to be the dividing line between the free and slave areas.

*The Missouri Compromise is an Attempt to Keep the Balance in the Senate.* In the winter of 1819, passions cooled somewhat in the controversy over the admission of Missouri, Maine, then part of Massachusetts, applied for admission to the Union in that year. The next year, a compromise, called the *Missouri Compromise*, was brought about. The Congress admitted Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. The *Missouri Compromise* also provided that, except for Missouri, slavery should be forever prohibited in that part of the Louisiana Purchase which lies north of 36°30' north latitude. This degree of latitude was Missouri's southern boundary. For thirty years after the adoption of the *Missouri Compromise* of 1820, whenever a free state was admitted to the Union, a slave state was also admitted at about the same time.

Missouri's admission to the Union was delayed until 1821 because of a clause in its state constitution forbidding free Negroes to enter the state. By a second compromise, Missouri was allowed to keep the clause in its constitution, however, the Missouri legislature had to promise never to interpret the clause so as to interfere with the constitutional privileges of citizens of the United States. It was thus implied that free Negroes, like white citizens, would be permitted to enter Missouri. Because of his work in arranging this second Missouri Compromise, Henry Clay began to be referred to as the

1 The boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania was commonly called the  *Mason Dixon line*, after two men who had surveyed it. This line and the Ohio River came to be considered the boundary in the East between free and slave states.

When Missouri applied for admission to the Union as a slave state, the North objected because this would raise the total of slave states to twelve, as against eleven free

Missouri. Missouri had actually moved with their slaves into the Mississippi into the Louisiana Purchase for the creation of more slave states. Many River Southerners therefore looked across the Mississippi to the north of the Ohio was the area between the Alleghenies and out of the Old Northwest. This, as we know, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had prohibited slavery in any states to be created of Maryland had become free states.<sup>1</sup> And land remained slave states, the states north of 1819, although the states south of Maryland and the Mississippi. Why? By chance of creating more slave states between the Atlantic and the Mississippi. Why? By Southerners realized that there was no number of Northern and Southern states to keep a balance in the Senate between the

An effort had been made for some time slavery in all the states. Congress, it might vote to do away with North were in control of both houses of the South. Some Southerners feared that if the passing laws that might be harmful to the North from doing so. In this way, the South would be able to prevent the North from controlling the Senate, or at least to prevent the loss of the South was determined to gain control of the Senate. With control of the House two senators. With a total of twenty-eleven slave states, with a total of twenty-two senators, and in 1819, there were eleven free states,

House North was bound to have an increasingly larger share of the representatives in the a good living. Thus, as time went on, the where they had a better chance of making most immigrants were settling in the North, chance of its ever regaining control, since



*John Quincy Adams, whose words "Think of your forefathers! Think of your posterity!" should have great significance for all of us. Why?*

and by sponsoring the Monroe Doctrine. As President, he hoped that the nationalistic program he had mapped out would help all the people. He was convinced that the nation's public lands should be protected from the greed of private speculators, whom he accused of having "the thirst of a tiger for blood." Income from such natural resources and other Federal revenues, he said, should be used by the national Government to build national roads and canals, a national university, and a national astronomical observatory, and to support education and the arts and sciences in general. To promote the welfare of the people, he felt that stretching the Constitution was not only permissible but an obligation of the Government.

**How Adams' Personality Hampered Him in Politics.** Honest, conscientious, capable, experienced, intelligent, far-seeing—these are just a few of the adjectives that might accurately be applied to Adams. Yet his administration was a failure and he failed to

be re-elected in 1828. To be a success in politics, a winning smile and a charming personality are a great help. Adams, like his father, John Adams, was handicapped by having neither. Among the reasons for his unpopularity were his cold personality and his hot temper. He was New England's favorite son, because New Englanders felt respect for his ability, rather than affection for him personally.

No one could call Adams a demagogue.<sup>1</sup> He refused to promise the public what he considered the wrong things, even if it meant losing votes. He refused to remove men from office whose only offense was belonging to the political opposition. This made him enemies in his own party. So did his practice of appointing political opponents to office when he felt they were the best men for the jobs. Yet such appointees usually worked with the Jackson men in Congress against Adams' own program. And the Jackson men did everything in their power to block every Adams proposal. In addition, for three years, in Congress, in newspapers, at rallies, in taverns, the Jackson men conducted an unceasing attack on the President's personal integrity. Everywhere and again and again was heard the cry: "Corrupt bargain!" The major goal was to turn the whole country against Adams and to insure Jackson's election in 1828.

**Friction Over the Tariff Illustrates Sectionalism in Adams' Administration.** The South and its outstanding spokesman, Calhoun, had supported a protective tariff in 1816. At that time, it had been expected that the South would become a manufacturing section. A high protective tariff would then protect Southern manufacturers from European competition. All this we know. By the 1820's, however, many Southern planters had become convinced that a high protective tariff was bad for the South. What changed their minds?

<sup>1</sup> A demagogue is an unscrupulous individual who tries to win over the people by playing upon their prejudices and fears.

These planters had come to believe that the South would remain basically an agricultural section. Some Southerners argued that a high protective tariff would make it difficult for European manufacturers to sell their goods here. Thus Southerners would have to buy from Northern manufacturers at a high price. If they were to buy from European manufacturers, the price would also be high, since the tariff would raise the price of European goods. Furthermore, nearly seventy per cent of the nation's exports came from the South. Because European countries raised their tariffs in retaliation against high American tariffs, the South's export business was threatened.

The high tariff had caused a rise in the South's cost of living. But a more serious problem to the South was a drop in the price of cotton. In 1816, cotton had sold at thirty cents a pound. But by 1827, it had dropped to nine cents. This drop had been caused by the increased supply grown in the far more fertile lands of the newly settled Southwest. Nevertheless, the South blamed most of its troubles on the tariff.

*The Tariff of Abominations: Partly a Political Trick to Win Support for Jackson in Both North and South.* So much did Southerners hate the tariff passed in 1828 that they called it the *Tariff of Abominations*. They hated it because of its high rates on so many commodities. This tariff had been introduced by Jackson's supporters in the Congress, supposedly in hopes that it would be defeated. They seemed to think that by introducing it, they would win support, in both North and South, for Jackson in the coming election of 1828.

The tariff bill Jackson's supporters drew up had high rates on raw materials, such as raw wool, as well as on manufactured goods. They knew that Northeastern manufacturers would not want to pay high prices for the imported raw materials they needed for manufacturing. They expected Northeastern congressmen, therefore, to combine with Southwestern congressmen to defeat the tariff bill. Then the Jackson men could tell Northern manufacturers that they had tried to put through a tariff to protect their industries. On the other hand, they could say to Southerners that they had prepared a bill so ridiculous that it was bound to be defeated. But, to their surprise and dismay, the Congress passed the bill and Adams signed it. Some of the congressmen who voted for it sincerely thought that it would benefit both farmers and manufacturers. By signing it, Adams naturally did not endorse himself to the South.

*The Tariff of Abominations Leads to a Powerful Protest by South Carolinians.* In protest against the Tariff of Abominations, Vice-President Calhoun wrote an unsigned essay, later called "The South Carolina Exposition and Protest." The ideas expressed in it were somewhat similar to those expressed in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (page 179) and at the Hartford Convention (page 204). Such ideas include the compact theory of government, a belief in states' rights, and nullification. These are some of the arguments Calhoun used in his essay protesting the tariff.

The Constitution (the compact drawn up by the states) gives the national Government the power to levy a tariff for revenue purposes only. Therefore, a protective tariff, such as the Tariff of Abominations, is unconstitutional. Such a tariff gives economic benefits to the industrial sections of the nation and places burdens on its agricultural sections. By thus playing favorites, the national Government is interfering with states' rights in agricultural sections. Since the protective tariff, being in violation of the compact theory and states' rights, is unconstitutional, a state has the right to declare it so, to nullify it, or to refuse to obey it.

- it, (c) why Clay thought specific groups and the nation as a whole would benefit from it, and (d) obstacles to its fulfillment.
4. Prove that the (a) Tariff of 1816, (b) Cumberland Road, and (c) Second Bank of the United States were examples of nationalism.
  5. What serious problems developed when the First Bank of the United States was not rechartered in 1811? Mention three results of the chartering of the Second Bank of the United States in 1816.
  6. Give specific reasons why there was less suspicion between Canadians and Americans after the War of 1812.
  7. Associate with the Adams-Onís Treaty (a) angry American farmers, (b) furious American seamen, (c) a claim by Jefferson, (d) an invasion by Jackson, and (e) Spain's troubles.
  8. How did (a) revolutions in Latin America, (b) the American tradition of isolation, (c) business reasons, (d) the Quadruple Alliance, and (e) a declaration by the Czar of Russia lead to the Monroe Doctrine?
  9. Prove that Britain opposed European interference in Latin America for (a) a practical reason and (b) an idealistic reason.
  10. For what reasons did Secretary of State John Quincy Adams feel that the United States should issue a warning on its own to the Quadruple Alliance?
  11. Sum up the (a) two warnings and (b) two promises contained in the Monroe Doctrine.
  12. To what extent was the Monroe Doctrine (a) original, (b) influential then and later, and (c) an example of American confidence?
  13. Describe the (a) facts in, and (b) significance of, the *Marbury v. Madison* case.
  14. Show how specific decisions of Chief Justice Marshall and the Supreme Court stressed the supremacy of the nation over the states.
  15. Show specifically which constitutional arguments John Marshall used in each of three of his decisions.
  16. How have the decisions in the *Fletcher v. Peck* case and the Dartmouth College case encouraged the formation of corporations?
  17. Give proof that Marshall's influence was felt long after his death.
  18. On what grounds did Jefferson criticize Marshall?
  19. What provisions in the Tallmadge Amendment antagonized many Southerners?
  20. Give the arguments that were made (a) for and (b) against the admission of Missouri as a slave state.
  21. In what sense was the question of admitting Missouri a struggle for control of the nation?
  22. With respect to the Missouri Compromise, give (a) its terms and (b) reasons why in time both Northerners and Southerners became dissatisfied with it.
  23. Tell specifically how John Quincy Adams became President when fewer people voted for him than for Andrew Jackson.
  24. For what reasons did Clay help to make one of his opponents, John Quincy Adams, President in 1824?
  25. Describe the origins and policies of (a) the National Republicans and (b) the Democratic Republicans.
  26. Give reasons why the able Adams was an unpopular President.
  27. For what reasons did many Southerners change their attitude on the tariff between 1816 and 1828?
  28. Give specific reasons why the Tariff of Abominations was so called.
  29. What arguments did Calhoun give in "The Exposition and Protest"?

#### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Intense nationalism was closely identified with the American Dream after the War



5. After reading "Everybody Liked Henry Clay" (*American Heritage*, October, 1956), tell which character traits of Clay you think are worth emulating.
6. After an investigation, report on (a) the motives of Britain and the United States in signing the Rush-Bagot Treaty and (b) Canada's fears at the time concerning it.
7. On an outline map of the United States, locate (a) the route of the Cumberland Road, (b) the areas affected by the Rush-Bagot Treaty, (c) the forty-ninth parallel from Lake-of-the-Woods to the Rockies, (d) the Oregon country, (e) East and West Florida, and (f) the boundary between the United States and Mexico as defined in the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.
8. Concerning the Monroe Doctrine, write (a) a series of newspaper headlines on it, (b) an evaluation of it based upon a study of two foreign affairs books, (c) a dialogue between President Monroe and Secretary of State Adams, or (d) an article on the extent to which it is observed today.
9. Draw a cartoon strip in which each panel illustrates the theme of each of the Supreme Court decisions mentioned in this chapter.
10. Write a biography of John Marshall after investigating (a) his attitude toward popular government and majority rule, (b) his role in the XYZ Affair, (c) his attitude on the Alien and Sedition Acts, and (d) such personal characteristics as his dress and sense of humor.
11. Find out and report on the opinions of at least two historians concerning Jackson's charge that there was a "corrupt bargain" in the election of 1824.
12. Make a list of questions you would like to have asked Calhoun on "The Exposition and Protest."
13. "I can scarcely recollect a single instance of success in anything that I ever undertook," John Quincy Adams wrote at the age of seventy. After investigating his career, write a letter you think might have consoled him.
14. On the information in this chapter, prepare in committee (a) twenty multiple-choice questions, (b) an annotated bibliography based upon books in the school or local library, or (c) a chart for the bulletin board summing up the chapter's highlights.

## CHAPTER

## II

# President Jackson Promotes Democracy, Supports Nationalism, Yet Defends States' Rights

**Political Democracy** • Makes Great Progress in the Jacksonian Era  
 • Plain People Play a Big Role in Electing Jackson in 1828 • Jacksonian and Jeffersonian Democracy Compared • Many More Are Enabled to Vote and Hold Office • Means Are Adopted to Bring Nomination and Election of President Closer to Voters • Jackson Is Convinced That Rotation in Office and the Spoils System Are Democratic • The Large Increase in Voters Encourages Growth of Machine Politics

**Jackson Proves Himself a Strong President**  
 • Jackson Threatens Nullifiers in the Tariff Dispute, But Supports States' Rights in Vetoing the Maysville Road Bill and in Defying the Supreme Court • Hatred of Monopoly Is a Major Reason for Jackson's Battle Against the Bank • Jackson Follows Up His Election Victory in 1832 with a Slashing Attack on the Bank  
**Jackson's Strong Influence Is Felt Even After His Administration Ends**  
 • Jackson Passes On to Van Buren Not Only the Presidency But Some Serious Problems • Jackson's Battle Against the Bank Contributes to the Panic of 1837 • Whigs Copy Tactics Used by Jackson in 1828 to Defeat Van Buren in 1840 • Harrison Dies; Tyler Takes Over; the Whig Victory Turns Sour

## Mud-Slinging and Name-Calling Sully the Election of 1828

Do they think that I am such a . . . fool  
as to think myself fit for the presidency?

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 12 for the progress of social and economic democracy in the Jacksonian era.

Andrew Jackson asked this question a few years before the election of 1824. His friends coaxed him into running for President in that year. But his heart was not really in it. To run in 1828, however, Jackson needed no coaxing from anybody. Adams' election by the House of Representatives had infuriated him. He was convinced, as we



# Jackson Forever!

## Hero of Two Wars and of Orleans!

## The Man of the People!

THE WHO COULD NOT BARTER NOR BARGAIN FOR THE

# PRESIDENCY!

though "A Military Chieftain," valued the purity of Elections and of the MORE than the Office of PRESIDENT itself! Although the greatest of his countrymen, and the highest in point of dignity of any in the world,

## BECAUSE

It should be derived from the

## PEOPLE!

and No Black Cockades! No Reign of Terror! No Standing Army! No Navy Officers, when under the pay of Government, to browbeat, or

## KNOCK DOWN

Antislavery Characters, or our Representatives while in the discharge of their duty. To the Polls then, and vote for those who will support

# OLD HICKORY

AND THE ELECTORAL LAW.

*An 1828 campaign poster for Jackson.*

know, that Adams and Clay had engaged in a "corrupt bargain" to cheat him out of the Presidency. Furthermore, since more voters and more electors had voted for him, he felt that this alleged corrupt bargain had shown contempt for the will of the people.

"Turn the rascals out!" "Let the people rule!" "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none!" These were campaign slogans shouted by Jackson's enthusiastic supporters. In a three-year-long campaign, they smeared Adams and his Administration with many false charges. They accused the deeply religious Adams of encouraging immorality. They accused him of dissipation and of wasting Government money to buy gambling tables for the White House. They called him a calloused aristocrat, contemptuous of the plain people.

The Adams supporters, too, practiced mud-slinging and name-calling, and hurled false charges. They called Jackson a vulgar,

drunken barbarian and a murderer. They called his beloved wife, Rachel, immoral and ridiculed her for smoking a corncob pipe. When Rachel died before Jackson's inauguration, he felt her death had been brought on by these cruel attacks. On her tombstone, he had her described as "A being so gentle, so virtuous, slander might wound but could not dishonor." Rachel's death increased Jackson's anger at Adams, who, he felt, could have stopped such attacks. Actually, neither Adams nor Jackson was personally responsible for making the campaign of 1828 one of the filthiest in our history.

Jackson's victory in 1828 was almost a landslide. He won all of the West and all of the South that lies south of the Potomac. He even won Pennsylvania and most of the electoral votes in New York. Only in New England did Adams win overwhelmingly.

## President Jackson Inspires Deep Love and Bitter Hatred

**Why Many Plain People Idolized Jackson.** Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue and the avenues leading into it were jammed with 10,000 people. Many had come from hundreds of miles away. All at once, from the thousands of upturned faces came cheers that seemed to shake the very ground. A tall, lean, erect man, with piercing eyes and a shock of snow-white hair, had just stepped out on the columned porch of the Capitol.

The man was sixty-one-year-old Andrew Jackson and the day was March 4, 1829. Jackson was being inaugurated as the seventh President of the United States. From the Capitol, after the inauguration ceremonies, the happy crowd followed him to the White House—some in carts and wagons, some in fine carriages, and some on foot. Into the President's mansion they swarmed by the hundreds, jostling one another in their eagerness to get to Jackson and shake his hand. He might have been seriously injured by the crowds pressing on him from all sides had not a group of

something, nothing and nobody could make him change it. After his death, one of his slaves said of him: "I don't know whether he is in heaven, but if he wanted to, he'd be there!"

So popular was Jackson that he had been elected Tennessee's first congressman, then one of its senators, before he became President. His popularity increased as his reputation for leadership, for ability to come to quick decisions, and for courage grew. He had shown these qualities as an Indian fighter, against the British at New Orleans, and against the British, Spanish, and Indians in the conquest of Florida. The plain people loved him for his sincerity, honesty, and deep loyalty to them. According to one of his advisers, Jackson considered the plain people "the only blood relations he had." Although his concern with their interests was sincere, he realized it would mean many votes for his party. In fact, most of his support did come from such plain people as small farmers, small businessmen, and, to a lesser extent, city workers.

*Jackson Is Idolized for His Faults, Too.* Jackson had fought many duels, largely because he was hot-tempered and obstinate. "Old Hickory," as he was fondly nicknamed after a very tough wood, was seldom willing to compromise. Often, he looked upon any one who disagreed with him as an enemy of himself and of the country. And heaven help anyone Jackson considered an enemy! He liked to give orders, but objected to taking them. He had a reputation for disobeying laws when it suited him, for using rough language, and for drinking, smoking, and gambling too much. Many of the tough frontiersmen and rough city workers who had supported Jackson had similar faults. To them, these were not faults but characteristics of a real "he-man." Even so, some historians are convinced that Jackson's faults were greatly exaggerated by his enemies. In any case, in time he so learned to control his violent temper that he impressed many with his courteous manners and great dignity.

friends acted as a bodyguard to help him escape by the back door. Bloody noses and fainting ladies added to the confusion. Muddy boots, tobacco juice, and spilled punch stained the fine carpets. China worth thousands was smashed. Finally, tubs of punch were placed on the lawn to lure the merry-making Jacksonian Democrats from the White House. So clogged were the doorways that many had to climb out of the windows to get to the punch.

Never before had—and never since has—the White House been flooded with so many people, and such a mixture of people, celebrating in such a wild way. There were backwoodsmen in buckskin shirts and coonskin caps from the Southwest and North-west, poor farmers from both East and West, laborers from seaboard cities, Negroes as well as whites. There were also many well-dressed politicians seeking Government jobs. Southern aristocrats, with high hopes that Jackson would back the South against the North on such questions as the tariff, were there, too. Most of the plain people celebrating so wildly were acting out of a belief that Jackson's election had saved the republic from perpetual control by wealthy aristocrats with special privileges. In the words of one Jackson supporter, "It was the people's day, the people's President, and the people would rule."

Many of the plain people who idolized Jackson saw in his career new possibilities for themselves and their children. Here was a man who had proved the value of perseverance in the land of opportunity. Through will power and boundless energy, he had risen from poverty in a log cabin to wealth on a great plantation. Through self-education, for the most part, he had learned to speak and write clearly and forcefully. Whenever Jackson made up his mind to do

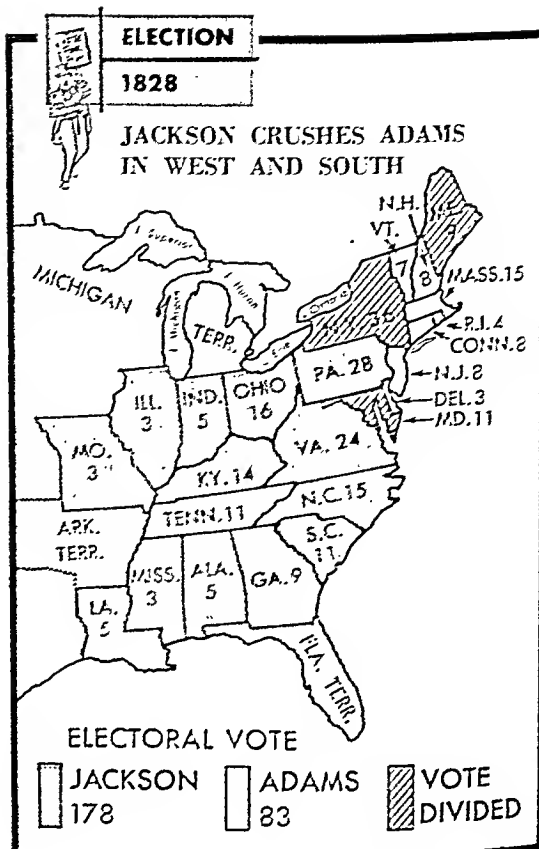
His beautiful home, the Hermitage, in Tennessee, has been preserved as a shrine. The Washington Mount Vernon, Jefferson's Monticello, and Madison's Montpelier, among others

**Why His Opponents Hated Jackson.** Terror struck the hearts of the country's conservatives upon Jackson's election. They were horrified at the wild scene at the White House on Inauguration Day. They compared it to the riots by mobs during the French Revolution. In effect, they asked: See what happens when control of the Government gets into the hands of the common people? They predicted that, with such radical support, the ambitious Jackson would, like Napoleon, soon make himself a military dictator. As we shall see, Jackson increased the powers of the executive branch more than any President before him. His enemies accused him of showing disrespect, even contempt, for the Constitution, the Congress, the Supreme Court, and even his own Cabinet. They called his administration the "reign of King Andrew the First."

### Why Jackson's Election Has Been Called the 'Revolution of 1828'

Be born of wealthy or, at least, well-to-do parents. Be a college graduate. Live in Virginia or Massachusetts. Before the election of Jackson, these seemed to be unwritten requirements for the Presidency, judging by the men who were elected. Neither the Presidents who had been Virginia planters nor the Adamses, who represented New England businessmen, had ever experienced the hard life of the average man of the time. Jackson, on the other hand, had been born in poverty in South Carolina. His Scotch-Irish immigrant parents had left him an orphan at fourteen. Mainly self-educated and self-made, Jackson was our first President to come from a state west of the Alleghenies—Tennessee.

In the election of 1828, more than three times as many people voted as had voted in 1824. In earlier elections, most voters had been businessmen, planters, and, generally speaking, men of property. Most politically influential persons had lived along the Eastern seaboard. The increased numbers of



voters in 1828 were made up mainly of city workers and small farmers of the East, and frontier farmers of the West. We shall soon see why the number of voters rose so sharply in 1828.

Jackson's election might be called a revolution not only because of its important differences from past elections but because of its important influences on future elections. After Jackson, many a candidate was to boast that he, too, had been born poor, lived simply, and enjoyed the company of the plain people. One candidate, Daniel Webster, asked the voters not to hold it against him that he had not been born in a log cabin! From Jackson's time on, more and more of the plain people, especially Western farmers and city workers, were to have an ever-increasing influence in the Government. This, in turn, was to have an important effect upon the spread of democracy and nationalism in the United States. More and

had not done enough to oppose privileges for the few and to open up political and economic opportunities for the many. The comparison that follows throws light on why the so-called Revolution of 1828 was even more of a revolution than the so-called Revolution

*Jacksonian Democracy Compared with Jeffersonian Democracy.* To Jackson, the plain people meant much. To Jefferson, they meant practically everything. To Jefferson, education, experience, and ability should be qualifications of officeholders. He believed that when education and training were available to all, plain people might eventually become officeholders. In the meantime, the educated and experienced, in serving as officeholders, should do all they could for the welfare of the people. To Jackson, any common man with common sense, educated or not, could immediately do a good job in even the highest offices of government.

In short, both men believed in government for the people. But, like many Western frontiersmen, Jackson believed in government by the people, immediately, not eventually. By "the people" Jackson meant city workers and small businessmen, as well as farmers. Jefferson's main interest, on the other hand, was in the welfare of farmers. Of course, in Jefferson's time, there were fewer city workers.

Jackson was convinced that every officeholder, educated or not, should constantly seek to learn what the people want, and Congress or a decision given by the Supreme Court conflicted, in his judgment, with what the people wanted? Even then, he believed, the President should carry out the will of the people. Jackson felt that he knew what the people wanted—and he usually did. This viewpoint helps to explain why he became the bitter opponent of men in the opposing party, and even in his own party, when he felt that their actions were harmful to the people. It also helps to explain why he vetoed more bills passed by the Congress

more of the democratic features in the constitutions of Western states (page 474) came to be adopted by Eastern states. The West was also to take the lead, during Jackson's time and after, in attacking monopoly and privilege. The Western states, which had been created by the national Government from lands belonging to the whole nation, and which looked to the nation for protection, tended naturally to be quite nationalistic.

City workers were to include, in their democratic demands, free public schools for their children and better working conditions for themselves. All in all, after 1825, the demand of the plain people to be heard was to grow ever louder. City workers, like Westerners, tended to be nationalists. This was because they felt they had more problems in common with workers in other cities throughout the nation than with people in any given state or section.

Not all who supported Jackson in 1828 wanted to spread democracy or were nationalists. Some Southern aristocrats voted against Adams not because they loved democracy but because Adams favored a high tariff. They also hoped that Jackson as President would support a states' rights program for the benefit of their section. Why the so-called Revolution of 1828 Was Even More of a Revolution Than the so-called Revolution of 1800. In a sense, many Americans who had voted for Jefferson in 1800 had felt that they were voting for the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence. They felt that the Federalists had moved too far away from the principle that all men were entitled to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." In a sense, too, many Americans who voted for Jackson in 1828 felt that they, too, were voting for a man who would help to make the American Dream, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, come true. These supporters of Jackson lamented the fact that the Republicans Party, founded by Jefferson and in power since 1801, had adopted the Federalist program. The Republicans, they contended,

than all six of his predecessors combined. It helps to explain, too, why he sometimes challenged decisions of Chief Justice Marshall and the Supreme Court. He felt that their decisions tended to favor privileged aristocrats, rather than the people.

Jefferson, on the other hand, was not as bitter toward his opponents, the Federalists, as Jackson was toward his. Furthermore, it is hard to imagine his taking such a strong stand as Jackson took against the Congress or the Supreme Court.

## **Great Progress in Democracy Is Made During the Jacksonian Period**

Jackson, one of the most forceful Presidents ever to occupy the White House, served for two terms. His hand-picked successor, Martin Van Buren, served for one. The period covering these three presidential terms (1829-1841) is known as the *Jacksonian period*. In broad terms, this period is extended by some to cover the entire last half of the first half of the nineteenth century.

During the Jacksonian period, democracy in its many aspects took great strides forward. Jackson deserves personal credit for some of the progress made, particularly in political democracy. However, much democratic progress was made for which he was not at all responsible. In Europe, as well as in the United States at this time, more and more people were demanding more and more rights. In Europe, revolutions were taking place against autocratic rulers. In Europe, as in America, reformers were demanding free public schools, more rights for women, better working conditions in factories, and the abolition of slavery everywhere. In such reform movements, Europeans borrowed ideas from Americans and vice versa. In other words, *Jacksonian democracy* was in tune with the times.

Let us now look at some examples of the progress of political democracy during the Jacksonian period.

**Property and Religious Qualifications for Voting and Officeholding Are Practically Abolished.** The overwhelming majority of white male Americans had the right to vote by 1828. What explains the great increase in the number of voters? More persons had become genuinely interested in politics. Political party organizations had become more efficient. More vigorously, they made it their business to get out the vote. Furthermore, by 1828, most of the original thirteen states had done away with property and religious qualifications for voting and officeholding. This especially boosted the number of voters among propertyless city workers. As for the Western states, property qualifications there were, from the start, practically nonexistent. Many of the propertied objected to all this. They said, in effect: If poor people without property are given the right to vote and hold office, they will use these privileges to take our property away.

**More State Officials Are Elected and for Shorter Terms.** Before the 1820's, many state officials were appointed by governors or selected by state legislatures. They held office for long periods of time. But by 1828, many states had increased the number of elected officials and decreased the lengths of their terms of office. Thus the voters could make their choices known for more jobs—and more often. At the time, this seemed like a step forward in the march of democracy. In more recent times, however, many states have come to believe that so many candidates and such frequent elections make intelligent voting difficult.

**The Open Nominating Convention Replaces the Secret Caucus.** Before the 1820's, many officials were nominated for office, often secretly, by groups inside or outside the state legislatures. Even a party's candidate for President was usually picked by a group of party members in the Congress. Such a group was called a *caucus*. But by 1828, many states had abolished this undemocratic method of nominating candidates. Instead, it became the custom for members of a party to choose delegates who met in an

open—not secret—nominating convention to select candidates for state office.

On a national scale, this change from caucus to convention was first adopted in the presidential election of 1832. Soon it became the custom always to select presidential candidates in national nominating conventions. Through such conventions, the voters have more opportunity than they did under the caucus system to help pick their party's candidate. But even under the national nominating convention, powerful political leaders have far more to say than the average voter.

The election of the President is brought closer to the voters. Before the 1820's, in many states, presidential electors (page 145) were chosen by the state legislatures. But by 1828, as we know, in all but two states, presidential electors were chosen by the voters. This brought the election of the President closer to the people. By this time, too, the electors had become virtual puppets, who always voted for the presidential candidate nominated by their party. How-

Andrew Jackson The conservative Philip Hone, who feared Jackson's "unscrupulous assumption of power, nevertheless recognized his popularity in his famous diary. Hone wrote: "Talk of him [Jackson] as the second Washington!" Washington was only the first Jackson."



ever, under the electoral college system (page 146), even today, it is possible, but not probable, for a President to be elected who is not the people's choice.

**Certain Groups Are Greatly Responsible for This Democratic Progress.** Jackson's supporters did much to bring about these democratic reforms. The hard life on the frontier, as we know, tended to promote democracy. A frontiersman who needed the co-operation of his neighbor to fight Indians, for example, did not ask to see his bank book or his birth certificate. In short, it was not wealth or family background that counted on the frontier so much as a man's skill with a gun, or his willingness to co-operate (page 47). Furthermore, in the West, most persons were fairly equal in wealth and social position. In the East, on the other hand, there were, from the start, wealthy landowners and merchants who had great political power.

However, by Jackson's time, other groups in the East were demanding and gaining greater political power. By this time, factories were multiplying in many Eastern towns and cities. Thousands of farmers and immigrants flocked to work in them. Workers in these factories slowly began to form unions, and to demand democratic reforms. In fear that these workers might head west if their demands were not met, Eastern states adopted such reforms in any case, as the population of Eastern cities increased, so did pressure for democratic reforms.

**Jackson Is Convinced Rotation in Office and the Spoils System Will Promote Democracy, Too.** Jackson hated monopoly and privilege of all kinds. He hated monopoly in business and banking because it prevented the average man from getting ahead in the world. He hated the fact that for a long time, a particular group had been monopolizing positions in the Federal Government. These appointees usually came from the families of influential merchants, planters, lawyers, bankers, or ministers. Jackson felt that this prevented the plain people from playing the part in the Government that they should. To him, a democracy

was a partnership of all the people. He was convinced that to be strong, a democracy must have many active partners—not silent ones.

To enable as many as possible to take part in the Government, Jackson believed that the terms of officeholders should be short. His idea of passing Government jobs on to others after short terms was called *rotation in office*. By such rotation, no one group could create a long-standing monopoly of Government jobs. Of course, rotation in office would also give many of Jackson's political supporters an opportunity to hold political office at some time.

Jackson knew that the people wanted him to "turn the rascals out" who had been in office so long that many of them had become callous to the people's complaints. He knew, too, that the people looked upon many of these long-term officeholders as corrupt. So did he. This explains why he dismissed many of them and replaced them with plain people. Such action was his way of proving that he was "a people's President" and his "a people's government."

Furthermore, Jackson and political leaders in his party believed that those who had worked hard for his election should be rewarded with Government jobs or favors. "To the victors belong the spoils of the enemy" was their reasoning. The practice of so rewarding active political supporters is called the *spoils system*. Jackson's enemies attacked him for replacing men of long experience in government with inexperienced ones. But, as we know, Jackson felt that most Government jobs were "so plain and simple" that any average man of intelligence could handle them.

Previous Presidents had also practiced the spoils system. Indeed, in local and state politics, it had been practiced for a long time. It is true that Jackson dismissed more Federal officeholders than previous Presidents. Yet he retained far more than he dismissed. Some later Presidents were to dismiss many more.

To Jackson, practicing the spoils system seemed democratic because it loosened the

stranglehold a privileged group had so long had on Government positions. To him, it seemed more democratic for a party to get support by promising men Government positions than to depend for support upon the contributions of wealthy individuals. To most persons today, however, practicing the spoils system seems undemocratic. They recognize that government today is not "plain and simple," as in Jackson's time. Therefore, they feel that experienced and conscientious officials are desperately needed in every department and on all levels of government. They fear that use of the spoils system might lead to the appointment of inexperienced, inefficient, lazy, or even corrupt officials. They fear, too, that many individuals appointed merely because of their loyalty to a political party would look upon their jobs more as rewards than as responsibilities. Thus, our democracy would suffer. We shall see later how a merit system of appointments greatly modified the spoils system (page 530).

## The Increase in Voters Contributes To the Rise of Machine Politics

How can we make sure that the increasing numbers of new voters will vote for the candidates of our party? This was the big question that political leaders kept asking themselves in the late 1820's. To get the votes of the new voters, such politicians tried to organize their parties into highly efficient political machines.

In time, the entire nation was divided into political districts. A professional politician headed each district. Assisting him were less important professional politicians, such as are today called district captains. These, in turn, were assisted by still other party workers. This district set-up, designed to manufacture votes for the party, was called the *political machine*, and the man who controlled it the *political boss*.

How did the machine seek to attract votes? The party workers were expected to

Hayne, in 1830, engaged in a significant debate with Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts—the famous Webster-Hayne

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## Nationalism v. Sectionalism, And Jackson's Role

"Kitchen cabinet" because he felt they shared his interest in the problems of the plain people. Some later Presidents were similarly to seek advice more from personal friends and experts in many fields than from their official Cabinets.

This sneering description was made of Amos Kendall, Jackson's closest adviser, by one of the President's most bitter enemies. Kendall belonged to a small group of Jackson's advisers and personal friends, branded by his enemies his "Kitchen cabinet."

He was the President's thinking machine, and his writing machine—ay, and his lying machine!

## Jackson Heeds His 'Kitchen Cabinet,' But Ignores His Official Cabinet

much a part of American life. machine and the political boss are still very to district and state, the political their characteristics may vary from district entire state political machine. Although to be so powerful that they controlled an tion was power. Some political bosses came One obvious by-product of such an opera-

Some party workers were sincerely interested in the welfare of the people of their district. Others were more enthusiastic about advancing their own personal or political fortunes. They expected as rewards favors, appointment to government jobs, or nomination to political office. Naturally, therefore, many such party workers welcomed rotation in office and the spoils system. The party usually required those rewarded to turn over a portion of their pay from their political jobs to the party's campaign fund.

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*debate*. Hayne, a firm believer in the compact theory and states' rights, maintained that nullification was sometimes necessary. He warned the West that it, like the South, would have to practice nullification to protect itself against the greedy Northern manufacturers who were trying to control the Congress. The arguments he expressed in support of nullification were somewhat similar to those expressed in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, at the Hartford Convention, and in "The South Carolina Exposition and Protest" of Calhoun.

The crowded Senate gallery was spell-bound as Webster's powerful voice thundered answers to Hayne's argument that the national Government was created by the states and was therefore only the agent of the states. Our nation, Webster maintained, had been created by the people, not by the states.

It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, by the people, answerable to the people,

he proudly proclaimed. He made it clear that he thought that it would be absurd if each state or section could decide for itself whether a law was constitutional or not. If each could, Webster argued, we might end up with

the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; . . . on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, . . . in fraternal blood.

According to Webster's interpretation of the Constitution, it was up to the Supreme Court, not the states, to judge the constitutionality of laws. He called for

Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

Hayne's argument that the nation was created by the states, rather than by the people directly, is accurate. Yet, had the states' rights interpretation he held won out,

it would have been difficult for the national Government to pass many needed laws to meet changing conditions. Webster's nationalistic interpretation of the Constitution was to be held by more and more people as time passed. It was to help make the nation prosperous and powerful.

Oddly enough, Webster, now so nationalistic, had, earlier in his career, supported the compact theory, states' rights, and nullification. He had shown his sectionalism by protesting that states' rights had been interfered with when the Congress took the nation into the War of 1812. Earlier, too, Webster, now such a strong supporter of a protective tariff, had argued strongly against one. Even today, opponents of a high protective tariff use the arguments he gave.

What accounts for Webster's change from states' rights supporter to strong nationalist? It had suited the interests of his section—New England—to oppose the War of 1812 (page 204). Shipping had been the main source of income of many New Englanders for a long time. Webster had been a spokesman for the views of these shippers. A protective tariff would cut down on imports to the United States. Thus New England shippers who carried many of the imports to this country would lose business by it. But by the late 1820's, many of the former New England shippers had turned to manufacturing. Now a protective tariff seemed desirable to them and to their spokesman, Webster. Thus, just as changing circumstances had helped to cause a switch in Calhoun's thinking on nationalism *v.* states' rights (page 233), so they had helped to cause a switch in Webster's thinking on the tariff question.

Moreover, Webster had come to realize that in union there was strength. He declared in his debate with Hayne:

It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. . . . While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children.

**Jackson Toasts Nationalism and Dispoints States' Rights.** Jackson had never seemed to get too excited one way or the other over the tariff. But a threat to the Union, such as nullification, threw him into a rage. At a dinner in 1830 honoring the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, Jackson stood up, looked Calhoun squarely in the eye, and offered this challenging toast:

*Our Union, it must be preserved.*

The startled diners held their breath. Each knew that Jackson was challenging not only Calhoun and South Carolina but would-be nullifiers everywhere who would threaten the Union. The quick-witted Calhoun drank Jackson's toast, then offered his own challenging toast:

*The Union—next to our liberty, the most dear, may be preserved by distributing equally the benefits and burdens of the Union.*

**Jackson Strongly Defends National Power in the Tariff Dispute.** . . . if a single drop of blood shall be shed there [in South Carolina] in opposition to the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man I lay hands on engaged in such conduct upon the first tree I can reach." This threat, made by President Jackson to a congressman, was his reply to South Carolina's threat to secede from the Union in 1832. When some doubted that Jackson would carry out his promise of violence, a senator remarked that "when Jackson begins to talk about hanging, they can begin to look for the ropes."

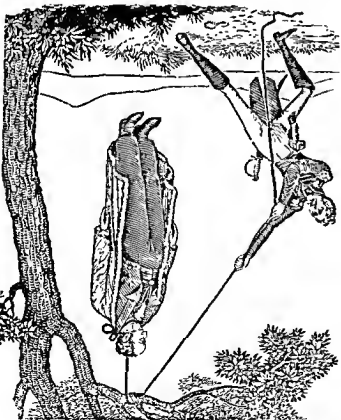
What lay behind South Carolina's threat to secede? That state had issued a statement declaring the high protective tariffs of 1828 and 1832 "null, void, and no law." The people of South Carolina were, therefore, instructed not to pay any tariff duties. If the national Government tried to force collection of tariff duties, South Carolina vowed it would secede from the Union. The state then began to build up its own army. It was

An 1828 caricature captioned "Jackson is to be President and you will be HANGED." This type of campaign poster was widely used by Jackson's opponents. What was there in Jackson's words and actions that made them think this would be good political propaganda?

at this point that Jackson threatened to hang anyone in South Carolina, including Calhoun, who dared to disobey the laws of the United States. "In forty days," he warned, "I will have fifty thousand men in the state of South Carolina to enforce the law."

To Jackson, nullification promoted disunity, and promoting disunity was treason. He even saw in nullification and the threat of secession over the tariff an unhappy vision of the future. The "next pretext will be the Negro or slavery question," he predicted.

The strong national Government, as represented by Jackson, and states' rights, as represented by South Carolina, seemed poised for battle. But although other Southern states were hostile to the tariff, no other



one would go along with South Carolina's nullification. Furthermore, Jackson had asked the Congress to pass a *Force Bill* authorizing his use of the army and navy to collect tariff duties in South Carolina. At the same time, he hoped that compromise would make force unnecessary. So did Calhoun.

To effect a compromise, Henry Clay, the great compromiser, introduced a new tariff bill. By gradually reducing the tariff rates over a period of years, this bill would eventually provide the low rates that Southern planters desired. But in the meantime, the rates in this *Compromise Tariff of 1833* would be high enough to keep Northern manufacturers fairly satisfied. At the same time that the Congress passed this compromise tariff, it also passed the *Force Bill*. Although South Carolina nullified the *Force Bill*, it canceled its statement of nullification of the tariff.

Once more, a compromise had been achieved between the supporters of a strong national Government, mainly Northerners, and the supporters of states' rights, mainly Southerners. Once more, a clash between the industrial interests of the North, with their free labor, and the agricultural interests of Southern planters, with their slave labor, had been averted. In 1820, the Missouri Compromise had temporarily settled the dispute between North and South over the extension of slavery in the territories (page 227). Now, in 1833, these two sections had temporarily compromised on the tariff. Other efforts at compromise, as we shall see, were to be made. But the time was to come when passions were to be so heated that compromise was impossible.

**Some Proof That the Sometimes Nationalistic Jackson Sometimes Supported States' Rights.** In spite of his strongly nationalistic stand against nullification, Jackson believed that the Constitution limited the national Government in its powers. Proof of this came in 1830, when he vetoed a bill to build a road—the Maysville Road—in Kentucky.

*States' Rights, as Well as Politics, Are Involved in the Maysville Road Bill Veto.* In

his *Maysville Road Bill veto*, Jackson stated that the Constitution gave no power to the national Government to build a road completely within a state's borders. In his view, building such an intrastate road was a right or power of the state itself.

This Maysville veto was not only an expression of states' rights but also proof of Jackson's shrewd political sense. By it he pleased Southern planters, who did not want to be taxed for the building of roads for which they had little use. It also pleased certain Northern states, which were making internal improvements at their own expense. Their people did not want to be taxed for the building of roads in other states. Furthermore, since his opponents, the National Republicans, wanted the Maysville Road, Jackson was glad to veto the bill. Yet he did support other bills for internal improvements at Federal expense. This is added proof that there was much politics involved in the Maysville veto.

*Jackson Supports States' Rights in Backing Georgia Against a Supreme Court Decision on Indians.* Many planters in Georgia had hungered for the rich lands held by the Cherokee Indians in their state. They wanted to get the Cherokees out of Georgia and into lands west of the Mississippi. But a Supreme Court decision of John Marshall in 1832 had stated that in Georgia the Cherokees were a self-governing nation, dependent upon the Federal Government for protection, and not bound to obey Georgia's laws. States' rights supporters were jubilant when Jackson opposed Marshall's decision. His comment was said to have been: "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it."

## Jackson's Indian Policy in General

Threatening, bribing, coaxing—these were some of the methods by which Indian tribes were persuaded to sign nearly 100 treaties during Jackson's administration. Under these treaties, they gave up claims to Eastern lands in payment for Western lands.

after 1865, the Great Plains became more desirable to white settlers. Such settlers tried to push the Indians still further west. Then more Indian chieftains were to try, as Ponce de Leon, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, and Osceola had earlier, to resist the relentless march of the white man across the continent (page 460).

## Hotred of Monopoly Is a Key Reason For Jackson's Bitter Against the Bank

Arguments of the Bank's Enemies. To Jackson, the Second Bank of the United States was "a monster," "a money monopoly," "a hydra" of corruption, and a scheme to dominate the Government. Jackson and many other enemies of the Bank were furious because they felt it had received special favors from the United States Government and was playing favorites with these favors. What favors? The Federal Government deposited its funds in the Bank, but the Bank did not have to pay the Government interest on these funds. Yet the Bank could use these funds to make loans and collect interest from borrowers. It could also lend money and charge interest by issuing paper money. Nor could the Government charter another United States Bank to compete with it.

With whom did the Bank play favorites, according to its enemies? Only twenty per cent of the stock of this Second Bank of the United States was owned by the Government. How unfair, complained the Bank's enemies, that the private stockholders in the Bank—rich men to begin with—should reap rich profits from the use of Government deposits belonging to all the people! How un-American, they added, to permit foreigners, who owned much of the Bank's stock, to profit at the expense of our own citizens! Among the Bank's most bitter enemies were Westerners. Westerners owned only a

For Jackson agreed with the policy started by President Monroe of moving Indians into the Great Plains west of the Mississippi. In the main, the Indian movement westward was a peaceful one. The Cherokees in Georgia resisted, but were ousted by 1833. Behind them they left schools and factories they had built and farms they had developed.

In northern Illinois, in 1832, 2,000 militia men massacred hundreds of Indian men, women, and children. These Indians had previously crossed the Mississippi, only to have hunger strike their families. They decided to return east to cultivate once more the rich fields there. This alarmed many white settlers and resulted in the series of battles during which the massacres occurred. War, after the Indian commander, Chief Black Hawk. It ended when the remnants of the Indian tribes were driven back west across the Mississippi.

About a hundred American soldiers were massacred by Seminole Indians, led by their chief Osceola, in the swamps of Florida in 1835. This was just the first of many bloody incidents in the so-called Seminole War between American soldiers and Seminoles. The basic cause of this conflict was the failure of the Seminoles to leave their lands in Florida for the lands assigned to them in the Great Plains of the West. Of all the Indian uprisings against the United States, this one was the most difficult to crush. In it, one American general was escaped by Osceola personally, hundreds on both sides lost their lives, and whole towns were wiped out by the Seminoles. Osceola, while bearing a flag of truce, was captured, but the war dragged on into the 1840's.

By 1850, practically all the Indian tribes of Northern and Southern United States were located in the Great Plains, either as a result of treaty or of force, or of both. But

In an earlier Seminole War (1817-1819), General Andrew Jackson had won out over the tribe.

A hydra, in Greek mythology, was an evil, many-headed water serpent.

small percentage of the Bank's stock. Yet a tremendous proportion of the Bank's profits came from interest on loans paid by Western borrowers. Many Westerners were debtors. If a great deal of money were in circulation, money would be cheap and debtors would find it easier to pay their debts.

But the Bank in time tried to keep money dear (page 110) by limiting the amount of it in circulation. The Bank also used its power to prevent state-chartered banks from being more generous in making loans and thus cheapening money. In fact, state-chartered banks in the West and elsewhere also wanted to know why the Bank should have a monopoly in receiving Government deposits and a virtual monopoly over issuing paper money. Little businessmen and farmers all over the country were at the mercy of this powerful money monopoly, the Bank's enemies charged. How, they asked, could these little people remain in business if the Bank's directors refused to extend them loans? Other enemies of monopoly—and thus of the Bank—were wage earners. Many of them were bitter because they felt that unless they got loans on easy terms, they could never go into business.

Many accused the Bank of using its power to play favorites in politics and to get favors from politicians. They pointed to the many loans it extended to members of Congress, including Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. A number of newspaper editors who were also in debt to the Bank frequently printed statements praising the Bank's work. Another charge of political interference leveled against the Bank was that it had used its wealth against Jackson in the presidential campaign of 1828.

**The Bank's Enemies Magnify Its Faults and Minimize Its Virtues.** The Bank got off to a bad start, after it was chartered in 1816. Yet, in general, for most of its life, it was most efficiently managed. It provided the country with a sound and uniform currency. It paid the Government \$1.5 million for its many privileges and made Government payments free of service charges. As a stock-

holder, the Government enjoyed its profits, as did private stockholders. True, many of the politicians and editors who were friends of the Bank received loans on better terms than did the Bank's enemies. But many did not. Through borrowing from the Bank, capitalists were able to speed up America's economic expansion. Some Jackson men attacked the Bank for its failure to grant favors to their political party. They considered it shrewd politics to attack the Bank, since their political enemies, such as Clay and Webster, supported the Bank. Such Jacksonians spread propaganda that their political enemies, as supporters of such a powerful monopoly as the Bank, were enemies of the plain people.

Yet even some of the Bank's strongest supporters felt that the Government had given it too much power. Its president, the efficient, aristocratic Nicholas Biddle, seemed at times to feel that the Bank had to answer neither to the Government nor to the people.

**Clay Challenges Jackson on Rechartering the Bank.** Clay thought he would play the role of a mastermind in the election of 1832. He had been nominated for President by the National Republican Party. The Democrats had renominated Jackson. The Bank was not due to come up for rechartering until 1836. But Clay decided to make a campaign issue of rechartering it. He was convinced this would be a popular issue and win him many votes.

The bill Clay introduced for the rechartering was passed by both houses of the Congress. Clay thought that he now had Jackson just where he wanted him. If Jackson vetoed the bill, he would lose the support of many Easterners in the election. If he signed it, he would lose the support of most Westerners. Clay figured that many Southerners had already turned against Jackson because of his stand against nullification in the tariff dispute.

When the recharter bill reached the strong-willed Jackson, he exclaimed: "The bank . . . is trying to kill me; but I will kill it!" Although weakened by tuberculosis,

spite of the fact that the Bank's directors contributed more money to Clay's campaign than had been spent on any previous presidential campaign. This was a sad disappointment to those who had echoed the sentiments of a Boston *Courier* editorial:

It is the duty of every good Christian to pray [that] he may die before he can be elected

**Jackson Follows Up His Election Victory with a Stunning Attack on the Bank, Jackson Looked upon his victory in 1832 as the plain people's stamp of approval on his Bank veto. He decided not to wait four years until the Bank's charter officially expired. Instead, he decided to deliver the knockout blow to the Bank by gradually withdrawing Government deposits from it. He got his freshly appointed secretary of the treasury, Roger B. Taney, to do so—something two previous secretaries had refused to do. Jackson ordered that henceforth Government receipts be placed in certain state banks, whose directors were generally friendly to Jackson's party. His angry opponents soon labeled these state banks Jackson's "pet banks."**

**Some Appeals and Pressures Used by the Bank's Supporters to Resist Jackson's Attack.** "Tell him [Jackson] of the tears of helpless widows, . . . and of unclad and unfed orphans who have been driven by his policy [the removal of Government deposits] out of . . . gaining an honest livelihood. . . ." With this appeal to pity Clay hoped to move Jackson men in the Senate to prevail upon the President to reverse his action. Meanwhile, a rumor was spread that a mob was planning to march on the Congress to get it to restore the Government's deposits. To this pressure by threat on the Congress, Jackson responded: "I will fix their heads on the iron pikes around the square!"

Economic pressure was another weapon employed. Bank President Biddle announced that because of the withdrawal of the deposits, the Bank had no choice but to

he wrote a veto message so strong that Biddle said that it "had all the fury of a chained panther biting the bars of his cage."

**Jackson's Veto Message Is Loaded with Ammunition Against the Bank.** Jackson knew that many of the Bank's opponents opposed it for conflicting reasons. One group, especially in the West and South, opposed the Bank because it tried to prevent the issuance of large quantities of paper money, with which they might pay their debts. They preferred state banks, which usually issued paper money very freely. Jackson, a Westerner himself, had great sympathy for the financial problems of other Westerners. Yet he believed that paper money (soft money) was not real money. To him, the only honest-to-goodness money was gold and silver coins (called *hard money* or *specie*). In fact, because he felt that banks, through issuing paper money, defrauded the public, he bated all banks.

It was partly because the Bank had enemies among both soft-money men and hard-money men that Jackson's veto message avoided the subject of soft v. hard money. Instead, he stressed the arguments that the Bank was unconstitutional, a monopoly, and undemocratic. He recognized that, in the *McCulloch v. Maryland* decision (page 226), the Supreme Court had declared the Bank constitutional. But he declared that the Supreme Court had no right to tell the President or the Congress what was constitutional and what was not. He declared further:

. . . Distinctions in society will always exist under any just government . . . but when the laws undertake to make the rich richer . . . the humble members of society . . . have a right to complain of the injustice of their government.

Such arguments, said Jackson's opponents, proved that he was trying to arouse the passions of poor people against rich, of class against class. Nevertheless, instead of losing supporters by his veto, as Biddle, Clay, and Webster had gleefully expected, Jackson won a runaway re-election in 1832. He won in

call in all loans and to stop making new ones. This helped to cause a minor depression, which Biddle blamed on Jackson and Jackson on Biddle. In any case, when the Bank's Federal charter expired in 1836, it was reorganized as a state bank in Pennsylvania.

**Some Significant Aspects of Jackson's Battle Against the Bank.** In battling the Bank, Jackson's purpose was not to turn class against class, rich against poor, or to attack America's economic system, capitalism. In fact, Jacksonians were firm believers in the basic principle of capitalism: freedom of enterprise. In other words, they felt that the doors of economic opportunity in democratic America should be kept open wide, so that all Americans would be free to enter practically any business. They argued that neither the national Government nor the state governments should have the right to grant special privileges to special groups. By giving special privileges to the Second Bank of the United States, the national Government, they maintained, had made it difficult for Americans to compete on equal terms in the business world. Indeed, to them, the Bank monopoly was not only a threat to freedom of enterprise but a threat to democracy itself. Enabling a small group to gain great economic power might, in their view, enable such a group to dominate the Government.

### **Jackson Is Largely Responsible For Van Buren's Election**

Often the President of the United States is the most powerful man in his party. Often the party nominates the man he wants to succeed him as President. Jackson, especially powerful in his party, wanted Martin Van Buren of New York. Van Buren was nominated. The voters then felt that a vote for Van Buren—Jackson's choice—would be a vote for the very popular Jackson.

**Why Jackson Backed Van Buren.** Van Buren had played an important part in getting Jackson elected in 1828. He had served

Jackson and the nation faithfully as secretary of state and later, in Jackson's second term, as Vice-President.

Jackson had contempt for snobbery and great respect for women. He admired Van Buren for boldly defending a woman who had been snubbed by persons Jackson considered snobs. The woman was Peggy Eaton, the wife of Jackson's secretary of war, John H. Eaton. The pretty Peggy's gay life had not helped her reputation. The wives of Jackson's other Cabinet members, and many others high up in Washington society, treated her as an outcast at parties and

*Martin Van Buren. In the Jacksonian period there was great confidence in the good sense of the people. Van Buren expressed this confidence thus: "The sober second thought of the people is never wrong." Explain whether you agree with him.*



tory. The nucleus of this party was what was left of the National Republican Party. An outstanding Whig leader, the nationalistic Clay, still supported principles of the old Federalist Party and of his own American chartering of a Bank of the United States, a protective tariff, and internal improvements at Federal expense. Another Whig leader, the nationalistic Webster, also supported these principles. But Clay and Webster weakened their party by their rivalry and dislike of each other. The party was further weakened by its inclusion of a Calhoun-led states' rights group, which was strongly opposed to the protective tariff. Calhoun and other states' righters had left the Democratic Party mainly because of Jackson's warning against nullification by South Carolina. Some conservatives, who hated Jackson because of his battle with the Bank, also belonged to this party. Many immigrants who came to this country in the 1830's became manual laborers. Most of them joined the Democratic Party. Some Americans who disliked others simply because they were foreign-born or belonged to the working class therefore joined the Whig Party. Some Whigs feared what they called too much democracy as doing harm to the republic. Indeed, they looked upon the Jacksonian Democrats as dangerous radicals intent upon destroying that republic. Many business leaders and such ardent partisans as Abraham Lincoln became Whigs. They saw in the party's nationalistic program great opportunities for binding the sections closer together and building the nation's economic strength. However, many became Whigs not so much for love of one another or for their aims as out of their common hatred of Jackson.

Whig disappointment was great when Van Buren won the election of 1836. Jackson's backing, Whig disunity, and good times all help to explain Van Buren's victory. So does the feeling on the part of the people that Jacksonian Democrats represented democracy and the Whigs aristocracy.

Strongly influenced by their wives, Jackson's Cabinet members also shunned her. Chivalrous to begin with, Jackson never forgot that his own wife, Rachel, had been the victim of snobbery. Both he and Van Buren treated Mrs. Eaton with respect. It is, of course, true that since both were widowers, neither was subject to pressure from a socially ambitious wife! About the time of the *Peggy Eaton affair* in 1829, many assumed that the Democrats would nominate Vice-President Calhoun to succeed Jackson. It was Calhoun's wife who had been the leader in the move to boycott Mrs. Eaton. Some historians have argued that Van Buren tried to capitalize on this "petticoat war." By supporting Mrs. Eaton, he was pleasing Jackson. He was also widening the gap already separating Jackson and Calhoun. Jackson had learned that Calhoun, as secretary of war under President Monroe, had recommended that Jackson be punished for acting too much on his own when he had invaded Florida in 1818 (page 221). Furthermore, while Calhoun was growing more sectionalistic, Van Buren's sentiments, like Jackson's, were generally nationalistic. Calhoun, in 1831, resigned the Vice-Presidency. One reason for his action was Jackson's ever-growing hatred for him. Another was his feeling that he could do more for his states' rights cause in the Senate, of which he became a member. He also became associated with a new political party, the *Whig Party*.

**Van Buren, Democratic Nominee, Defeats Several Whig Candidates. The Whig Party, organized in 1834, nominated several candidates for the Presidency in 1836. It hoped that these candidates, popular in their various sections, would together pull enough electoral votes away from Van Buren to prevent his achieving a majority. Then the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives, where one of the Whig candidates might have a chance of winning. The Whig Party was a most unusual mixture of groups with different aims and different ideas, some of them even contradictory.**



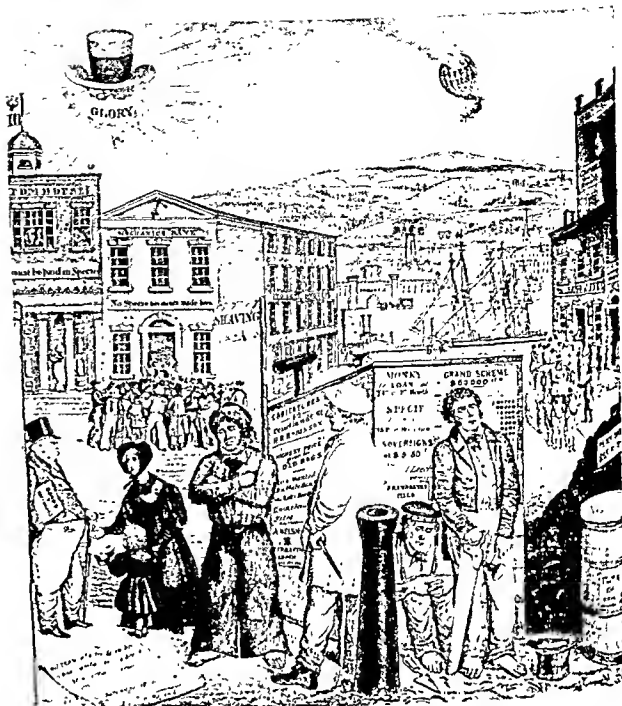
## Jackson Passes On to Van Buren Not Only the Presidency But Some Serious Problems

Jackson's Personality Overshadows Van Buren's. Any President following the colorful Jackson would probably have seemed colorless by comparison. Throughout Van Buren's administration, the people were always comparing him unfavorably with Jackson. They regarded Van Buren as a shrewd politician mainly interested in keeping the Democratic Party organization powerful. Van Buren *was* a clever politician, so clever that he was nicknamed the "little magician." The impetuous Jackson had gained a reputation for always giving a direct answer, even at the risk of antagonizing somebody. Cool-tempered and soft-spoken, Van Buren gained a reputation for never giving a straight answer for fear of antagonizing one side or the other. A congressman once tried to prove this by betting another that Van Buren would not give a straight answer to the question: "Does the sun rise in the east or the west?" He won. Van Buren's answer was "My friend, east and west are relative terms." Yet Van Buren was capable, gracious, and truly interested in the welfare of the people.

**Van Buren Inherits the Panic of 1837.** One freezing day in New York City, in the winter of 1837, mobs of hungry, jobless people broke into stores and warehouses. They stoned the mayor when he tried to stop them. The rioters only gave in when the police were called out.

This was just one terrible incident in the terrible *Panic of 1837*, which started a six-year-long depression. Ninety per cent of the factories in the East shut down. The many thousands of jobless workers were doubly bitter. Not only were they out of work but the price of many food items was soaring. Throughout the nation, businessmen and farmers went bankrupt. Banks failed by the hundreds. Pessimism swept the country.

This period of "bust," or depression, had been preceded by a period of "boom," or



*In what ways has the artist tried to depict some of the effects of the depression that followed the Panic of 1837?*

prosperity. People had bubbled with an optimistic, "get-rich-quick" spirit. They had felt that there were no limits to the prosperity that the United States, with its rich natural resources, could achieve. Yet in this very boom time, late in Jackson's administration, the seeds of the bust were being sown. And Jackson's successor, Van Buren, inherited a full-blown depression.

## Men and Nature Help Cause the Panic of 1837

Whenever a depression occurs, people have a habit of blaming the President then in office. Actually, depressions have many causes; no one cause or individual can be blamed for them. Van Buren, who had to face the problems of the Panic of 1837, was in no way responsible for it. Certain acts of Jackson, however, *had* helped to bring

because in 1836 a deep depression had hit Britain.

#### **Some Other Causes of the Panic of 1837.**

During the boom period before the Panic, wages had risen, but not enough to keep pace with the ever-increasing prices. The purchasing power of some Americans dropped even lower when insect pests destroyed Western wheat crops in 1837. The 1836 British depression had forced many British textile factories to close down, thus causing Southern cotton plantations to lose much of their market.

### **Some Highlights of Van Buren's Term**

#### **Van Buren's Actions Anger Bankers, But Please Many Wage Earners and Farmers.**

Within the Democratic Party in the 1830's was a group called the "Locofocos."<sup>1</sup> They were mainly Northeastern wage earners. They demanded that free land be given those without land and that judges be elected, instead of appointed. They were against all monopolies, banks, and paper money. They hated banks for issuing paper money, which they considered a scheme to rob the public. They blamed paper money for the Panic of 1837.

President Van Buren strongly supported the Locofocos. Like Jackson, he feared the power of a Government-chartered, privately run Bank. To him, the "pet" state banks were no better: they, too, he felt, were privileged to profit from Government deposits. Therefore, Van Buren got the Congress to pass a law in 1840 requiring that Government money be placed in vaults in certain cities. This *Independent Treasury system*, as it was called, made the Government completely independent of the banking business. The 1840 law also declared that only gold or

silver would be accepted by the Government in payment of public debts. Except for a short while in the 1840's, the Independent Treasury system was to last until the War Between the States (page 394).

The Whigs and conservative Democrats attacked the Independent Treasury system as a radical device to ruin banking and business. Conservatives also attacked as radical an order of Van Buren's that no worker on a Federal project should be required to work more than ten hours a day. Never before the ten-hour rule had the Federal Government taken such a specific step to promote the welfare of wage earners.

In the spirit of the Locofocos, too, Van Buren requested the Congress to cut the cost of public land so that relatively poor people could afford to buy a fair amount of it. This proposal was defeated in the House, where Whigs and conservative Democrats were strong.

**Van Buren Generally Favors *Laissez Faire*.**  
In spite of his support of wage earners and farmers, Van Buren stated:

The less government interferes with private pursuits, the better for the general prosperity.

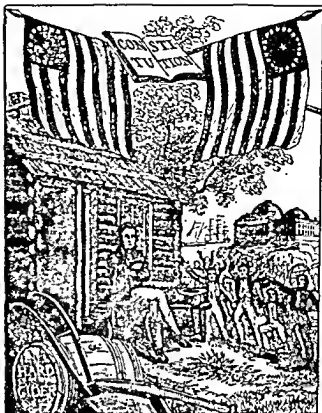
He thus expressed his belief in a *laissez-faire* policy. He believed that it was not up to the Government to take steps to end the depression that followed the Panic of 1837. He felt that, in time, consumers would start buying again; businessmen would gain confidence again; people would start investing their money again; and prosperity would be back again. Van Buren's belief in *laissez faire* was typical of most persons in those days. Many Whigs, on the other hand, felt that their program for a national bank, a high protective tariff, and internal improvements at Federal expense would end the depression and restore prosperity. Today, both political parties endorse the view that the Government should take steps to try to prevent depressions and to fight them when they occur.

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<sup>1</sup>"Locofocos" were so called because they used locofoco, or friction matches, to illuminate their meeting hall in New York when they expected their conservative opponents in the Democratic Party to turn off the gas lights.

A Whig campaign poster of 1840. The Whigs sang

*"Let Van from his coolers of silver  
drink wine,  
And lounge on his cushioned  
settee.  
Our man on his buckeye bench can  
recline,  
Content with hard cider is he!"*



## Van Buren Loses in 1840, But the Whig Victory Turns Sour

**Whigs in 1840 Copy Many Tactics Used by Jackson Men in 1828.** The Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison for President in 1840. They thought they could convince the people with whom Jackson was so popular that Harrison was another Jackson. Like Jackson, Harrison had been an Indian fighter, having gained fame in the Battle of Tippecanoe. Both had distinguished themselves as generals in the War of 1812. Both were heroes of Western frontiersmen. Both held rather vague political opinions at the time of their nominations. In fact, the Whigs deliberately picked a man with vague views so as not to antagonize any of the many different groups within the party who had positive opinions. This explains the following

advice to Whig campaigners offered by former Bank President Biddle:

*Let him [Harrison] not say a single word about his principles, . . . —let him say nothing—promise nothing. . . Let the use of pen and ink be wholly forbidden.*

To win Southern votes, the Whigs nominated John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President.

For the most part, the Whig campaign was an appeal to emotion, rather than to reason. The Whigs spread propaganda that Harrison was a poor, plain, simple man, like many of the voters. Over and over again, they told the people that he wore a coonskin cap, lived in a log cabin, ate with a wooden spoon, and drank hard cider made in the United States. Over and over again, the Whigs painted Van Buren as a rich, snobbish aristocrat, who wore a fine beaver

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 11

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

political mud-slinging	Compromise Tariff of 1833	capitalism	"Tippecanoe and Tyler, tool"
Jacksonian period	Maysville Road Bill veto	Peggy Eaton affair	Liberty Party
nominating caucus	Black Hawk War	Whig Party	Canadian Rebellion of 1837
rotation in office	Seminole War of 1835	Panic of 1837	Aroostook War
spoils system	Osceola	Specie Circular	Webster-Ashburton Treaty
political machine	Nicholas Biddle	Locofocos	
political boss	soft money	<i>laissez faire</i>	
"kitchen cabinet"	hard money	Independent Treasury system	
Webster-Hayne debate	pet banks	John Tyler	
Forec Bill		"hard cider" campaign	

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

- For what reasons was Jackson (a) idolized by many and (b) heartily hated by others?
- Give four reasons why the election of 1828 is sometimes called the "Revolution of 1828."
- Mention three main differences between Jacksonian democracy and Jeffersonian democracy.
- Prove by specific examples that political democracy progressed in the Jacksonian period.
- Show that both the West and the East contributed to the march of political democracy in the Jacksonian period.
- Why did Jackson believe that (a) rotation in office and (b) the spoils system advanced democracy?
- For what reasons do most persons today consider the spoils system undemocratic?
- By what means do political machines try to win votes for their parties?
- What charges were hurled at Jackson's "kitchen cabinet"?
- Connect with the Webster-Hayne debate (a) Western public land sales, (b) the tariff, (c) nullification, (d) sectionalism, and (e) nationalism.
- What was the main reason why Webster switched from support of states' rights to support of nationalism?
- Prove that Jackson demonstrated (a) an iron will and (b) a nationalistic point of view with respect to the tariff.
- Specifically, how did Clay help to settle temporarily the tariff controversy?
- What motives help to explain Jackson's Maysville Road Bill veto?
- How did Jackson demonstrate his attitude toward the Indians? With what results?
- Sum up the arguments (a) for and (b) against the Second Bank of the United States.
- How was the downfall of the Bank brought about directly or indirectly by (a) Clay, (b) Jackson, and (c) Taney?
- What reasons did Jackson give for vetoing the recharter of the Bank? How did his opponents react to his veto?
- Give the reasons for (a) Jackson's backing of Van Buren for the Presidency and (b) Jackson's opposition to Calhoun for that office.

- 20 Concerning the Whig Party, tell (a) what groups joined it, (b) for what reasons, (c) how they tried to defeat Van Buren in the election of 1836, and (d) for what reasons they failed to do so.
21. For what reasons might Van Buren be called a "hard-luck" President?
22. Connect with the *Panic of 1837* (a) speculation, (b) the Bank battle, (c) the craze for building roads and canals, (d) the Specie Circular, (e) insect pests, and (f) a British depression
23. What were the Loco-focos (a) for and (b) against?
24. Prove by examples that Van Buren tried to carry out some of the aims of the Loco-focos.
- 25 How did (a) Van Buren and (b) many Whigs think the depression would come to an end?
26. With respect to the election of 1840, tell (a) why the Whigs nominated Harrison, (b) what the campaign tactics of the Whigs were like, (c) why the Whigs won, and (d) what was significant about this election.
27. For what reasons was Tyler a bitter disappointment to the Whigs after he became President?
28. Prove that "both parties tended to become more sectionalistic" by the 1840's.
29. Show specifically how Secretary of State Webster promoted better relations with Britain.

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. For whom would you have voted in 1825? For what reasons?
2. To what extent do you consider the name-calling practiced in the election of 1825 a threat to democracy? Explain.
3. Compare Jackson's inauguration in 1829 with any recent presidential inauguration.
4. Considering the world situation today,

would you like to see a man with Jackson's character traits in the White House?

5. Why did Jackson's opponents think it shrewd propaganda to call him "King Andrew I"?
6. Explain with reasons whether you prefer Jeffersonian democracy or Jacksonian democracy.
7. Discuss the significance of the statement "Jacksonian democracy was in tune with the times."
- 8 Which do you consider the most important example of progress in political democracy in the Jacksonian period? Justify your choice.
9. Give your views of Jackson's views on (a) rotation in office and (b) the spoils system.
- 10 From the beginning the political boss and the political machine have been severely attacked. For what reasons? For what reasons are they nevertheless considered indispensable by many?
11. In a sense, every President must have a kind of "kitchen cabinet." Give reasons why.
12. Prove that Webster, in switching from a states' rights position to a nationalistic one, was consistent in his apparent inconsistency.
13. Like the Compromise of 1820, the Compromise Tariff of 1833 was a "title-page" to a great tragedy. Explain.
14. Give your opinions of (a) Jackson's Indian policy and (b) his alleged statement: "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it."
15. Jackson's arguments against the Bank were more emotional than logical. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
16. Evaluate the various appeals and pressures used by the Bank's supporters to resist Jackson's attack.
17. In their quarrel over the Bank, both its supporters and its opponents claimed that they were defending freedom of enterprise. How could each group explain its claim?

18. The Peggy Eaton affair is a lesson in practical politics. Explain.
  19. The Whig Party was doomed to die early. How does its make-up help to explain why?
  20. What do you think was most to blame for the Panic of 1837? For what reasons?
  21. What lessons might be learned from a study of the depression that began with the Panic of 1837?
  22. Many conservatives considered Van Buren radical. Explain whether you agree or disagree with them.
  23. Comment on Van Buren's statement that "The less government interferes with private pursuits, the better for the general prosperity."
  24. Which tactics used in the nomination and campaign of 1840 do you think would be (a) successful and (b) unsuccessful if used today? Justify your answer.
  25. In what respects is it unfair to (a) Jackson and (b) Van Buren to call Van Buren's administration "Jackson's third term"?
  26. Should presidential Cabinets always resign immediately when they disapprove of the President's policies, as all but one of Tyler's Cabinet did? Explain why or why not.
  27. What do you consider was most significant about the Webster-Ashburton Treaty?
- ☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check Presidents (a) Jackson, (b) Van Buren, and (c) Tyler. Use as many sources of information as possible.
  2. Make a detailed study of the presidential election in (a) 1828, (b) 1836, or (c) 1840. Report on songs, slogans, posters, and other campaign materials used. Cite your sources of information.
  3. Write a dialogue between a supporter and an opponent of Jackson on (a) the scene at Jackson's inauguration in 1829, (b) the Peggy Eaton affair, (c) his quarrel with the Bank, or (d) his "kitchen cabinet."
  4. Write a newspaper editorial supporting or condemning any action of Jackson.
  5. Compose a poem (a) such as an admirer of Jackson might have composed, entitling it "My Hero," (b) such as Van Buren might have composed, entitling it "My Unhappy Presidency," or (c) such as Tyler might have composed, after all but Webster had resigned from his Cabinet.
  6. After some research, report on interesting anecdotes, quotations, events, and personalities connected with (a) Jackson's "kitchen cabinet," (b) the Black Hawk War, (c) the Panic of 1837, (d) the Loeofocos, (e) the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, or (f) the Aroostook War.
  7. Compose a series of newspaper headlines that dramatize Jackson's entire career.
  8. Consult the college texts recommended on pages xv-xvi for their judgment on (a) the so-called Revolution of 1828, (b) the tariff quarrel between Jackson and South Carolina, or (c) the Bank quarrel between Jackson and Biddle.
  9. In committee, after research, make time lines on (a) highlights in the progress of political democracy from the adoption of the Constitution through the Jacksonian period, (b) highlights in the public-land policy from the Land Ordinance of 1785 through the Specie Circular, (c) Indian relations from colonial times through Jackson's administration, (d) highlights in the history of American banking from Hamilton's time through Van Buren's administration, or (e) the downs and ups of the tariff from Hamilton's time through Jackson's administration.
  10. For the class bulletin board copy sc-

- lected quotations from the Webster-Hayne debate. Obtain your information from a source book.
11. In committee, investigate to find out to what extent arguments similar to those used by Webster and Hayne have been used in recent years.
  12. After reading any biography of the current President, report on to what extent he has a kind of "kitchen cabinet." Describe the roles played by some of its members.
  13. Analyze Jackson's Inaugural Address of March 4, 1833 for clues to his views on the authority of the nation and the rights of the states. See, for example, *A Treasury of Great American Speeches*, edited by C. Hurd.
  14. Write a letter of protest to a congressman such as a chief of an Indian tribe might have written condemning Jackson's Indian policy.
  15. In committee, make a chart for display summing up American political parties through the Jacksonian period. Use as headings: *Party, Leaders, Platform, and Degree of Success in Various Elections*.
  16. Draw a cartoon on what you consider the most dramatic event in this chapter.
  17. Investigate and report on the relations between Jackson and (a) John C. Calhoun, (b) Thomas Hart Benton, or (c) Henry Clay.
  18. "Shirt-sleeve diplomacy" and "Doing a land-office business" are expressions that originated in the Jacksonian period. Investigate (a) Jackson's foreign relations and (b) the public-land situation for their origins.
  19. Find out why Webster and Ashburton were able to settle many British-American differences in so friendly a spirit.
  20. Select quotations from any personality mentioned in this chapter that give his views on government in general or that reflect the times. Cite your sources.

follows: If free public schools are not provided for everybody, our children will probably not get an education. Without an education, they will never get any further in life than we have. Most of the plain people, like us and our descendants, will be doomed forever to remain in a fixed class, with few economic opportunities.

Moreover, many of the jobs in the new factories were so simple that even a child could do them. Many employers therefore hired children at low wages, rather than grownups at higher wages. But if free public schools were open to all, children would be in school. Then employers would be forced to hire grownups at better pay.

**Many Property Owners Begin to Demand Free Public Schools for All, Too.** Many property owners were persuaded that if children were educated, there would be less crime and poverty. If, therefore, taxes were spent on schools, less tax money would be needed for prisons and poorhouses. Furthermore, to many conservative property owners, Jacksonian democracy was dangerous radicalism. They hoped that broad educational opportunity would serve as a check on such a tendency.

**Reformers Demand Free Public Schools for All.** Education for all would strengthen democracy by helping individuals to become better informed—and therefore more intelligent voters, officeholders, and citizens generally. Then there would be less chance that our Government would be a monopoly of the educated few, rather than a true democracy of the educated many. So ran the reasoning of many reformers in the Jacksonian period.

Moreover, at this time, thousands of European immigrants were entering America. It was feared by some reformers that such persons, accustomed to the absolute rule of kings and the privileges of aristocrats, might bring undemocratic ideas to our shores. Therefore, they insisted, to build a strong democracy here, it would be necessary to educate newcomers in the American way of life.

The reformers also saw education as a moral issue. They argued this way: The spirit of God resides in all of us. The Judaeo-Christian tradition, as set forth in the Bible, stresses respect for the dignity and personality of each individual. Therefore, it is sinful not to give a free public education to every individual to help him develop his God-given qualities. Moreover, developing the God-given qualities of all Americans will bring us that much closer to the perfect future that awaits America.

**Some Obstacles to Free Public Schools for All.** Isn't it unfair to tax me, a man without children, to pay for the education of other people's children? So went a common complaint. Opposition to free public schools came from many other quarters. Owners of private schools did not want the competition. Some people believed that only the churches should run schools. Rich taxpayers who sent their children to private schools did not want to be taxed to support public schools. Some people believed that it was just as dangerous to give the plain people an education as it was to give them the right to vote. And many people then—like some today—boasted that they themselves had done well with little or no book learning. In fact, they felt that book learning wasted valuable time—that it was all right for dreamers, but not for practical people.

**Why Horace Mann Is Called the 'Father of the American Public School System.'** The thousands of public schools throughout America today are, in a sense, memorials to educational pioneers like Horace Mann. Mann, mainly self-educated, was a successful lawyer in the 1830's. He was on the road to making a fortune. Suddenly, he quit his practice and took a \$1,500-a-year job with the Massachusetts Board of Education. What prompted his decision?

Mann had taken a long look at education in America. He did not like what he saw: ugly one-room shacks for school buildings; few textbooks and those usually badly written; poorly trained, poorly paid teachers, who used the whip for discipline, and who re-



quired memorization, rather than reasoning, of their pupils

True by Jackson's inauguration, millions of Americans could read, write, and do simple problems in arithmetic. But millions of others were illiterate. Not a single state, by that time, had established a free, public, entirely tax-supported system of schools, in which attendance was compulsory.

Mann considered the educational situation a menace to America's future. To correct this situation, he carried on a crusade, night and day, through letters and lectures. He called on America to give a good, free, public, tax-supported education to all—rich and poor, girls and boys—and to make school attendance compulsory. He got his own state to spend more money on schools. With this money, and at Mann's suggestion, the Massachusetts schools obtained a longer school term, libraries, better buildings, and better textbooks. Massachusetts tried to get better teachers by establishing training schools for

teachers and by raising teachers' salaries. These, too, were Mann's suggestions. At the teachers' conventions that Mann organized, he suggested further that if lessons were made interesting, there would be no need for whippings. Bookkeeping, shopwork, agriculture, and other practical subjects, he advised, should be added to the curriculum.

Others, such as Governor De Witt Clinton of New York, threw themselves into the crusade for public education, and supported suggestions similar to Mann's. In time, in spite of strong opposition, Mann's suggestions slowly came to be adopted throughout the country. More and more Americans came to agree with him that:

If we do not prepare children to become good citizens, if we do not develop their capacities, if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, imbue their hearts with the love of truth and duty and the reverence for all things sacred and holy, then our republic must go down to destruction, as others have gone before it.

*Horace Mann carrying on his crusade for free public schools. A board of education, Mann suggested, should ask itself this question: "To what extent can the resources and powers of nature be converted into human welfare, the peaceful arts of life be advanced, and the vast treasures of human talent and genius be developed?"*

**The United States, by 1860, Opens Its Schools to More Children Than Any Other Nation.** In 1860, an average European had almost no chance of getting an education. Education in Europe was considered a monopoly of the privileged upper classes, rather than the right of all. By 1860, however, thanks to Mann and many others, the skeleton framework of American education as it exists today had been formed. In every Northern state, free, public, tax-supported, elementary education was available for all children, as it was for white children in Kentucky and Missouri and in the cities of many other Southern states. However, although the idea that education should be compulsory was generally accepted, only a small percentage of children were attending school. Terms were still short, and few subjects were taught.

By 1860, there were a few hundred free public high schools. This pleased Jacksonian Democrats, who looked upon the far more numerous private academics as devices to limit educational opportunities to the few. By 1860, the idea was slowly gaining ground that secondary-school pupils should study scientific and business subjects and modern languages, as well as Latin and Greek. By 1860, there were seventeen tax-supported state universities. Each was open, practically tuition-free, to the citizens of its state. Such state universities received much of their financial support from the sale of public lands.

Especially in these state universities, but also in the much more numerous private universities, new subjects slowly crept into the curriculum. To the old subjects of Latin, Greek, philosophy, and mathematics were added, for example, modern languages, physics, and other sciences. Gradually, too, the idea took hold that teachers should have freedom to teach without outside interference. This idea is known as *academic freedom*.

For a long time, boys wishing to become lawyers or doctors had learned their professions by serving as apprentices to experienced

lawyers or doctors. Many still did. But by 1860, special schools for training in law and medicine, as well as training schools for teachers, had sprung up. The medical schools especially were generally inferior to those in Europe.

Professional soldiers and sailors by this time also got their training at special schools. West Point had been established in 1802 and the Naval Training School at Annapolis in 1845.

With the increasing number of factories, more scientifically trained engineers were needed. This explains why Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute was opened in 1824 and why Yale and Harvard, some years later, opened their own engineering schools. Even a few vocational high schools began to appear.

By 1860, the idea was gaining ground that girls were entitled to be admitted even to college. As late as the 1830's, many had thought it ridiculous to give girls as much as an elementary education. Those who fought in the crusade for female education, however, faced many headaches and heartaches. Let us see why.

## Reformers Demand Rights for Women

**Ways in Which Women Were Discriminated Against.** A group of American women came home from Britain in 1840 fighting mad. Because they were women, an anti-slavery meeting there had refused them admission. What follows suggests the sort of sentiments these rejected delegates and other American women were expressing in the Jacksonian period:

Here we are trying to fight slavery, and men everywhere treat us as if we are not much better than slaves ourselves! What rights do women—even in America—have anyway? We can't vote. We can't hold political office. We can't get much of an education. Of all the professions, only teaching is open to us. When we get married, we have to turn over all our property and our earnings, if we work, to our husbands. When we have children, the law recognizes them as

theirs, not ours. Our husbands can even make wills providing that when they die, our children may be taken from us and placed in the hands of guardians. If our husbands beat us, there is nothing we can legally do about it . . .

We are tired of having the law and many men regard us as if we were infants or idiots. Neither do we like to be looked upon as helpless, clinging, delicate, doll-like creatures, who need men to do their thinking for them. Are women to be doomed forever merely to be household drudges, who must always dress and act according to long-standing traditions? Are women to be denied the democratic gains of our times? Is the perfect America we are trying to build for men only?

Women who felt this way and joined together to win rights for women were called *feminists*. So were the few men who also took part in this fight for the emancipation of women. Feminists who concentrated on the fight to get women the right to vote (*suffrage*) were called *suffragettes*. Most feminists were also active in the many other reform movements of the Jacksonian period.

**Reasons Why the Women's Rights Movement Gained Strength in the Jacksonian Period.** Fanny Wright shocked the public, in the Jacksonian period, by appearing on public lecture platforms and demanding not only rights for women but abolition of slavery, prison reform, and many other reforms. Soon other brave women followed Fanny Wright's lead. What explains the greater boldness of growing numbers of women at this time?

During the Jacksonian period, as we know, the number of factories greatly increased. Many women began to work in factories. No longer did they feel so dependent upon their husbands for their daily bread. Meanwhile, people by the thousands were settling in the West. There were many more men than women on the frontier, and women and men there worked equally hard. Therefore, women could afford to insist upon equal rights with men. As we know, too, during the Jacksonian period, progress was made in po-

litical democracy and educational opportunity, and in helping unfortunates. Women with minds of their own began to feel that the only way they could share in this progress was to take an active part in fighting for rights for themselves.

**A Declaration of Independence for Women Protests Man's Inhumanity to Women.** An active part was taken by one group of feminists, which included some men. They got together at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, and drew up a Declaration of Independence for Women. In it, they pointed out that all women, as well as all men, are "created equal," and that women, too, are entitled to "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

*A music sheet dedicated to a bloomer girl. Amelia I. Bloomer, editor of a women's rights magazine, popularized this costume, hoping that it would become a symbol of greater comfort and freedom for women. For what reasons do you think the fashion was short-lived?*



**THE NEW COSTUME SONGS**

FOR THE PIANO

MATTHIAS KELLER.

Philadelphia: Lee & Walker 221 Chestnut St.

The villain of the first Declaration of Independence had been King George III; the villain of this Declaration for Women was man in general. The signers of the latter charged that all history was filled with examples of man's tyrannical treatment of women. Their Declaration proclaimed that women would never be free until they won the rights to vote, to own property in their own names, to get a thorough education, to work in any job or profession, and to be treated as the equals of men in the world outside and inside their homes.

Proclaiming these aims of the women's rights movement was much easier than winning them. Most American women, accustomed to being treated as inferiors, strongly opposed the strong-willed feminists. Even the Quaker Lueretia Mott, a leading feminist at the Seneca Falls Convention, warned fellow feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton not to go so far as to demand the right to vote for women. Said she: "Lizzie, thee will make us ridiculous."

**Why It Took Courage to Be a Feminist.** Cruel ridicule, filthy name-calling, and even violence were weapons used against the feminists. But the courageous crusade for women's rights continued. Feminists were accused of being not the sweet, feminine creatures they should be but more like men or dried-up mummies. Politicians, editors, and even clergymen attacked them as being shameless enemies of marriage, of the home, and of religion. Their meetings were often broken up by hoodlums hurling rotten eggs. Since many feminists were antislavery, many proslavery groups were bitterly antifeminist. Since many feminists were opposed to the drinking of intoxicating liquor, many liquor distillers were actively opposed to feminists.

**Women Win Some Rights in the Jacksonian Period.** Why do girls need an education? Soon they'll be married and be busy with housework and raising children. This was the attitude of most men, and women, too, for a long time in America, and elsewhere as well. It explains why very few girls got any formal schooling at all. Well-to-do girls were taught,

in special schools sometimes called *finishing schools*, to be well-mannered ladies. These schools would offer perhaps a bit of French, a bit of music, a bit of painting—to "finish" the girls with a kind of polish so they would shine in society. To certain determined women of the Jacksonian period, this kind of education seemed inadequate, and even insulting.

Two determined women, Emma Willard and Mary Lyon, began teaching while still in their teens. Both believed that girls were just as capable as boys, and had just as much right to receive a good higher education. Accordingly, each established a school of higher education for girls. In both—one now called the Emma Willard School, the other Mount Holyoke College—girls were, from the very beginning, taught many of the same subjects as were taught in boys' schools.

Some cities began to follow the example of Worcester, Massachusetts, which had opened a public high school for girls in 1824. In 1833, Oberlin, the first college to admit women as well as men, was founded. (Oberlin admitted Negroes, too.) One of Oberlin's early graduates, Luey Stone, went so far in her feminism that she argued for the right of married women to use their maiden names. Today, women who do are called "Luey Stoners." Another Oberlin graduate was Antoinette Brown Blackwell, who became America's first ordained woman minister.

Because of her sex, Elizabeth Blackwell, sister-in-law of Antoinette, had a hard time getting admitted to medical college. But when she was graduated in 1849, she was first in her class. This first woman to be graduated from a medical school anywhere in the world opened the first hospital to be run solely by women. Her list of "firsts" also included organizing the first medical school solely for women.

Late in the Jacksonian period, many states granted married women the right to own property in their own names. Little by little, states granted women rights equal with their husbands' as regards their children. But many doors still remained closed to women.

Feminists were to continue pounding on these doors in the late nineteenth century (page 583) and in the twentieth century (page 708), until many more were forced open.

## Reformers Demand Kindlier Treatment for the Insane, Deaf, Dumb, and Blind

**The Long-time Inhumane Treatment of Unfortunates.** Until about a century ago, in our own country, and elsewhere, too, the treatment of the insane, deaf, dumb, and blind, and other unfortunates was often unbelievably shocking. The mentally sick suffered especially. Mild mental cases were usually permitted to roam aimlessly through the town or village. Children and even grownups, lacking understanding, would poke fun or hurl rocks at them. Violent mental cases were sometimes hidden by their ashamed families in closets or cellars. Often they were chained in filthy jails for years, where unsympathetic jailers treated them brutally. These poor unfortunates had their miserable food thrown to them, as if they were animals. Seldom, if ever, did a doctor visit them. Almost never was anything done to try to make them normal again.

People felt that it was up to the family, not to society, to take care of such unfortunates. But most families had neither the money nor the knowledge nor sometimes even the sympathy to give them proper care.

**The Spirit of Jacksonian Democracy Inspires Help for Unfortunates.** Filled with the reform spirit of the Jacksonian period, many persons began to feel that instead of abandoning unfortunates to a life of misery, society ought to try to salvage them. Thus, not only the individual but society might benefit. Salvaged individuals might be able to support themselves. Some might even have creative talents that could be developed. In short, to build the perfect America—the theme of the times—in one's efforts or abilities should be wasted.

**Dorothea Dix Urges Help to the Insane as Both Sane and Humane.** Dorothea Dix

had been horrified by the horrible conditions she found in the insane asylums of her home state, Massachusetts. She begged the state legislature, in 1843, to correct these conditions. The legislature refused. Undiscouraged, this former schoolteacher visited many more insane asylums and piled up persuasive evidence of the brutal treatment of the insane. She hammered across the idea that the insane are not criminals but sick people. Sick people, she insisted, could not be cured by putting them in "cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens! Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience."

Miss Dix suggested that many might be cured if the mild mental cases were separated from the violent ones. Finally convinced, the Massachusetts legislature appropriated money for the building of insane asylums where Miss Dix's suggestions would be followed. Using money she inherited and contributions from wealthy people, she spent years studying insane asylums in other states. Soon her suggestions for kindly and scientific care of the insane were being followed in hospitals for the mentally ill in many states, in European countries, and even in far-off Japan. Her work helped popularize the idea that governments, not just families, have a major responsibility to care for the insane, the poor, and other unfortunates. However, in the United States and throughout the world, there are still mental hospitals where the words "shocking" and "inhumane" still apply to the treatment of patients.

**The Gallaudets Do Much for the Deaf.** A young American studying to be a Protestant minister was much troubled because the little daughter of a friend of his was deaf. In hopes of helping her, he went to Europe to study methods of educating the deaf. In Paris, he was given a warm welcome and hearty co-operation by a Catholic priest who had specialized in this field. As a result, the young American, Thomas H. Gallaudet, in 1817, opened America's first school for the deaf, in Hartford, Connecticut.

In time, various states established schools for the education of the deaf, financed by

taxes. Since 1864, there has also been a college for the education of the deaf, Gallaudet College, in Washington, D.C. This college was founded by a son of Gallaudet. Many successful Americans—even famous ones—are Gallaudet graduates.

**Howe Shows How the Blind Can Be Helped.** If the deaf can be educated to become successful citizens, why cannot the blind? A man who not only asked this question but answered it by affirmative action was the brilliant, modest Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe.<sup>1</sup> Profiting from a study of the methods of educating the blind in Europe, he founded the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston in 1832. It was a teacher from the Perkins Institute who, in the 1880's, helped to salvage a brilliant mind, that of a blind deaf-mute named Helen Keller. Miss Keller went on to graduate from college with high honors and to dedicate her life to proving that blind people can do important work in the world.

## Reformers Denounce as Criminal Society's Treatment of Prisoners

**Some Horrible Prison Conditions of Long Standing.** He had been in jail for ten years. But no one knew for what offense or for how long his sentence was supposed to last. He was blind, insane, and almost naked. His jailer told a committee investigating conditions in a New York jail in 1809 that there was no point in giving him a shirt: every time he was given one, the rats ate it. This pathetic case illustrates the horrible prison conditions that existed for many years throughout our country and elsewhere.

In many prisons, in a common cell, could be found murderers and mild offenders, hardened thieves and first offenders, old and young, sick and well, sane and insane, sometimes men and women, and even persons

merely held as witnesses. Into such filthy, foul-smelling pestholes, crawling with mice and lice, were also thrown thousands of debtors each year.

**Some Efforts at Prison Reform.** William Penn's humane ideas on prison reform persisted in Pennsylvania long after his death (page 29). It was Pennsylvania that, after the American Revolution, started the practice of placing each prisoner in a separate cell. This was something of an improvement over the old system, under which petty thieves confined in a common cell with hardened lawbreakers often learned how to become master criminals.

During the Jacksonian period, many other states experimented with the Pennsylvania system and other systems, hoping to reform prisoners, instead of merely punishing them. By this time, too, imprisonment for debt had been abolished. Gradually, prisons in America had introduced a number of significant changes. Children were separated from adults; first offenders from habitual criminals; males from females; and the sane from the insane. No longer did criminals have their ears cut off, their bare backs flogged, or their bodies branded. Public executions were abolished. So was the death penalty in most states, except for murder and treason. And some states followed the lead of Michigan, which, in 1846, abolished capital punishment entirely. However, conditions in many prisons are still so bad that many prisoners leave prison tougher, meaner, and more corrupt than when they entered.

## Reformers War on Drunkenness As an Enemy of American Progress

According to one clergyman in the early nineteenth century, drinking alcoholic liquors caused ". . . jaundice, dropsy, . . . consumption, rheumatic pains, epilepsy, gout, cholic, palsy, apoplexy, insanity." If he had been right, there would have been few healthy people in much of early America; for, practically everybody there drank, including many ministers, women, and even

<sup>1</sup> Howe's wife, Julia Ward Howe, a strong supporter of women's rights, prison reform, and world peace, wrote many poems, including "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

*Signing the pledge not to drink alcoholic liquors* Said Frances E. Willard "Temperance is moderation in the things that are good and total abstinence from the things that are bad" How would you clarify this definition?



young children. Intoxicating liquors were cheap and could be purchased even at the corner grocery store. Some youngsters paid for their liquor with stolen goods.

**The Temperance Movement Enlists Many.** Shocked by the tremendous intake of alcohol, some individuals in colonial times protested. But not until the Jacksonian period was a powerful crusade, called the *temperance movement*, launched against the evil of drunkenness.

As factories and cities grew, so did drunkenness. Factory owners became alarmed at the number of workers who failed to report for work, or who failed to do good work, as a result of drinking. As more men got the right to vote, people asked: How wisely can a drunkard use his newly won vote? Still another reason for the temperance movement was the belief that drunkenness ruined a man's character, making it easier for the devil to capture his soul.

Ministers, in their sermons, thundered against the evils of alcohol. Reformed drunkards lectured on the curse of drink and urged others to "take the pledge" (not to drink). Such reformed drunkards, feminists, children, women whose family life had been made miserable by drunken husbands, and other temperance crusaders marched in

parades, singing temperance songs. Temperance propagandists pointed out that the money wasted on strong drink could be better spent to buy milk for babies and to build churches and schools. One author won many to take the pledge by his tragic tale, "The Bottle and the Pledge." In it, a husband who has a good job and a fine home takes to drink and influences his wife to do likewise. Before long, he loses his job, pawns his furniture to get money for whiskey, murders his wife in a brawl, and goes insane.

The temperance crusade seemed to be making headway by the time the War between the States broke out in 1861. Some states had prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors entirely. But, as we shall see, the temperance fight was far from won (page 532).

### **Experiments with So-Called Model Communities Seek To Build a Better America**

Robert Owen was a poor Scot who got to the top by working hard and marrying the boss' daughter. At the top, he made the Scottish town of New Lanark, where he had his factories, a healthful, happy, and practically crime-free community. He shortened working hours from seventeen to ten,

refused to hire children younger than ten,<sup>1</sup> and built homes for his employees and free schools and playgrounds for their children. Yet his factories made money.

Owen came to America, where he planned to establish model communities that would go even further in improving the environment in which people lived and worked. Bad environment, he held, was responsible for poverty, crime, and other evils. He felt that America provided a better environment for his experiment than Europe. In America, in general, the equality of all men was a tradition. Besides, America had vast, cheap, undeveloped lands, which Europe lacked.

**Some Reasons for Dissatisfaction with Existing Communities.** When Owen arrived in America, he found many persons also thinking about setting up model communities. What didn't they like about the environment in existing communities? They didn't like to see workers in the new factories working long hours at low wages, and living in slums. Neither winning the vote nor forming unions had made life much easier for most people in most towns and cities.

To such radical thinkers, fierce competition among individuals to amass great wealth was society's most serious disease. Their prescription for a cure? Get out of the big cities. Co-operate with one another in building model communities. Make competition for individual profit illegal there. Own jointly the farms, factories, and shops you set up. Produce not for individual gain but for the welfare and happiness of all.

**Most of the So-Called Model Communities Fail.** To fulfill this prescription, Robert Owen, in the late 1820's, set up an experimental model community at New Harmony, Indiana.

This early experiment in socialism<sup>2</sup> at New Harmony lasted only three years. In the com-

munity were hard-working and idealistic people. But there were also some who were greedy and dishonest. Why work, these lazy ones asked, when those who don't get the same food and wages as those who do? Certain groups that felt superior to others began forming cliques. The quarrels of such cliques dealt the deathblow to Owen's dream of a class society.

Another so-called model community, Brook Farm near Boston, was based upon the socialistic ideas of a Frenchman, François Fourier. It, like practically all the other so-called model communities organized during the Jacksonian period, soon died.<sup>1</sup>

America was the wrong country for such experiments. It was so young and so rich in opportunities for individuals to get rich. Fertile fields, virgin forests, undeveloped mines, and expanding factories were like magnets attracting individuals with initiative and vision. Co-operative communities could not compete with such attractions. In recent years, socialist schemes far more radical than that of Owen have been tried in other countries. But such schemes have had little appeal for Americans. They ask, in effect: Why should Americans, who have the highest standard of living in the world and such great opportunities to get ahead under our present system, resort to socialistic schemes?

## **An Enthusiastic Religious Spirit Sweeps Jacksonian America**

On horseback and in wagons, they carried their food and clothing, their blankets and tents. Bad roads, wide rivers, high mountains could not keep them away. These frontiersmen and their families were on their way

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<sup>1</sup> This was remarkable at a time when long hours and child labor were common.

<sup>2</sup> Such socialism was called "utopian," after an imaginary ideal state described in *Utopia*, a book by Sir Thomas More, who died in the sixteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> A religious sect popularly known as the *Shakers* had established a so-called model community far back in the days of the American Revolution, at Mount Lebanon, New York. (Though dwindling, the sect still exists.) The Shakers consider war irreligious and refuse to take part in any fighting. These pacifists own property jointly and believe in equality of the sexes. Their motto is "Hands to work and hearts to God."



to meet with thousands of other frontier families at the huge religious meetings in the forest, called *camp meetings*. There they would listen day after day to the fiery sermons of the traveling preacher, called the *circuit rider*. They would pray, sing hymns, and clap hands in rhythm. Some would cry out their repentance for having sinned and their pledge to live a more religious life.

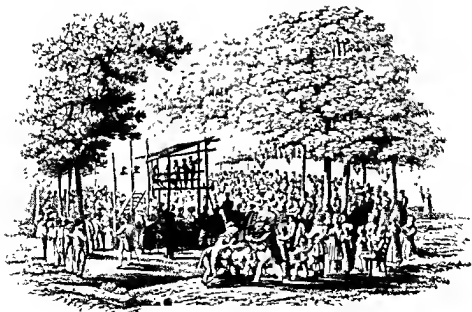
The desperate need of all people for the companionship of fellow men helps to explain the popularity of the camp meetings. For frontier life was terribly lonely. But a more important reason for their popularity was the great hunger for religion in the Jacksonian period. A similar intense hunger for religion in the colonial period had led to the revivalist movement called the Great Awakening (page 35).

The revivalist movement of the Jacksonian period caused more people than ever to swarm into churches. Sunday schools were started. So was the Young Men's Christian Association (the YMCA). Many missionaries dedicated their lives to converting Africans and Chinese, and Indians in India, as well as Indians in America.

**A Time of Greater Religious Tolerance Is Darkened by Some Intolerance.** Even before the Jacksonian period, there were indications throughout the nation that religious toleration was growing. After the American Revolution, many states had stopped compelling people to pay taxes to support state-established churches. The First Amendment to the Federal Constitution forbade the Congress to pass any law "respecting the establishment of religion." In 1821, New York State passed a law that ended legal discriminations against Roman Catholics. Side by side at the frontier camp meetings of the Jacksonian period, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians worshiped. By this time, the tradition had become firmly established throughout America that no religion should ever be favored by law over any other. Yet, even in the Jacksonian period of increasing religious toleration, some religious groups were treated intolerantly.

*The Mormons Suffer Persecution, But Persevere.* Joseph Smith was murdered by a mob on June 27, 1844. Fourteen years earlier, he had founded a new religious sect, the *Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day*

*A camp meeting during the Jacksonian period. Can you suggest an interesting caption for this picture?*



*Saints*. The sacred book of this sect is the Book of Mormon and the sect itself is popularly known as the *Mormon Church*. In his short life, Smith converted thousands to Mormonism. Persecution drove the Mormons from New York to Ohio, from Ohio to Missouri, and from Missouri to Illinois.

In Illinois, they felt that they had reached their Promised Land at last. Inspired by Smith, and through hard work and enthusiastic co-operation, they made their community the richest in Illinois. Religious intolerance and business competition of nearby communities, as well as a split among the Mormons themselves, led to increased persecution of the Mormons and to the mob murder of Smith.

This time, the Mormons decided to settle so far from settled communities that they would never be persecuted again. Day after day and mile after mile, they dragged their weary feet and urged on the ox teams pulling their covered wagons across the Great Plains and over the Rockies. This famous migration was organized by the new Mormon leader, the strong-willed Brigham Young. The Mormons arrived at what is now Salt Lake City, Utah, in the summer of 1847. Here, in the far-from-promising Great American Desert, Young decided that the Mormons should make another try at building a Promised Land. With religious fervor, they co-operated in irrigating their hard, sun-baked soil. As if sent by God, sea gulls came to devour the hordes of grasshoppers that were devouring their crops. The desert bloomed. Salt Lake City became a magnificent, well-planned city, with parks and gardens, fine schools and hospitals.

In 1848, Utah was annexed by the United States from Mexico as a result of the Mexican War (page 335). It became a state in 1896.

*The So-Called American Party* ('Know-Nothings') *Practices Un-American Policies*. "Have you seen Sam?" This was the password of a secret society of the Jacksonian period. By 1852, its members were known as *Know-Nothings*. "I know nothing," they

would answer, when asked the aim or real name of their party (officially called the *American Party*). Actually, the aim of this secret society was no secret. It was to prevent foreign immigrants in general and Roman Catholic immigrants in particular from gaining the right to vote, holding political office, or having much influence in politics at all. This explains why the *Know-Nothings* recommended that immigrants be required to wait twenty-one years before they could become naturalized citizens. Adoption of this recommendation, they were convinced, would help preserve the true American way of life. "Americans must rule America!" was their slogan.

*Some Reasons for the Prejudice Against Immigrants in the 1840's*. Immigrants by the hundreds of thousands were pouring into the country at this time. In the twenty years between 1825 and 1845, there had been only about a million immigrants. But in the ten years between 1845 and 1855, there were about three million. In the late 1840's, the potato crop in Ireland had failed. Thousands of Irish came here to escape starvation. In 1848, revolutions in the German states to get democratic governments had failed. Thousands of Germans fled here to enjoy the freedoms they could not win in Germany. In 1849, gold was discovered in California. Thousands of people of many nationalities flocked here to seek fortunes in the gold fields.

This flood of foreigners frightened many native Americans. They feared that the immigrants would change greatly the American way of life, or even destroy it. They expressed such views as these:

Notice how these foreigners take jobs away from us by working longer hours at lower wages. Before long, our American standard of living will be lowered to the level of European standards. Why should Americans have to pay taxes to give charity to pauper foreigners? See how they huddle together in the big cities and speak foreign languages, or English with foreign accents. Watch how corrupt politicians take advantage of their

ignorance and illiteracy to win or buy their votes, especially in the big cities. Why, some of these foreigners are even bringing in radical, socialistic ideas.

The propaganda of the Know-Nothings against immigrants was deliberately planned by certain individuals or groups. Many a politician won votes by promising native Americans that he would protect them against the so-called dangers of immigration.<sup>1</sup> Most immigrants voted for the Democratic Party. Therefore, political opponents of the Democrats, usually Whigs, stirred up prejudice against immigrants. Many politicians also encouraged anti-immigrant resentment to divert attention from the hot issue of slavery.

By the 1840's, the American way of making a living had changed greatly. Many who had lived in isolated communities and worked on farms were now living in big cities and working in factories. Slums developed. Depressions occurred. Men lost their jobs. Alarmed by these changing conditions, some persons looked for someone to blame. They chose the immigrants, who were weak, in a minority, and bewildered in their new and strange land. This practice of singling out a minority group to blame troubles on is called the *scapegoat technique*.

**American Good Sense Wins Out Over Un-American Propaganda.** At first, the Know-Nothings were successful enough to elect governors, state legislators, and even many members of the Congress. But by 1855, their party had petered out. From time to time in subsequent years, other groups advocating similar ideas have risen and fallen. Why don't they last? Perhaps it is because most Americans realize that they themselves are either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. In general, America has been a land of prosperity, where people have had the opportunity to get ahead. Thus there is less desire here to find some group on which

to blame troubles than in less fortunate countries. Such ideals as those expressed in our Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights are ingrained in many Americans. Americans in general soon come to realize that such groups as the Know-Nothings are enemies of the American Dream.

### A 'Golden Age' in American Literature Develops During The Jacksonian Period

**Some Examples of Nationalism in American Literature Before the Jacksonian Period.** The following lines are from a verse play by the so-called father of the American theater, William Dunlap (born 1766):

Now I see in this new world  
A resting spot for man, if he can stand  
Firm in his place while Europe howls  
around him

Then might, perhaps, one land on earth  
be found,  
Free from the extremes of poverty and  
riches,  
Where ne'er a scepter'd tyrant should be  
known,  
Or tyrant lordling, curses of creation.

These lines were written to inspire great love for the new nation and optimism about its glorious future. In the same spirit, the writings of Thomas Paine (page 76) had expressed the belief that the American Revolution promised "a new era to the human race." Thomas Jefferson, author of that literary masterpiece, the Declaration of Independence, wrote: "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time." And, as we know, the poetry of Philip Freneau (page 59) fairly burst with nationalistic pride.

"America must be as independent in literature as she is in politics," declared Noah Webster in 1783, the year our political independence was officially recognized by Britain. Webster was convinced that the first step in achieving our literary independence was to establish an official standard language for the United States. He feared that if the

<sup>1</sup> Many another politician won votes from immigrants by promising to protect them from discrimination by native Americans.

dialects in the various sections were allowed to become more and more different from one another, sectionalism would win out over nationalism.

To prevent this from happening, Webster published his *American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828. His spelling book, used by millions all over America, also helped to strengthen nationalism. What Webster did for the American language in American schools, Jedidiah Morse did for American geography; for his geography textbooks included much patriotic American history as well.

In spite of these examples of nationalism in early American literature, the bulk of early American writers imitated European writers more or less slavishly.

**Writers of America's 'Golden Age' Place Greater Stress on American Themes and American Scenes.** More and more during the Jacksonian period, American authors, inspired by nationalism, stressed their country's glorious future in their writings. More and more, these authors, inspired by democracy, wrote about the humble many, rather than the aristocratic few. Frontier families pushing westward, workers in the new factories, sailors on whale hunts, fierce Indians and frightened ones, the village blacksmith and the country storekeeper—these became favorite subjects of novels and poems. By writing about such American themes and American scenes, authors were, in a sense, signing their names to America's literary declaration of independence. As the American writer Ralph Waldo Emerson observed proudly in 1837:

Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands draws to a close.

So many fine American writers appeared during the Jacksonian period that the second quarter of the nineteenth century has been called a "golden age" in American literature. True, at this time, greater stress was placed on American themes and American scenes. Yet European influences on our literature

continued, as they still do. And although there was much nationalism in the writing of this golden age, sectionalism played its part as well.

**The 'Father of American Literature' Keeps One Foot in Europe.** "Who reads an American book, or goes to an American play . . . ?" This sarcastic question was asked by a British writer in 1820. But in that very year, an excellent American book, Washington Irving's *Sketch Book*, was published in Britain. Probably the most popular story in it is "Rip Van Winkle." Rip Van Winkle is a hen-pecked husband who escapes his shrewish wife by falling into a twenty-year-long sleep high up in the Catskill Mountains.

Many a person has chuckled over the imagination and humor of Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York*. In it, in a kindly way, Irving pokes fun at the Dutchmen of New Amsterdam, with their big hats, long pipes, balloon pants, and silver-buckled shoes. By writing about typically American themes and scenes, Irving could be considered one of the first signers of our literary declaration of independence. In fact, some have called him the "father of American literature."

But Irving never divorced himself from European influences. His book *The Alhambra* tells of the colorful days in the Middle Ages when Spain was ruled by the Moors (Spanish Moslems). The conservative Irving, who at first laughed at Jeffersonian democracy, ended up praising Jacksonian democracy. Yet he loved tradition and the courtly life and pageantry of Europe's aristocracy.

**Cooper Introduces the American Forest into Novels and Invents the Realistic Sea Story.** Love of America is the theme of the first important novel of James Fenimore Cooper. Entitled *The Spy*, it is about the American Revolution. Its hero suffers in silence insults and hardships at the hands of his own countrymen, who do not know of the great sacrifices he is making for his country. But Cooper's deep patriotism did not prevent him from giving a fair picture of the Tory enemies. Another Cooper novel,

*The Pilot*, a sea story of the American Revolution, became a model for later writers of sea stories.

Indians gliding through the dark forest wilderness or paddling their canoes down lake and stream, forts under siege and forests on fire, an Indian rescuing a backwoodsman and a backwoodsman rescuing an Indian, fainting ladies captured by Indians and rescued in the nick of time—these are typical scenes in such Cooper novels as *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Deerslayer*. Cooper believed that the primitive life of the forest helped to make men more decent and noble. His characteristically American forest tales were imitated by many later writers.

Cooper frequently spoke up in defense of American democracy before European critics. Yet he was troubled at seeing the masses of the people so easily swayed by demagogues in the campaign of 1840.

**Hawthorne's Novels Analyze the Effects of Sin Upon Individuals.** A woman sins in *The Scarlet Letter*. A man also sins in this grim novel of Puritan New England by Nathaniel Hawthorne. Another man has been sinned against and seeks revenge. The guilty woman, who admits her sin and devotes her days to doing good for others, develops a noble character. The guilty man hides his sin for a long time and the secret eats away at his soul, until he dies. The sinned-against man gets the revenge he seeks. But, in getting it, he loses his mind. The effects of sin upon the conscience and character of different individuals is a favorite theme of Hawthorne's.

Witchcraft-crazed Salem is the setting of another rhythmically written Hawthorne novel, *The House of the Seven Gables*. In it, one man sins by taking over the property of another, after getting him convicted of witchcraft. Certain of the sinner's innocent descendants suffer for a long time for his sins. This is but one aspect of this novel.

In the Jacksonian period, as we know, many thinkers believed that man had within him the potential for self-perfection. But the pessimistic Hawthorne, with his puritanical

background, felt that the hearts of far too many people were filled with far too much evil and selfishness for them to accomplish a great deal of good. Hawthorne's novel about the Brook Farm experiment, called *The Blithedale Romance*, expresses his doubts about reform movements and reformers in general.

**Bryant's Writings Deal with Democracy, Nationalism, and Death, Among Other Themes.** The following lines from William Cullen Bryant's "Oh Mother of a Mighty Race" are the poet's expression of the American Dream.

There's freedom at thy gates and rest  
For earth's downtrodden and oppressed,

"Mother" in the title of this poem represents America. The entire poem expresses Bryant's strong nationalistic belief that greatness awaits America. As a newspaper editor, Bryant fought boldly for prison reform, for abolition of slavery, and for freedom of speech and the press—even for those with unpopular ideas.

Even before the Jacksonian period, in 1811, when he was only seventeen, Bryant had written his most famous poem, "Thanatopsis" (meaning "a view of death"). In essence, this was Bryant's message in "Thanatopsis": Be a man. Live righteously and face death with faith and courage.

**Emerson Declares That in Man and Nature Are Great Wonders Waiting to Be Discovered and Developed.** God lives in every one of us. Therefore, every one of us can reach perfection and help to create a world of wonders. But to do so, each individual must cultivate the God-like greatness within him. He must have the character and courage to think for himself and act for himself. In short, he must be self-reliant and practice self-improvement. Justice, love, freedom, knowledge—these should be the goals of mankind. In poems, essays and lectures, the optimistic New England philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson expressed this set of beliefs.

Emerson believed that most of us think and do as others do. Instead of listening to the divine voice within us, we join certain clubs, political parties, and other organizations and obey their rules and decisions, perhaps solely, because our ancestors have done so or our friends do. "Whoso would be a man must be a non-conformist," wrote Emerson. "Imitation," he was convinced, "is suicide."

To Emerson, everyone had "a right to be employed, to be trusted, to be loved, to be revered." This helps to explain why he opposed Negro slavery and war, and supported women's rights and aid to the poor and blind. Since God is in all of us, he reasoned, all of us should be against every form of prejudice or cruelty toward any of us. Since God is in nature, too, nature, like man, is filled with wonders waiting to be developed. Emerson asked and answered: "What is a weed? A plant whose virtues have not yet been discovered."

Some consider Emerson as great a philosopher and teacher of noble principles as the ancient Greek Plato. But Emerson has also been criticized for stressing the individual and the present without paying sufficient attention to society as a whole and the past.<sup>1</sup> He has been called a dangerous radical for encouraging people to doubt and even rebel against age-old customs and organizations. He shocked many by criticizing what he called the greed of many businessmen, the insincerity of many politicians, and the automatic, but not heartfelt, worship of many churchgoers. Emerson frequently contradicted himself, which he admitted. But why not, he asked, if a man honestly comes to conclusions today that contradict what he said yesterday?

**Thoreau Believes That Each of Us Is His Own Jailer.** One day a week, a man should work. Six days a week, he should read, think, and tramp in the woods observing and enjoying the beauties and wonders of nature. To Henry David Thoreau, a friend of Emerson and, like him, a resident of Concord, Massachusetts, this was the ideal life. Thoreau believed that too many people spend so much of their lives trying to amass money that they never really live.<sup>1</sup> Thoreau believed further that most persons imprison themselves by living dull, meaningless, routine lives to gain possessions that are, in reality, burdens to them. To him, these were "lives of quiet desperation."<sup>2</sup>

In the woods, in a hut he himself had built for less than \$30, the self-reliant Thoreau lived on less than thirty cents a week.<sup>3</sup> His best book, *Walden*, tells of the two years he spent there from 1845 to 1847. It describes the great freedom and joy a man can feel, living a simple life in close harmony with nature, away from complicated civilized life, with its machinery, politics, and ceremonies.

Thoreau was once jailed for refusing to pay taxes to support a government that supported slavery.

"Henry, what are you doing in there?" Emerson asked, on a visit to the jail.

"What are you doing out there?" challenged Thoreau.

If enough individuals, including Emerson, did as he had done, Thoreau felt, the government would have to abolish slavery. Thus the nonconformist Thoreau expressed his idea of civil disobedience. Mahatma Gandhi of India, in the twentieth century, expanded

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<sup>1</sup> To support his views, Thoreau often quoted from the Bible: "Lay not up for yourself treasures on earth" and "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul."

<sup>2</sup> "Lives of noisy desperation" are what most of us lead today, according to the humorist James Thurber.

<sup>3</sup> Thoreau was a bachelor and a vegetarian. He neither smoked nor drank liquor.

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<sup>1</sup> An important reason why Emerson did not stress the past was his belief that our ideas of decency and justice and of God Himself are a part of us and do not come from experiences or the senses. Philosophers who share this belief with Emerson are called *transcendentalists*. Transcendentalism was popular in Europe as well as America during the nineteenth century.

on Thoreau's idea of civil disobedience to win India's independence from Britain.

**The Beloved Longfellow Preaches Gentle Sermons in Many of His Poems.** The poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who loved his fellow men, expressed his hope for a world of peace and brotherhood thus:

Were half the power that fills the world  
with terror,  
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps  
and courts,  
Given to redeem the human mind from  
error,  
There were no need of arsenals nor forts

With Longfellow's belief in the American Dream we are already familiar (page 2). His tenderness toward lovers doomed to be forever parted is revealed in the sad poem "Evangeline." His grief over the sorrows of persecuted Jews shines through "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport." So do his kindly thoughts of Indians in "Hiawatha" and his understanding and love of children in "The Children's Hour." To inspire goodness was a major goal of the gentle Longfellow. No other American poet has been more widely read or better loved.

**Lowell and Whittier Preach Passionate Sermons in Many of Their Poems.** Like Longfellow, both James Russell Lowell and John Greenleaf Whittier wanted to make this a better world. But their hatred of war and slavery was so intense that their poetry was much less gentle than his. For example, Lowell wrote:

Ever war, I call it murder, . . .

And Whittier wrote:

A hate of tyranny intense  
And hearty in its vehemence,  
As if my brother's [mankind's] pain and  
sorrow were my own

Like Longfellow, too, Lowell and Whittier wrote patriotic poems, such as Lowell's classic "Commencement Ode," and poems about the effects of nature, such as Whittier's "Snowbound."

A fellow New Englander of Longfellow's, Lowell's, and Whittier's was Oliver Wendell Holmes, author of the patriotic poem "Old Ironsides." All these writers and many others of this period aimed to inspire noble spiritual and moral ideals in their readers. Holmes expressed this aim in his famous poem "The Chambered Nautilus" thus:

Build thee more stately mansions, O my  
soul, . . .

**Poe, a Foe of the Existing World, Creates His Own Weird World in Poetry and Prose.**

Lying on a mattress of straw, cold and hungry, Edgar Allan Poe's young wife died. Poe, who suffered this tragedy and many other hardships in this world, created in his prose and poetry an imaginative world of his own. It is a weird world of mystery and melancholy, of despair and death, of sick minds and incredible horrors—a strange and supernatural world in which ghosts fit about.

In such tense horror tales as "The Black Cat," the unimagative Poe almost paralyzes his readers with terror. Many writers of detective stories since Poe have taken as models such detective stories of Poe as "The Murders in the Rue Morgue." Poe strongly influenced later science-fiction writing and literary criticism. A critic of literature, he believed, should be fearless and independent, as Poe himself surely was.

Poe was convinced that poetry should not try to preach sermons or teach lessons. Rather, it should be "the rhythmic creation of beauty." This description certainly fits such mournful melodic creations of Poe as "The Raven" and "Annabel Lee." Both of these deal with Poe's favorite poetical theme, the death of a beautiful woman. Poe was only forty when he died in 1849. But how American writers have so influenced world writing, as this "father of the modern short story and detective story."

**Some Southern Writers Depict the Southern Scene.** Plantation scenes in the novels of John P. Kennedy served as models for other novelists for many years. Frontier struggles

along the Southern border during the colonial period and Revolutionary days are dramatically described in the novels of William Gilmore Simms. For his portrayal of Indians and backwoodsmen in such fine novels as *The Yemassee* (published in 1835), Simms is sometimes called "the Southern James Fenimore Cooper." Simms and other Southern writers, such as the poets Henry Timrod and Paul Hayne, strongly supported slavery and the cause of the South in the War Between the States.

**Melville's *Moby Dick* Is Much More Than a Mere Adventure Story.** The peg-legged Captain Ahab got his revenge. He caught up with and destroyed the fierce, giant white whale, Moby Dick, which had robbed him of his leg. But in destroying Moby Dick, he destroyed his ship, himself, and all of his crew but one. This is the story told in Herman Melville's masterpiece, *Moby Dick*.

To some readers, the crew of Ahab's ship represents all the peoples of the world struggling together against evil, as represented by Moby Dick. To the gloomy Melville, all men were helpless creatures struggling in a world filled with powerful evil forces. Therefore, to him, it seemed absurd for anyone, whether he be a king or a millionaire, to feel superior to anyone else. This helps to explain his firm belief in the equality of all men. Thus, in his novels, he shows great sympathy not only for white Europeans and Americans but for Negroes, Chinese, East Indians, and even for heathen cannibals. Melville's novel *White Jacket*, like Richard Henry Dana's novel *Two Years Before the Mast*, did much to end cruel treatment of common sailors, such as the common practice of flogging.

**Whitman's Poetry Sings of a Love for America and for His Fellow Men.** A book of poetry, *Leaves of Grass*, was banned from the mails in 1855. Its author, Walt Whitman, was condemned as "the dirtiest beast of his age." Why did many consider this book so shocking? No other American poet had been so daring in choosing subject matter, words and phrases, and poetic forms that were so radically different. Miners and mechanics,

farmers and factory workers, and all the other plain people who helped to build America are the heroes of his poems. This lover of his fellow men has a kindly word for slaves, and even for lawbreakers and sinners. In one of his many poems praising American democracy, "Song of Myself," Whitman identifies himself with unfortunates thus:

I do not ask the wounded person how he feels,

I myself become the wounded person.

and

Whoever degrades another degrades me.

Because Whitman's prose-like poetic form has neither rhyme nor fixed stanzas, it is called *free verse*. For this "poet of democracy" believed that for a free America, only free verse would do. Why, he seemed to ask, should a poet in this new land of limitless opportunity be limited by old rules of poetic form?

**Certain Historians Produce Exciting Histories on Great Themes.** Can a history be written around a great theme, in a style as fascinating as fiction, with real flesh-and-blood characters, in exciting and dramatic settings—and still be accurate history? Four New England historians who wrote during the Jacksonian period and later thought the answer to this question was a most definite "Yes."

One of them, George Bancroft, a Jacksonian Democrat, expressed his deep love for his country in his *History of the United States*. To Bancroft, America was God's chosen land and Americans were God's chosen people.

John Lothrop Motley loved liberty, too. The theme of his history, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, was the struggle for independence of the little province of the Netherlands against the mighty Spanish Empire of Philip II. To Motley, this struggle for liberty was similar to the struggle of our own thirteen weak colonies against the powerful British Empire. Both were struggles for



what Motley considered life's most precious possessions: freedom of expression and worship, and self-government.

In such histories as *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Francis Parkman's theme is the great struggle between the British Empire and the French Empire for control of North America. To Parkman, this was a conflict between the feudalistic and autocratic French colonial policy and the more democratic Anglo-Saxon British colonial policy.

The theme of William Hickling Prescott's histories is the story of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and of its conquests of Mexico and Peru in the New World.

"You are there" when you read these exciting historians. You actually seem to hear the whispers of plotting cavaliers at Spain's elaborate court, in reading Motley, drums of the Aztecs, in reading Prescott, and Indian war whoops, in reading Parkman. You actually seem to see Parkman's brave, black-robed priests, his proud red-coated British officers, and his savage red men stalking their prey in the cool green forest wilderness.

In trying to make their histories accurate, these historians used the methods of a good historical researcher. They studied original sources, many of them unpublished, and many of them in foreign languages. They studied, on the spot, the lands and customs of the people they wrote about. They tried to get not only the facts but the feel of "the life and spirit of the time." Each had the iron will that keeps a good researcher working hard and long at his job, no matter what the obstacles. It took Bancroft more than fifty years, often working more than fourteen hours a day, to write the twelve volumes of *his history*. Both Prescott and Parkman were practically blind, and sick for most of their lives. Prescott forced himself to memorize more than seventy printed pages at a time in order to get his work done.

Bias at times, however, colored their writing. Bancroft was so convinced that God was on our side that he painted King George III and the members of Parliament as devils and the colonists as angels. Similarly, to Motley,

Philip II and the Spaniards were devils and the Dutch revolutionaries angels. Parkman tried to be fair to the French for their civilizing work in Canada, but he, too, allowed his personal prejudice to creep into his work. He wrote: "A happier calamity never befell a people than the conquest of Canada by the British arms."

### **American Art, Music, and Theater Move Slowly Toward Declaring Their Independence from Europe**

- A statue of George Washington wearing a Roman toga.
- Public buildings and private homes built with Greek columns, Roman domes, or the pointed arches and colored-glass windows of a medieval Gothic cathedral.
- Operas and musicians imported mainly from Germany and Italy.
- The most popular singer in America in 1850, the "Swedish nightingale," Jenny Lind.
- Plays and players mainly from Great Britain.

These are just a few examples that show how much American art, music, and drama were still being influenced by Europe in the Jacksonian period. Here are some more:

A Sicilian melody was used by the American John Howard Payne in composing the sentimental song "Home Sweet Home" in 1823. Even the patriotic song "America," composed about ten years later by an American, Samuel F. Smith, uses the British tune "God Save the King." Nevertheless, along with all this European influence, there were signs that some American artists, musicians, and playwrights were getting their inspiration from the American scene and the American people.

**Painters Begin to Concentrate on the American Scene and the Plain People Around Them.** "Paint pictures that will take with the public. Never paint for the few, but for the many." So said the American painter

William S. Mount. Painters such as Mount and George Caleb Bingham portrayed everyday scenes of plain people, including farmers, factory workers, boatmen, and traders. In hundreds of pictures, George Catlin depicted how Indians in the Far West lived. In hundreds of cartoons, artists pictured political campaigns and the fight for such reforms as women's rights, temperance, and the abolition of slavery. Lovers quarreling and lovers making up, fires and shipwrecks, prize fights and baseball, ice skating and horse racing—these are just a few of the many subjects portrayed in the colored prints made by Nathaniel Currier and James Merritt Ives. By 1860, there were few Americans who were not familiar with this record in pictures of American life.

Some painters concentrated on beautiful American scenery, such as that along the Hudson River. Thomas Cole and Asher Durand, among others, were members of this so-called *Hudson River School*. Some painters, such as Emanuel Leutze, concentrated on patriotic themes. Leutze's familiar "Washington Crossing the Delaware" is an example.

**Music Is Inspired by the Tears, Laughter, and Hopes of Life in America.** "Oh my poor Nelly Gray, they have taken you away, and I'll never see my darling any more," sang Northerners in sympathy for slaves sold away from their families by their masters. "There's plenty of gold, so I've been told, on the banks of the Sacramento," sang fortune seekers in the gold rush to California in 1849. Workers on the railroads and canals being constructed expressed their hopes and heartaches in similar songs. So did seamen seeking silks and spices in the popular China trade of the time. When the War Between the States broke out, the South adopted as its own the song "Dixie," which had been written by Daniel Emmett, a Northerner who favored the Union. And the North adopted as its song a Southern melody to which it sang Julia Ward Howe's "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Anyone listening to America singing these

folk songs, or music of the masses, was learning a good deal of American history. As we know, in this period, camp meetings were common. For these emotional religious meetings, deeply emotional religious songs, sometimes called *white spirituals*, were written and sung with passionate enthusiasm. In sorrowful Negro spirituals, such as "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," slaves on cotton plantations lamented their fate and expressed their dreams of freedom. Church congregations throughout the nation today sing the many fine hymns, such as "Nearer My God to Thee," composed by Lowell Mason during the Jacksonian period. It was Mason, too, who introduced the study of music into American public schools.

"Old Folks at Home," "My Old Kentucky Home," and "Old Black Joe" are three of the many sentimental songs by the Northerner Stephen Foster (1826-1864). Foster's music was inspired by the melodies sung by Negro slaves. His use of simple dialect explains why some look upon Foster's songs as folk songs.

Many of America's true folk songs were brought here long ago by immigrants from Europe and Africa. Over the years, they have become Americanized with new words and ideas growing out of the tears and laughter of life in America. Folk songs and, later, popular songs have been America's major contribution to the world of music. In serious music, America has not yet produced a musical giant such as Beethoven, Verdi, or Wagner. (But then, how many countries have?) The music of such master composers was played in this country in the early nineteenth century, usually by Europeans, mainly Germans. In fact, most of the musical schools and choral societies founded here then were sponsored by Europeans. Grand opera was introduced into the United States in 1825. For many years, most opera performers were Europeans, too.

**The Theater Becomes More Popular in Jackson's Time.** Mrs. Frances Trollope, a British visitor to the United States in Jackson's time, expressed her contempt for American theater audiences. She was disgusted

completed in 1838, includes more than 1,000 life-size bird figures in color. The generally scientific accuracy of his paintings was based upon his long observation of birds and his collaboration with a Scottish scientist, William MacGillivray.

Perhaps the Number One popularizer of science during the Jacksonian period was Benjamin Silliman, chemist, geologist, and physicist. The deeper interest in science promoted by Silliman and others helps to explain the many American inventions in communication, transportation, manufacturing, and agriculture at this time (Chapter 13).

### As Cities Grow, Life Becomes More Interesting for Many

Of the more than five million people in the United States in 1800, only about six per cent lived in cities. Of the more than thirty-one million here in 1860, about twenty per cent were living in cities. In 1800, there were only six cities with a population of over 8,000.<sup>1</sup> In 1860, there were 141 such cities. When George Washington was President, New York City had a population of about 30,000. By 1860, it had about a million.<sup>2</sup>

**Penny Newspapers Help to Bring Information to More People.** If I can sell a newspaper for a penny, I'll have many more readers. If I have more readers, more businessmen will want to advertise in my paper. More advertisers will mean greater profits. Reasoning along these lines, Benjamin Day started the first successful penny newspaper in America, the *New York Sun*, in 1833.<sup>3</sup> (In London, a penny newspaper had been started three years earlier.)

<sup>1</sup> The six were Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Boston, Charleston, and Salem.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, population throughout the world has increased steadily from 1800 on. Between 1800 and 1860, London's population, for example, increased from one million to three million.

<sup>3</sup> As we know, important colonial newspapers had been the *Boston News-Letter* and Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

## DEL MONICO'S

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### BILL OF FARE.

Cup Tea or Coffee, . . .	1	Pork Chops, . . .	4
Bowl " " . . .	2	Pork and Beans, . . .	4
Crullers, . . .	1	Sausages, . . .	4
Soup, . . .	2	Puddings, . . .	4
Fried or Stewed Liver, . . .	3	Liver and Bacon, . . .	5
" " Heart, . . .	3	Roast Beef or Veal, . . .	5
Hash, . . .	3	Roast Mutton, . . .	5
Pies, . . .	4	Veal Cutlet, . . .	5
Half Pie, . . .	2	Chicken Stew, . . .	5
Beef or Mutton Stew, . . .	4	Fried Eggs, . . .	5
Corn Beef and Cabbage, . . .	4	Ham and Eggs, . . .	10
Pigs Head " " . . .	4	Hamburger Steak, . . .	10
Fried Fish, . . .	4	Roast Chicken, . . .	10
Beef Steak, . . .	4		

Regular Dinner 12 Cents.

Smith & Handford Printers 23 and 25 Dey St. N. Y.

*An early menu of Delmonico's, a famous luxury restaurant in New York City.*

Seeing the success of the *Sun*, James Gordon Bennett founded a penny newspaper, the *New York Herald*, Horace Greeley founded another, the *New York Tribune*, and, in 1851, Henry J. Raymond established the *New York Times*. In other American cities, too, publishers started printing penny papers at this time. Before Day's *Sun*, newspapers had been so expensive, so difficult to read, and so dull that only a small number of well-to-do, educated people had read them.

Bennett's principles of publishing were borrowed in part from Day. They were copied, wholly or in part, by other publishers then, and, in part, are still used today. Some of these principles follow:

- Scoop other newspapers by getting the news first.
- Print stock market quotations and theatrical reviews.
- Write fighting editorials on public issues, even at the risk of offending powerful persons or groups.
- Dramatize scandals, gossip, fires, robberies, murders, and interviews with people involved.
- Be independent! Support candidates, but

don't permit any one political party to control your paper's policies<sup>1</sup>

- Try to confine your opinions to the editorial page and stick to the facts in your news articles

Bennett was beaten up so often for exposing scandals and frauds of all kinds in his *Herald* that a frequent headline in the paper read: BENNETT THRASHED AGAIN!

Few men in America have had as much influence on their times as the *Tribune's* editor, Greeley. One man, when asked his opinion on a certain political issue, is said to have replied, "I can't say. I haven't read Greeley's editorial about it yet!" Greeley felt that an editor had certain responsibilities to the people: to listen to their complaints and to try to right wrongs, even "though those who mainly support newspapers will be annoyed and often exposed by it . . ."

Certain inventions at this time helped to make newspapers more exciting for more readers. Using a process invented by a Frenchman, Louis Daguerre, in 1839, newspapers began printing copies of photographs called *daguerreotypes*. Newspapers could get the news faster after the invention of the telegraph by Samuel Morse in 1844. Readers could get their papers faster as more and more railroads were built and steamboats were used. Far more newspapers could be printed after such inventions as the rotary printing press by Richard Hoe in 1846.

**Many Education-Hungry Americans Flock to Lectures and Libraries.** Many a workingman and factory girl, worn out at the end of a fourteen-hour workday, would rush off to a hot and crowded lecture room so eager were they to make up for their lack of formal education and so convinced that education was the key to social and financial success. Most lectures during the Jacksonian period were sponsored by organizations called *Lyceums*. Lyceums aimed to spread adult

education in almost every field. Famous writers, such as Emerson, traveled all over the nation, even to backwoods areas for small fees, to deliver lyceum lectures.

Free public schools desperately need free public libraries. This is how some Americans felt from the very start of the free-public-school movement. But it was not until the 1850's that the free-public-library movement made much progress in America. Usually, rich men put up the money to start such libraries and public taxation paid for their upkeep. Lectures and libraries, like the public school and the penny press, did much to crack the monopoly on learning held so long by the well-to-do few.

**Conditions in Cities Improve Somewhat.** Pigs still roamed some of New York City's streets as late as 1850. For a long time, they had served as unofficial garbage removers. Most persons then had to obtain water from private or city wells, and use outdoor toilets. Fire bells called unpaid, volunteer firemen from their beds at night.

As a sanitation department, the pigs were a failure. The streets remained filthy. Frequent epidemics sometimes killed thousands. And on many a night, a number of the city's wooden buildings burned to the ground. Rival volunteer fire companies were often too busy fighting one another to fight fires. Riots and crimes were common. The untrained, non-uniformed policemen would often go into ludding rather than try to stop such tough gangs as the Plug Uglies. Other cities in America and elsewhere at this time were no better off. Yet important changes for the better were slowly taking place by 1850.

What do you think we are—servants? This sort of protest was made by many policemen and firemen when told they had to wear uniforms. Nevertheless, by the 1850's, many American cities had established official, salaried police and fire departments, in which the wearing of uniforms was required. By the 1850's, too, an increasing number of city dwellers were taking baths as often as once a week. For now, city water was being piped into many homes from city mains, and central

<sup>1</sup> Yet Bennett did accept money from Bank President Biddle during Jackson's battle against the Bank.

sewage systems had been constructed for draining wastes from homes. In spite of protests that health was a personal matter, some cities also established public health departments. The streets became brighter at night, as gaslights replaced whale-oil lamps. City homes were becoming brighter and more comfortable. Cooking ranges and hot-air furnaces were slowly being substituted for fireplaces; matches, for flint; gas lamps, for candles or oil-lamps; factory-made carpets, for handmade braided or hooked rugs.

### **A Restless Spirit and Rough Manners Typify Many in the Jacksonian Era**

Eating peas with a knife, gulping down food in a hurry without saying a word, spitting forth tobacco juice in any direction at all—none of these practices would be considered good manners today. But the Jacksonian period was a period of restlessness, when many people had little time for the niceties. They were too much in a hurry to get ahead in this land of opportunity. Furthermore, influenced by Jacksonian democracy, many spurned polished manners as the mark of an aristocrat. In line with this democratic spirit, the old distinction between the manners and even the clothing of aristocrats and those of the plain people in cities tended to diminish.

### **Recreation Reflects the Times**

There was a big difference, however, between much of the recreation of aristocrats and that of the plain people. Aristocrats raced

their yachts and horses, played cricket, established rowing clubs, and spent their summer vacations at such resorts as Saratoga and Rockaway.

For the average man, with his long working day, there was little time to have a good time. To many, relaxing seemed almost sinful, for it would interfere with getting ahead. As in colonial days, hunting and fishing remained popular, because they provided food as well as fun. As in colonial days, too, people on the frontier combined business and pleasure in their co-operative house-raising and quilting parties.

City workers were unable to turn their work into fun. They found, however, that they desperately needed some relaxation from the daily grind. Some of them, like the more well-to-do, turned to such new forms of recreation as gymnastics, and to new dances, such as the waltz and the polka (all European imports). Accustomed to square dancing, many persons were shocked at the idea of a man putting his arm around his partner, as the new dances required.

It was during this time that baseball was born. But a baseball fan of today would scarcely recognize the game of the 1840's. Then, for example, a fielder caught the ball in his cap, instead of in a glove.

Many persons would sneak off into the woods to watch the illegal sport of prize fighting. Many a fighter was maimed for life in these long-drawn-out fights, fought without gloves. In fact, violence was common at this time. Quarrels between individuals and feuds between families were often settled by pistols or knives.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 12

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Horace Mann	Brigham Young	Edgar Allan Poe	Lowell Mason
feminists	"Know-Nothings"	John P. Kennedy	Stephen Foster
suffragettes	William Dunlap	William G. Simms	Crawford Long and William Morton
Fanny Wright	Noah Webster	Herman Melville	William Beaumont
Seneca Falls Convention	Washington Irving	Walt Whitman	Matthew F. Maury
Emma Willard	James Fenimore Cooper	George Bancroft	John Smithson
Mary Lyon	Nathaniel Hawthorne	John Lothrop Motley	Joseph Henry
Oberlin College	William Gullen Bryant	Francis Parkman	Asa Gray
Lucy Stone	Ralph Waldo Emerson	William Hickling Prescott	Louis Agassiz
Elizabeth Blackwell	Henry David Thoreau	John Howard Payne	John J. Audubon
Dorothea Dix	Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	William S. Mount	Benjamin Silliman
the Gallaudets	James Russell Lowell	George G. Bingham	Benjamin Day
Samuel Gridley Howe	John G. Whittier	George Catlin	James Gordon Bennett
temperance movement	Oliver Wendell Holmes	Currier and Ives	Horace Greeley
Robert Owen		Hudson River School	daguerrotypes
Brook Farm			Richard Hoe
Mormons			lyceums
Joseph Smith		spirituals	

### ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Prove that the Jacksonian period was idealistic as well as practical.
2. For what reasons did (a) labor unions, (b) many property owners, and (c) reformers demand free public schools for all?
3. List the groups opposing free public schools for all, giving their reasons in each case.
4. Give reasons to justify calling Horace

Mann the "father of the American public school system."

5. Prove that by 1860, progress had been made in (a) higher education, (b) broadening the curriculum, and (c) education of females.
6. Why did many women in the Jacksonian period feel that they were victims of (a) political, (b) social, and (c) economic discrimination?
7. For what reasons were many women bolder in demanding women's rights during the Jacksonian period?
8. Specifically, what demands did the

- women at the Seneca Falls Convention make?
9. Describe the progress made in the Jacksonian period in the treatment of (a) the mentally ill, (b) the deaf, (c) the blind, and (d) inmates of prisons.
  10. With respect to the temperance movement, tell (a) reasons for it, (b) techniques used by temperance advocates, and (c) how successful it was by 1861.
  11. Sum up Robert Owen's (a) aims, (b) experiments, and (c) results.
  12. Give reasons why most of the so-called model communities of the Jacksonian period failed.
  13. For what reasons were camp meetings popular?
  14. Give (a) examples of, and (b) exceptions to, the growing religious toleration of the Jacksonian period.
  15. Tell how the Mormons overcame some of the obstacles that faced them.
  16. Concerning the "Know-Nothings," describe (a) the policies they recommended with respect to immigrants, (b) the political, economic, and social reasons for their prejudice against immigrants, and (c) why their party soon died out.
  17. What was nationalistic about the writing of (a) William Dunlap, (b) Thomas Paine, (c) Philip Freneau, (d) Noah Webster, and (e) Jedidiah Morse?
  18. How did Irving's writings earn for him the title "father of American literature"?
  19. Prove by examples that Cooper stressed American, rather than European, scenes and themes in his novels.
  20. Show the influence of the Puritans on the writings of Hawthorne.
  21. How did Bryant's writings show his love of country and love of freedom?
  22. Associate with Emerson's thinking (a) self-reliance, (b) nonconformity, (c) religious spirit, (d) the dignity of every individual, and (e) nature.
  23. Associate with Thoreau's thinking (a) "lives of quiet desperation," (b) self-reliance, (c) nature, and (d) civil disobedience.
  24. Concern for his fellow men appears in the poetry of (a) Longfellow, (b) Lowell, (c) Whittier, and (d) Holmes. Prove.
  25. List the most striking features of Poe's writing.
  26. Prove by examples that Southern writers stressed American scenes and themes.
  27. How did the writing of (a) Melville and (b) Whitman show a belief in democracy?
  28. Point out similarities in the writing of the historians Bancroft, Motley, Parkman, and Prescott.
  29. Give examples to prove that American (a) painters and (b) composers were beginning to stress American themes in the Jacksonian period.
  30. Give examples to prove that there were still Old World influences during the Jacksonian period in American (a) art, (b) music, and (c) theater.
  31. Sum up the progress made in (a) medical science and (b) nonmedical science during the Jacksonian period.
  32. What changes were brought about in journalism during the Jacksonian period?
  33. What threats to health and safety existed in the cities of the Jacksonian period? What changes were slowly making cities more attractive to more people by 1850?
  34. What helps to explain the rough manners of the Jacksonian period?
  35. What was (a) old and (b) new about recreation during the Jacksonian period?

### ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. To what extent would the questions raised at the beginning of this chapter apply today?
2. How do Americans in general today compare with Americans of the Jacksonian period with respect to (a) their spirit of optimism and (b) their idealistic yet practical spirit?

3. The demands for free public schools were based upon both idealistic and practical grounds. Prove
4. Give examples of Americans today who you believe are living according to Horace Mann's motto: "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."
5. How would you have answered each of the arguments of those who opposed free public schools for all?
6. To what extent are our schools today living up to the goals expressed in the Mann quotation on page 269?
7. For what reasons do you think that many American women strongly resisted the efforts of feminists to gain them more rights?
8. Which form of discrimination against women do you think was most insulting to them? For what reasons?
9. In what respects is the status of women today better than it was in Fanny Wright's day?
10. Give reasons why the drawing up of a Declaration of Independence for Women was a clever move.
11. Connect the many efforts to help unfortunates during the Jacksonian period with the American Dream.
12. Some critics charge that there would be fewer criminals if prisons would adopt a tougher policy. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons
13. For what reasons did the temperance movement arouse strong emotions in both its supporters and its opponents?
14. Which do you think was the most important reason why the model communities (a) developed and (b) declined in the Jacksonian period?
15. If you were asked to join a group such as the Know-Nothings today, what would your reaction be? Give your reasons.
16. "Once in every half-century, at longest, a family should be merged into the great, obscure mass of humanity, and forget all about its ancestors." By so saying, to what extent did Hawthorne indicate that

he was in tune with the times? To what extent do you agree with his statement?

17. "Here the free spirit of mankind, at length Throws its last fetters off; and who shall place

A limit to the giant's unchained strength,  
Or curb the swiftness of his forward race?"

In what way does this stanza by Bryant express the same spirit as the quotations in the opening pages of this book?

18. "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind," said Emerson. What did he mean? Is this statement true today? Explain.

19. "Getting and spending we lay waste our powers,

Little we see in nature that is ours," wrote the British poet William Wordsworth. Prove that this idea was basic in Thoreau's philosophy, too.

20. "They are slaves who fear to speak For the fallen and the weak— They are slaves who dare not be In the right with two or three."

What did Lowell mean by this stanza? In the light of these words, to what extent are many of us slaves? Be specific.

21. Do you agree with Poe that a poem should be essentially "the rhythmic creation of beauty" or rather that it should carry a message or teach a lesson? Explain.

22. Give your interpretations of the two quotations from Whitman on page 284

23. What characteristics of a good historian are exhibited in the work of the four New England historians?

24. Of the writers discussed in this chapter, which appeals to you most? For what reasons?

25. What do you think was the most interesting characteristic or contribution of the (a) painting, (b) music, (c) theater, and (d) science of the Jacksonian period?

26. Concerning Bennett's principles of publishing, tell (a) which you would praise, (b) which you would condemn, and (c) what others you would add to his list



☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Crack-brained fanatics, as well as dedicated reformers, were characteristic of the Jacksonian period. As a committee research project, find out to what extent this statement is true.
2. In committee, prepare a chart summing up the aims and accomplishments of great humanitarian Americans through the Jacksonian period. Cite your sources of information.
3. Imagine yourself assigned to prepare a mural on the history of American education through the Jacksonian period. Either (a) outline the sketches for such a mural or (b) tell what would be your highlights in it.
4. Imagine yourself a member of a debating society in Jackson's time. Prepare arguments pro or con on (a) academic freedom, (b) women's rights, (c) the temperance movement, or (d) the establishment of model communities.
5. In committee, make a series of posters such as feminists in Jackson's time might have used in a parade.
6. From *Dreamers of the American Dream* by S. H. Holbrook, select the five most significant features from (a) any section in Part 5 on the "Rights of Woman," (b) any section in Part 3 on "The Viper in the Glass" (on the temperance movement), or (c) any section in Part 6 on "Thy Brothers' Keepers" (on the mentally ill and other unfortunates).
7. In committee, prepare an assembly program entitled "Women of the Jacksonian Period." Each committee member might impersonate one of the women mentioned in this chapter.
8. Write a newspaper advertisement appealing for funds and volunteer workers to carry on a crusade to improve the lot of (a) the mentally ill, (b) the blind, (c) unfortunate alcoholics, or (d) the deaf and dumb.
9. Investigate (a) Sarah J. B. Hale, (b) Amelia J. Bloomer, (c) Margaret Fuller, (d) John Chapman (Johnny Appleseed), or (e) Peter Cooper. Indicate (1) what your choice was for or against, (2) how successful he or she was, and (3) your opinion of him or her.
10. From *The Heritage of America*, edited by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins, select any section from Part XVI, entitled "Man the Reformer," that you think would make an interesting television script. Tell why.
11. In committee, investigate and report on the so-called model communities of the Jacksonian period. Sum up general conclusions about all of them in a final committee report.
12. Read some selections from a few authors mentioned in this chapter. Indicate (a) to what extent their writing reflects the times, (b) what appeals to you most in their writing, and (c) what messages, if any, they are trying to get across.
13. In committee, select for posting on the bulletin board significant quotations from the authors of the Jacksonian period.
14. After some research on their points of view, write an imaginary dialogue between (a) Emerson and Thoreau, (b) Whittier and Lowell, (c) Bancroft and Whitman, (d) Poe and Longfellow, (e) Bryant and Timrod, (f) Gray and Agassiz, or (g) Bennett and Greeley.
15. Make a study of *Godey's Lady's Book* or of a book of Currier and Ives prints. Report on what you learn about American life in this period.
16. Among European visitors to the United States in the early nineteenth century were Mrs. Frances Trollope, Charles Dickens, and Alexis de Tocqueville. Find out what any one of these individuals found to praise or criticize in various phases of American life. Write your comments on his or her comments.
17. Write an imaginary Chamber of Commerce brochure such as might have been written in Jackson's time to attract persons to settle in (a) New York, (b) Bos-

- ton, (c) Philadelphia, (d) Charleston, or (e) New Orleans. Use as many sources of information as possible.
18. In library picture collections or books on American art, study some of the paintings, cartoons, and posters of the Jacksonian period. Report on (a) what they tell you about the times and (b) how you react to them.

19. In the music department in your school, in books on, or albums of, American music, find songs of the Jacksonian period not mentioned in your textbook. If possible, play or sing them to the class.
20. After reading "Best-prepared Pioneers in the West" (*American Heritage*, October, 1956), tell what is stirring about the Mormon "march to Utah."

## RECOMMENDED READING FOR UNIT TWO <sup>1</sup>

Acheson, P. C., *The Supreme Court, America's Judicial Heritage* (Dodd, Mead).

Atherton, G., *The Conqueror* (Lippincott). A novel about the short but exciting life of Hamilton.

Bakeless, J., *Leuis and Clark. Partners in Discovery* (Morrow).

Baker, R., *Angel of Mercy. The Story of Dorothea Lynde Dix* (Messner).

———, *First Woman Doctor* (Messner). About Elizabeth Blackwell

Baldwin, L. D., *The Keelboat Age on Western Waters* (University of Pittsburgh Press).

Bassett, J. S., *The Federalist System* (Harper & Row). Old, but still among the best.

Beirne, F. F., *The War of 1812* (Dutton). Sprightly and scholarly.

Bell, J. L., *Splendid Misery: The Story of the Presidency and Power Politics at Close Range* (Doubleday). An experienced reporter comments on the problems of the Presidency.

Bendiner, R., *White House Fever: An Innocent's Guide to Principles and Practices, Respectable and Otherwise, Behind the Election of American Presidents* (Harcourt, Brace & World).

Binkley, W. E., *The Man in the White House* (Johns Hopkins Press). A thoughtful analysis of the Presidency.

Bowers, C. C., *Jefferson and Hamilton*

(Houghton Mifflin) Strongly pro-Jefferson

———, *Jefferson in Power* (Houghton Mifflin).

———, *Party Battles of the Jacksonian Period* (Houghton Mifflin). Conflicts based upon sectional interests and personalities

Boyce, B., *The Man from Mount Vernon* (Harper & Row). Some new interpretations that reaffirm the greatness of Washington.

Brogan, D. W., *Politics in America* (Harper & Row, Anchor PB<sup>2</sup>). Some interesting interpretations by an English scholar.

Burnham, J., *Congress and the American Tradition* (Regnery) The strengths and weaknesses of the Congress analyzed.

Carr, A. Z., *The Coming of War* (Doubleday). The War of 1812.

Commager, H. S., *Era of Reform 1830-1860* (Anvil PB).

Cooke, E. F., *The Constitution: A Detailed Analysis* (Littlefield, Adams PB).

Corwin, E. S., *John Marshall and the Constitution* (Yale University Press). Concise but thorough.

———, *The Constitution and What It Means Today* (Princeton University Press). A standard recently revised

Corwin, E. S., and L. Koenig, *The Presidency Today* (New York University Press).

Coyle, D. C., *Ordeal of the Presidency* (Public Affairs Press). How Presidents have

<sup>1</sup> See also general bibliography on page xv.

<sup>2</sup> PB means paperback.

- been vilified throughout American history.
- Crèvecoeur, J. de, *Letters from an American Farmer* (Dutton; Dolphin PB). A classic revealing much about early American life.
- Cromwell, O., *Lucretia Mott* (Harvard University Press). Her role in many reform movements.
- Cunliffe, M., *The Nation Takes Shape 1789-1837* (Chicago University Press—also PB).
- Dangerfield, G., *The Era of Good Feelings* (Harcourt, Brace & World).
- Daugherty, J. H., *Of Courage Undaunted* (Viking Press). Easy reading on Lewis and Clark.
- Daugherty, S., *The Way of an Eagle* (Oxford University Press). Jefferson and his struggle to promote democracy.
- Desmond, A. C., *Glamorous Dolly Madison* (Dodd, Mead).
- Dos Passos, J., *The Men Who Made the Nation* (Doubleday). From Yorktown through Jefferson's administration.
- Douglas, W. O., *An Almanac of Liberty* (Doubleday; Dolphin PB). How civil liberties have been buttressed from 1215 to recent times.
- , *A Living Bill of Rights* (Doubleday). Concrete examples of interference with civil liberties and a warning against the dangers to all when freedoms are threatened.
- Eaton, C., *Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics* (Little, Brown).
- Farrand, M., *The Fathers of the Constitution* (Yale University Press).
- , *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States* (Yale University Press PB).
- Findlay, B., and E. Findlay, *Your Rugged Constitution: How America's House of Freedom Is Planned and Built* (Stanford University Press).
- Fish, C. R., *The Rise of the Common Man* (Macmillan). Social and economic life in the Jacksonian period.
- Ford, H. J., *Washington and His Colleagues* (Yale University Press).
- Forester, C. S., *The Age of Fighting Sail* (Doubleday). Story of the War of 1812 on the sea.
- Freidel, F. B., ed., *The Golden Age of American History* (Braziller). Readings from nineteenth-century historians.
- Friedrich, C. J., and R. G. McCloskey, eds., *From the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution* (Liberal Arts PB). Source materials.
- Hofstadter, R., *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (Vintage PB). Includes Jefferson, Jackson, and Calhoun, as well as later statesmen.
- Holbrook, S. H., *Dreamers of the American Dream* (Doubleday). Reformers and "off-beat" characters and their visions.
- Hyman, S., *American President* (Harper & Row). Valuable insights into political influences affecting the choice of presidential candidates.
- James, M., *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (Garden City Books).
- Part I: *The Border Captain* (Universal Library PB). Jackson's military career.
- Part II: *Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President* (Universal Library PB).
- Jensen, M., *The Articles of Confederation* (University of Wisconsin Press PB). Questions whether the so-called critical period was really so critical.
- , *The New Nation* (Knopf).
- Johnson, A., *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (Yale University Press).
- Krout, J. A., and D. R. Fox, *The Completion of Independence 1790-1830* (Macmillan). Stresses nonpolitical factors.
- Loth, D., *Chief Justice Marshall and the Growth of the Republic* (Norton).
- Low, C., *Gentle Warrior: A Story of Dorothea Lynde Dix* (Harcourt, Brace & World).
- Malone, D., *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* (Little, Brown). One of a series by a Jeffersonian scholar.
- Miller, J. C., *Alexander Hamilton: Portrait in Paradox* (Harper & Row). New viewpoints on the significance of Alexander Hamilton.
- , *Crisis in Freedom* (Little, Brown). How the Alien and Sedition laws grew out of the political picture of the period.

- Miller, P., ed., *The Golden Age of American Literature* (Braziller). A well-conceived anthology
- Morgan, E. S., *Birth of the Republic 1763-1789* (University of Chicago PB)
- Morison, S. E., *John Paul Jones: A Sailor's Biography* (Little, Brown). The romantic story of a colorful character told breezily.
- Morris, R. B., ed., *The Basic Ideas of Alexander Hamilton* (Pocket Books PB).
- Nye, R. B., *The Cultural Life of the New Nation 1776-1830* (Harper & Row)
- Ogg, F. A., *The Old Northwest* (Yale University Press).
- Padover, S. K., *Jefferson* (Mentor PB).
- , *The Living Constitution* (Mentor PB).
- Page, E., *Tree of Liberty* (Farrar, Straus). A novel featuring Jefferson.
- Patman, W., *Our American Government* (Prentice-Hall).
- Perkins, D., *A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Little, Brown). By an eminent authority.
- Richards, L. E., *Abigail Adams and Her Times* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).
- Roberts, K., *The Lively Lady* (Doubleday). A romantic novel about the War of 1812 on the sea.
- , *Captain Caution* (Doubleday). Another romantic novel on the same subject.
- , *Lydia Bailey* (Doubleday). A novel about the war with the Barbary pirates.
- Rodell, F., *Nine Men: A Political History of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1790-1955* (Random House). Interesting anecdotes, apt quotations, and popular style.
- Rossiter, C., *The American Presidency* (Mentor PB). What various American Presidents have contributed to the power and dignity of the office.
- , ed., *The Federalist Papers* (Mentor PB). With a helpful introduction and index.
- Schachner, N., *Aaron Burr, a Biography* (Perpetua PB).
- , *Alexander Hamilton, Nation-builder* (McGraw-Hill, Perpetua PB).
- , *The Founding Fathers* (Putnam).
- , *Thomas Jefferson* (Yoseloff).
- Schlesinger, A. M., Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Little, Brown; Mentor PB). Pro-Jackson, points up influence of industrialization on politics.
- Schlesinger, A. M., Sr., *The American as Reformer* (Harvard University Press).
- Starkey, M. L., *A Little Rebellion* (Knopf). About Shays' Rebellion, based on primary sources.
- Stone, I., *The President's Lady* (Doubleday; Avon PB). About Rachel Jackson.
- Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, *Our American Government What Is It? How Does It Function? Questions and answers.*
- Swisher, C. B., *Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court* (Anvil PB).
- Tallant, R., *Pirate Lafitte and the Battle of New Orleans* (Random House).
- Toqueville, A. de, *Democracy in America* (Mentor PB). Incisive comments on life in infant America by a keen French observer
- Tucker, G. T., *Poltroons and Patriots* (Bobbs-Merrill). Fast-moving account of the War of 1812.
- , *Tecumseh: Vision of Clory* (Bobbs-Merrill). A fascinating account of a fascinating character.
- Van Deusen, G. G., *The Jacksonian Era 1828-1848* (Harper & Row). A balanced treatment, covering many aspects.
- , *The Life of Henry Clay* (Little, Brown).
- Van Doren, C., *The Great Rehearsal* (Viking Press). About the Constitutional Convention
- Welch, J., and others, *The Constitution* (Houghton Mifflin). A meaningful summary.
- Young, R. A., *The American Congress* (Harper & Row). The functions of the Congress explained and evaluated.

# UNIT THREE

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## THE GREAT EXPERIMENT IS THREATENED AS SECTIONAL FRICTIONS LEAD TO WAR

**13**

The American Industrial Revolution  
Produces Great Changes, But Far More  
In the North Than in the South

**14**

The West: Where Hopes of Realizing  
The American Dream Run High

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# 13

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#### **Beginnings of America's Industrial Revolution**

With little money in his pocket, but a lot of knowledge of mechanics in his head, he landed in New York in 1789. This twenty-one-year-old city mechanic had sailed from Britain disguised in the rough clothing of a

farm laborer. The disguise and his assumed country dialect had fooled the Government agents watching ships to prevent mechanics from shipping out of Britain. The young immigrant was Samuel Slater. He was destined to become known as the "father of the factory system in America."

Why did the British want to prevent

mechanics such as Slater from leaving Britain? What were the conditions in America that made Slater so eager to come here?

**Why Britain Opposed the Emigration of Mechanics to America and Elsewhere.** Around the world, until about 200 years ago, goods were made by hand with simple tools, in homes or in little shops. By about 1600, many of these simple tools had been greatly improved. But about 1750, in Britain, power-driven machines were invented in the textile industry that gradually replaced even these more complicated tools.

Soon many persons left their farms to operate the new machines in city factories. Under the factory system, great quantities of goods were produced. In time, great industrial changes brought about changes in diet, clothing, housing, recreation, education, and even government. Taken together, these great changes effected by power-driven machinery make up what has been called the *Industrial Revolution*.

British businessmen, who profited greatly from the Industrial Revolution, did not want to see any other country experience an Industrial Revolution. To keep this monopoly, the British Parliament passed a law making it a crime for anyone to export textile machinery or for any mechanic in the textile industry to emigrate.

**Economic Conditions Aiding America's Industrialization.** Any man with vision could see real possibilities for industry in infant America. As we know, colonial America had had some manufacturing. But practically all of it had been on a small scale. During the Revolution, when Americans could not buy British goods, many infant industries had sprung up. New England was an especially fertile field for manufacturing, for it had few fertile fields for farming. Furthermore, its rapid-flowing rivers could be harnessed for water power. From trade and shipping, its merchants had acquired the capital to put into manufacturing, if they thought the investment a sound one. New England's population, more closely concentrated in towns and cities than was true elsewhere in Amer-

ica, provided an available labor supply and a ready market.

The ambitious Samuel Slater had heard from travelers about such economic opportunities in America. He had read of the rewards offered to any mechanic who could build textile machines there like those in England. In 1790, such machines were built for a new cotton spinning mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. For directing construction of these machines, entirely from memory, Slater had received a partnership in the factory.

**Whitney Invents the Cotton Gin.** But Slater was soon worried, and so was the South. The country could not produce enough cotton to keep Slater's mill running. Rice, indigo, and tobacco—traditional crops of the South—were no longer profitable. Cotton could be a very profitable crop, many realized, if only a way could be found to separate efficiently the seeds from the cotton.

The way was found in 1793, when Eli Whitney, a New Englander visiting on a Georgia plantation, invented the cotton gin. With this machine, a slave on a cotton plantation could separate fifty times as much cotton from seeds as he could by hand. As a result, the mills of America and Britain had far more cotton to spin into thread and the South had a profitable, staple crop. Soon cotton cloth was to become everyday wear for the many, rather than luxury wear for the few.

**Whitney Proves the Practicality of Interchangeable Parts.** High Government officials and high army officers watched one day in 1800 as Eli Whitney dumped the parts of ten muskets on a table. Like parts were placed in separate piles. Whitney then proved that if any part was taken from a pile and combined with a part from each of the other piles, a musket could be assembled. Up to this time, each gun had been made separately, by hand, by a skilled gunsmith. Seldom would a part of one gun ever fit in place of a missing part of another gun.

Whitney's demonstration proved that standardized interchangeable parts were practical. Farm machines and sewing ma-

chines, Winchester rifles and Colt pistols, clocks and locks—these were just a few of the products being manufactured by means of standardized interchangeable parts by 1860. Before Whitney, practically every workman everywhere had to use a good deal of guesswork with his crude hand tools. He had to guess whether he had measured exactly right or cut deeply enough, or whether the parts fitted together with complete accuracy. But Whitney made tools by machine, which substituted preciseness for guesswork. By the use of such tools, called *machine* or *precision tools*, parts could be manufactured that were identical in all respects. Today, before an automobile company puts out a new model, it must spend months making new machine tools to make the parts for the new model. Only then can it produce this new model in the millions.

**The War of 1812 Gives an Opportunity to Industrialists Like Lowell.** In a way, Britain, which hated to see other countries industrialize, helped to industrialize the United States. The seizure of American ships by Britain—and France, too—caused the United States to pass the Embargo Act in 1807 (page 199). This meant that, except by smuggling, Americans could not import manufactured goods from Europe. Therefore, many an American seized the opportunity to go into the manufacturing business himself. Patriotic appeals were made to get Americans to do so and, also, to buy only American manufactures. One banquet speaker expressed the hope that American manufactures would “increase as rapidly as the national debt of England.”

American manufacturing was speeded up much more during the War of 1812. Since Americans could not import manufactures from the enemy, Britain, many more Americans went into manufacturing. It was during the war that Francis Lowell established, in Waltham, Massachusetts, the first American factory to combine spinning and weaving. Before the Lowell power loom, the thread spun in factories had been taken to homes to be woven into cloth. Lowell's loom was

based on one he had studied on a visit to Britain before the war.

After the War of 1812, as after the American Revolution, British businessmen flooded the American market with manufactured goods at ridiculously low prices. They hoped to kill off the many infant industries that had sprung up here during the war (page 216). Many industries were killed off. Influenced in part by Lowell and other businessmen, the Congress passed the Tariff of 1816, which protected American industries by its higher rates. And higher and higher climbed the rates in the Tariffs of 1824 and 1828 (page 233).

**Goodyear, Howe, and McKay Aid the Clothing Industry.** Sick and poverty-stricken, Charles Goodyear served time in a debtor's prison. In and out of prison, he carried on numerous experiments to increase the elasticity and durability of rubber so that articles could be made from it. He succeeded by accident. His process, called *vulcanization*, was patented in 1844.

Goodyear's discovery made great profits for others, but involved him in many lawsuits over patent rights. A main use for rubber today is in automobile tires, but in Goodyear's lifetime and long after, it was mainly used in boots and shoes.

When the wife of Elias Howe died, he had to borrow a decent suit of clothes to wear to her funeral. Yet before he died, he was making \$4,000 a week from royalties on the sewing machine he had patented in 1846. The sewing machine, improved by Isaac Singer, created the ready-made clothing industry. Soon, even in the West, people began wearing factory-made clothing, rather than their traditional fur, buckskin, and homespun.

By 1860, Gordon McKay had perfected a leather-stitching sewing machine that had been invented by Lyman Blake. As a result, the shoe industry was revolutionized. Practically every Northern soldier in the War Between the States wore shoes made on a McKay machine. Before the war was over, McKay was a millionaire.



### The Iron and Steel Industry Forges Ahead.

If a blast of cold air is forced through a hot mass of melting iron, great heat is created. This heat burns out the impurities in the iron. Then the iron is ready for the addition of carbon, manganese, or other substances to make good-quality steel. In the 1850's, first an American, William Kelly, and later an Englishman, Henry Bessemer, discovered this cheap and speedy process. As a result of the Kelly-Bessemer process, popularly known as the *Bessemer process*, steel soon became as cheap as iron. Later, a new process, the *open-hearth process*, was used far more extensively for the manufacture of steel.

Actually, it was iron, not steel, that was in great demand during the first half of the nineteenth century. Why? A list of some of the ways iron could be used provides the answer:

- To make the new textile and farm machines and machine tools
- To make rails for the railroads that Americans were beginning to build
- To make parts for steam engines, which were being used for the first time here in boats, in locomotives, and in factories
- To make wire rope for use as cables in the bridges that were being built
- To make the cast-iron stoves that were being installed in many kitchens in place of fireplaces

For a long time, charcoal had been used to burn out the impurities from iron ore. But about 1830, anthracite coal was successfully used instead of charcoal. As a result, much higher temperatures were possible, and much more iron could be produced much more quickly. Since Pennsylvania had such rich coal mines, it soon became the heart of America's iron and steel industry.

**Steam Power Gives a Powerful Boost to American Industry.** His steam engine, built about 1800, was a big improvement on the one constructed by the Scotsman James Watt. His steam-propelled carriage was driven through the streets of Philadelphia one day in 1804. His steam-propelled dredging ma-

chine, which cleared mud from Philadelphia's harbor in the same year, was America's first. His factory for the manufacture of steam engines was America's first factory for the manufacture of machinery. His name was Oliver Evans.<sup>1</sup>

Evans' experiments met ridicule. Some called him insane. Others stole his ideas, profited from them, and received credit for them. Gradually, as a result of the work of Evans and others, steam power came to be used more and more for running machines. Later, electricity, petroleum, and the atom were to be used as sources of power.

### The Labor Movement Before The War Between the States

Back in 1636, Maine fishermen went on strike because they had not been paid for their work. In fact, throughout early American history, workers had, on occasion, banded together to protest what they considered injustices to them. In general, such organizations were more like welfare societies than like unions in the modern sense. They were formed mainly to help needy members and their families.

During Washington's Presidency, however, some genuine trade unions, such as the carpenters' and the shoemakers', appeared. Like unions today, these craft unions demanded better pay, a shorter day, and better working conditions. These unions were weak. They were limited to one city and one craft. They did not last long. At this time, because they were usually not property owners, many factory workers were denied the right to vote. They could not, therefore, bring pressure to bear on lawmakers to pass laws for their benefit.

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<sup>1</sup> Earlier, Evans had invented conveyor belts and automatic machinery by which a mill could turn wheat into flour without the millhands handling the product. He thereby reduced the number of laborers needed, brought about a revolution in the milling of flour, and helped to pave the way for mass production in industry (page 439).

# TRIAL

OF TWENTYFOUR

## JOURNEYMEN TAILORS,

CHARGE WITH A

### CONSPIRACY

AGAINST

#### THE MAYOR'S COURT

OF THE CITY OF

PHILADELPHIA,

September Sessions, 1827.

*Notice of an 1827 trial of tailors for conspiracy. The courts came to the defense of early-nineteenth-century employers by charging the new unions with conspiracy in restraint of trade.*

**Union Activity and Labor Participation in Politics Grow During the Jacksonian Period.** In Philadelphia, in 1827, carpenters went on strike for a ten-hour day. They lost. In hopes of winning the next time, they joined with printers, bricklayers, and other craftsmen to form a city-wide union. Soon similar federations of trade unions were formed in other seaboard cities. Then a nation-wide federation of trade unions, although a weak one, was formed. In the late 1820's and early 1830's, such trade unions began to form *workingmen's political parties in many states*. Within a two-year period in the late 1830's, there were more than 150 strikes in the United States. (Up to 1835 there had been only twenty-five.) In an election campaign in the 1830's, workers chanted:

Mechanics, carters, laborers

Must form a close connection

And show the rich aristocrats

Their powers at this election!

What were some of the reasons why people joined unions in Jackson's time? They did so in protest against certain evil working conditions that had resulted from industrialization. Industrialization led to the growth of towns and cities. In towns and cities, large numbers of workers could talk over their grievances with one another. In the Jacksonian period, workers who were not property owners won the right to vote. By pooling their votes, they could bring pressure on legislators to pass laws in their behalf. Somewhat similar conditions in European countries that were becoming industrialized promoted the growth of labor unions there as well.

**Some Evil Working Conditions and Some Demands of Workers.** What kind of life is this we lead? What pleasure is it to live in this ugly factory town? No wonder so many, disgusted with working conditions here, become drunkards or criminals! We slave from twelve to fifteen hours a day, six days a week, in a factory that doesn't have enough air, light, or heat. I'm lucky, in good times, when I'm paid \$4 a week . . . This is the sort of complaint that a typical woman or child worker in a New England textile mill, in the early days of the American Industrial Revolution, might have made. And most of the workers in these early factories were women, or children as young as four. Children were sometimes whipped as punishment for not working fast enough.

The hiring of so many women and children at low pay made many male workers bitter. It frequently kept them from getting jobs and it tended to keep wages low. Even if they were skilled, these workers never made more than \$10 a week, and often earned much less. Of course, a dollar went much further then than it does now. Even so, the wages were a meager basis on which to support a family.

But better pay, a shorter workday, better working conditions, and limitations on child labor were not the only demands made by workers in Jackson's time. As time passed, more and more of them demanded that the

Government recognize unions as legal and that employers be willing to bargain with them. A major complaint of workers was that the courts usually favored employers. Workers protested the laws that labeled unions and strikes as conspiracies against the Government and the people.

Unions, for several reasons, demanded free public schools (page 267). They also strongly opposed imprisonment for debt. In fact, unions gave vigorous support to many of the reform movements of the Jacksonian period. They demanded that the Government do more for the average man by selling land cheap and by limiting the power of banks and monopolies.

**Some Accomplishments of Unions and Workingmen's Political Parties in the Jacksonian Period.** Massachusetts wanted to pass a law limiting the long hours of work in its textile factories. But the state feared that if it did, the textile factories might move to neighboring states where there were no such laws. Therefore, the Massachusetts legislature suggested this remedy instead:

. . . a less love for money, and a more ardent love for social happiness. . . .

More welcome to workers than this advice was a decision of a Massachusetts judge in 1842. This decision, in the case of *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, stated that a union is not a conspiracy, provided that its members use fair methods and not "falsehood or force." The decision also recognized that strikes were legal in Massachusetts. Courts of other states soon followed this decision.

In the 1840's, too, Federal Government employees, as well as local government employees in some cities, won a ten-hour day. New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and soon other states passed ten-hour-day laws for non-government workers. But so many limitations were placed on these laws that they didn't mean much. It was also in the 1840's that imprisonment for debt was being abolished and free public schools were being established. Such reforms were brought about, in

part, by the pressure of unions and of workingmen's political parties.

**Some Reasons Why Unions and Workingmen's Parties Did Not Accomplish More.** Most of the strikes in the period before 1860 failed. All the workingmen's parties died early. Why? Many workers were confident that in this land of opportunity, they wouldn't have to remain wage earners all their lives. Many expected to go into business for themselves. Furthermore, most people believed that the United States stood for individual freedom. Even many workers agreed that in accordance with this principle, the employer should be allowed to run his factory in his own way, without any interference from unions. At the same time, individual freedom was also taken to mean that every worker had the right as an individual to accept or refuse the terms offered by the employer. And many a worker knew that if he could not go into business himself, or if he was dissatisfied with his job, he could always go west and buy land cheap from the Government.

Another reason why the labor movement remained weak was the belief that it was the manufacturer who made the community strong. Many feared that if he did not give jobs to widows and orphans, the community might have to support them. They asked: Aren't children busy producing goods better off than idle children getting into trouble on the streets? Strong support for the manufacturer's point of view also came from the many other groups that would lose business if a strike was to shut down his factory. And employers argued that if they increased wages and shortened hours, they would be unable to compete with employers who did not.

This climate of opinion helps to explain why the laws and the courts were usually hostile to unions and to strikes. It is worth noting that Jackson himself, although sympathetic to workers, was, according to some historians, opposed to unions.

*To Some Workers, Factory Conditions Do Not Seem Especially Bad.* On the farms

from which most workers came, men, women, and children were used to working long hours. To many an immigrant from Europe in those days, American wages and working conditions seemed good compared with those in Europe. In fact, an important reason for the flood of immigrants to the United States, especially in the 1840's, was the hope of achieving a better standard of living here. Irish and Germans fleeing potato famines in their homelands were happy to take factory jobs in America.

Not all American factory towns were ugly. Many a farmer's daughter looked forward eagerly to working in the clean mills at Lowell, Massachusetts, which was considered a model mill town. She would live, chaperoned, at a clean boarding house, with her board deducted from her wages. She would attend, with other girls, lectures and concerts given by famous people. And she might save a dollar or two a week for her bridal trousseau. The owners publicized factory life in Lowell as much like life in a fashionable finishing school. Church attendance, strict obedience, good manners, and industry were required. Drinking and card playing were forbidden. Girls had to be in bed by ten. The Lowell slogan seemed to be: Learn while you earn.

Yet not all Lowell girls were contented. From dawn at five to darkness at six, with only two breaks of a half-hour each for lunch and for supper, they worked steadily. The stronger-willed girls rebelled at the strict regulation of their private lives. As a result of the depression of 1837, their wages were cut. When some of them got together to protest the low wages and long hours, they were accused of inciting a mutiny. Some sang:

Oh, isn't it a pity that such a pretty girl  
as I  
Should be sent to the factory to pine away  
and die!

*The Depression of 1837 Is a Major Factor in Weakening the Labor Movement.* Huge numbers were thrown out of work during

the depression of 1837. Desperate, they were now willing to accept very low wages and work very long hours. Unions were weakened because paying dues to the union was a luxury few could afford. The flood of immigrants in these depression years complicated matters for the unions. Accustomed to low wages, immigrants were willing to work long hours for very little. It was hard to organize them into unions because of the differences in their languages and backgrounds. Organizing women and children, who made up much of the labor force, had always been difficult. At the same time, workingmen's parties were weakened by lack of political experience, by internal disputes, by controversy growing out of radical remarks made by some of their members, and by attacks by conservative newspapers and the major political parties.

It was during these depression years that many reformers tried to set up so-called model communities to solve the problems of society (page 275). Instead of concentrating on strengthening their unions and their workingmen's parties, many workers shifted their interest and energy to such projects. Finally, when the Democratic Party adopted many of the aims of the workingmen's parties, these third parties disappeared. The labor movement, especially among skilled workers, was to gain strength again in the 1850's, when prosperity returned. But not until the twentieth century was it to grow really strong.

## **An Agricultural Revolution Develops Along with the Industrial Revolution**

**Forming Methods in the Early 1800's Are Extremely Backward.** You can't sell one of those to me. All that iron would poison my soil. This was the attitude of most farmers toward the various types of iron plows that were patented in the early 1800's. In fact, farmers at this time used tools and methods not much better than those used by their ancestors hundreds of years earlier. They were still using wooden plows to prepare the soil for planting or sowing seeds, the sickle

for cutting grain, and cattle for trampling out the grain. And seeds were sown by hand. Fertilizer was seldom used. Rotation of crops was seldom practiced.

The farmer's suspicion of new tools and methods was not the only reason for the backwardness of American agriculture. It just didn't seem to pay for him to try to improve his soil. Money was scarce and so was labor. Therefore, the average farmer found it too expensive to hire farmhands to help him with the task of improvement. But land was plentiful and very cheap. The farmer felt that it did pay to get as much out of a plot as possible and then, when the soil was exhausted, to move on to fresh soil. Many considered raising a big crop unprofitable anyway, because poor transportation facilities made it difficult to get crops to customers.

**Farming Methods Progress by Jackson's Time.** By Jackson's time, many farmers had abandoned their idea that only a lazy farmer would use new farm methods and new farm machines. In fact, iron plows had come to be popular. The experiments of Edmund Ruffin and others had shown that soil could be kept rich by practicing rotation of crops,

using fertilizers, and plowing more efficiently. John Deere, among others, helped farmers to plow more efficiently by inventing a steel plow in 1837.

Deere's plow helped to open up the vast prairies of the West to farmers. Without it, turning over the prairie sod would have been a tough job. The sticky, black mud did not stick to Deere's plow as it did to the old wooden and iron ones. And Deere's plow helped the faster horse to replace the sluggish ox on the prairie farm. It was so light that an ox's strength was not needed to pull it.

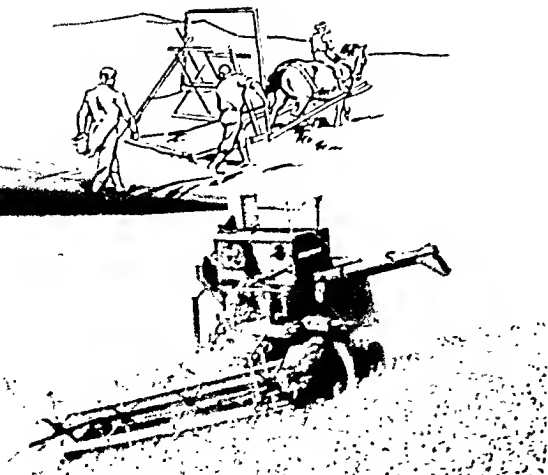
**McCormick's Reaper Helps to Revolutionize Agriculture.** What would be the use of my plowing and planting many acres? Even if my entire family pitched in and I hired a few hands, I couldn't harvest my crop by hand before much of it would rot. This sort of complaint was common among farmers before Cyrus McCormick's horse-drawn reaper was invented in 1834.

McCormick was a man of great perseverance. He spent thirteen years inventing and perfecting a reaper for cutting grain. He worked behind locked doors to escape the ridicule of people opposed to any new idea. Undaunted by the many lawsuits brought against him by other inventors of reapers, he brought countersuits. He won them all.

McCormick was a man of vision. He saw that the future of American farming lay in the vast prairies of the West, to which Easterners and immigrants were flocking. He therefore built his factory in what was then the frontier town of Chicago—a settlement of wooden shacks and muddy streets.

McCormick was a man of keen business sense. "Pay me after the harvest," he would say to farmers; such was his faith in their honesty and in his product. McCormick was among the first to sell on the installment plan. In his advertising campaigns, he used testimonials of satisfied farmers who had used his reaper. To the dissatisfied, he guaranteed refunds. From the sales of his reaper and of inventions by other men that he bought up, he made millions.

*The drawing shows Cyrus McCormick, age 22, at the first public test of his reaper in July, 1831. The photograph shows a modern combine. The history of an important segment of American life could be written around this illustration. Explain.*



**County and State Fairs Are Showcases for America's Agricultural Revolution.** Many a farmer who went to a county or state fair for a good time came home with a good education. On display there he would probably have seen the latest models of Whitney's cotton gin, Deere's plow, and McCormick's reaper. He might have seen demonstrations of the many other farm machines and implements that were invented before the War Between the States. He might have watched one of the iron harrows readying the soil for planting, a seed drill planting seeds evenly in rows, a cultivator weeding the ground and distributing fertilizer, and various mowing, threshing, and haying machines at work. He might have heard a talk on the value of crop rotation and of using commercial fertilizers. He might have seen on exhibition prize cattle and fine work and race horses, products of scientific breeding. He might have marveled at the new breeds of animals such as the thick-wooled Merino sheep imported from Spain, the fine swine from Britain, and such new plants as rust-resistant Mediterranean wheat.

Such exhibits and the large number of county and state fairs being held at this time were proof that America was having an Agricultural Revolution. So were the many farm journals being published and the many agricultural schools and societies being founded. And the definition of America's Agricultural Revolution must also include the beginnings of the cultivation of the vast prairie lands of the West.

**The Significance of the Agricultural Revolution.** Before the Agricultural Revolution, Americans had had to import much grain from Europe. After it, they exported great quantities of grain to Europe. Why did Europe need American grain? In the 1840's, famines in Europe and the lowering of the British tariff on grain imports opened up European markets to American farmers. And Europe, too, was having an Industrial Revolution. There were many workers' mouths to feed in its rapidly growing industrial cities, as there were in ours.

The new farm machines worked especially well on the flat and fertile prairies of the American West. No wonder the West was able to produce huge quantities of food-stuffs for shipment to other areas! And the new roads, canals, and railroads that were being built at this time made it possible for the West to reach its distant customers. By 1859, the Western states of Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin led the country in producing wheat. Before long, these states, together with such other Western states as Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota, were to lead the world in producing wheat, corn, and livestock.

Farmers in the New England and other Eastern states found it impossible to compete with Western farmers in raising wheat, corn, or cattle. Use of many of the new farm machines on the small New England farms, with their rocky soil, was not very practical. Many Eastern farmers, therefore, found that they could make a better living by specializing in dairy farming, or in raising fruits and vegetables. Some turned to raising sheep for the ever-growing wool industry. Some went to sea as sailors or to hunt whales. Still others headed west to buy up the more fertile cheap land. And, as we know, many men, women, and children moved to the mill towns.

## Transportation Is Speeded Up

**Why Transportation Was a Serious Problem in the Early 1800's.** When Jefferson's first term as President began in 1801, the Alleghenies virtually made two nations of the United States. The absence of any real road across these mountains made it very difficult for Western farmers to sell their products in the East and for Eastern businessmen to sell theirs in the West. Therefore, as we know, Westerners shipped mainly by way of the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, and from there to Eastern seaports or to Europe.

The current would easily carry the rafts and flatboats loaded with grains, furs, and

*The Erie Canal Makes New York the Major Gateway to the West.* Yet in 1825, after eight years of labor, what Jefferson had called madness was achieved by the State of New York. To carry boats from lower levels to higher, and from higher to lower, more than eighty locks had been constructed. The completed canal, called the *Erie Canal*, had married the Atlantic Ocean to the Great Lakes. Cargoes that ocean vessels deposited at New York's harbor could now reach Lake Erie by way of the Hudson River and the Erie Canal.

The building of the Erie Canal was the pet project of the governor of New York, De Witt Clinton. Why did he feel that such a canal would mean so much to New York? The Cumberland Road had given Maryland and Pennsylvania a big advantage over New York and other Atlantic seaboard states. Situated on this, the only land highway through the Alleghenies, the city of Baltimore in particular might practically monopolize the trade with the West. There were also many New Yorkers who feared that New Orleans, at the mouth of that great water highway, the Mississippi, might get the bulk of the West's trade.

The Erie Canal, by making New York City the major gateway to the West, made it the nation's leading port and most prosperous city. Within ten years, its population doubled. Because horses on the bank pulling barges on the canal could pull much more weight than horses pulling cargo overland, freight charges dropped sharply. Since less time was required, too, most Westerners shipped produce by way of the canal to New York City. In addition, it was Governor Clinton's belief that the Erie Canal, in skirting the Appalachians by water and thus providing a direct water route to the West, would help to unite the nation.

*How the Erie Canal Affected Areas Other Than New York City.* Such New York cities along the canal route as Syracuse, Rochester, and Utica increased their population and prosperity greatly. So did such cities on the Great Lakes as Cleveland, Detroit, and Chi-

cago,<sup>1</sup> linked with the Erie Canal by steamboat. It was now profitable for Easterners and immigrants to settle, clear the forests, and raise a farm surplus in such areas of the Old Northwest Territory as northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. For now farm surpluses shipped through the Erie Canal could be sold in New York City. No longer did New Orleans get so much business from the northern Mississippi Valley.

The Erie Canal inspired the building of thousands of miles of other canals linking East and West. But by 1860, the canal craze was over. The competition of the railroads was too much for the canals, just as it was too much for the turnpikes and river steamboats.

*How the Erie Canal Spread Culture.* The success of the Erie Canal made many American boys want to study civil engineering. The canal spread education, for some canal barges were floating libraries and/or floating theaters. It gave a tremendous boost to the American spirit of confidence. Americans began to believe more than ever that there was nothing that an American could not do.

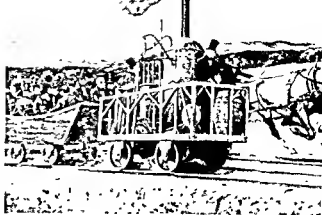
**Overcoming Initial Opposition, Railroads Strengthen the Union by Strengthening the Link Between Northeast and West.** "Chickens won't lay eggs! Cows won't give milk!" This is what farmers said would happen when that new contraption, the railroad, frightened livestock with its belching smoke and loud noises. Some warned that hearts would stop beating on a train traveling at the terrifying speed of fifteen or twenty miles an hour. Investors in turnpikes and private canals bitterly opposed the competition of their powerful new rivals, the railroads.

Many were against the early railroads because they were always uncomfortable and often unsafe. Soot got into eyes and hot embers into clothing. The light from oil lamps was too dim for reading and the stove

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<sup>1</sup> Such cities prospered also because other canals were soon built linking the Great Lakes with the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

*The 1830 race between Peter Cooper's engine the Tom Thumb and an early horse-drawn car. What thoughts must have been in the minds of the people engaging in this race?*



at the end of the car did not give enough heat for warmth. Gauges (the distances between rails) were different on different railroads. This greatly inconvenienced travelers, who were forced to change from one line to another. Locomotives sometimes exploded. Brakes were weak and collisions common. The iron strip on top of the wooden rails would sometimes come loose and cause accidents.

In time, however, even the strongest opponents came to accept the railroads. They realized that rivers and lakes, even when connected by canals and traveled by steamboats, could never serve America's growing needs. For inland waterways frequently froze over in winter or were handicapped by floods or droughts. And freight often had to be shipped to places where there were no navigable rivers. Not only might the railroad go to such places but a train could get anywhere faster than a hoat.

Moreover, railroads were gradually being made safer and more comfortable. In the 1860's, Pullman sleeping and dining cars were introduced. So was the Westinghouse air brake, which could bring even the heaviest train to a safe stop. Gauges were made uniform on some lines, and rails made entirely of iron came into use.

*The Baltimore and Ohio Paves the Way for the Construction of Other Railroads.* On the Fourth of July, 1828, construction was begun on the first passenger railroad in the United States, the *Baltimore and Ohio Rail-*

*road.* There had been railroads a few years earlier. But these had been short ones carrying coal or granite, not passengers, and using sails, dogs, or horses for power, not steam locomotives.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, in 1830, started using a steam locomotive that Peter Cooper had proved practical in that year. Cooper had benefited from studying the locomotives of an American, Oliver Evans (page 302), a Scotsman, James Watt (page 302), and an Englishman, George Stephenson, among others. By 1836, there were 1,000 miles of railroad tracks in the United States.

By 1853, a westbound passenger on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad could cross the Alleghenies and transfer to a steamboat on the Ohio River at Wheeling in western Virginia. This was then only one of four lines spanning the Alleghenies. By 1860, there were about 30,000 miles of railroad tracks in the United States. Most of these connected the factory areas of the Northeast with the farm areas of the West, as far as Chicago and southward to St. Louis. Thus, by increasing the business between these two areas, the railroads helped to bind them more closely together. As the frontier continued to expand, railroads continued to be built farther west across the plains and mountains.

*Clipper Ships and Steamships Bring Continents Closer Together.* In June of 1819, a British sailing vessel chased an American steamship, the *Savannah*, for an entire day



Never having seen a steamboat before, the British captain thought the *Savannah* was on fire! The *Savannah* was making the first voyage of a steamship across the Atlantic. For part of this voyage, it used sail power.

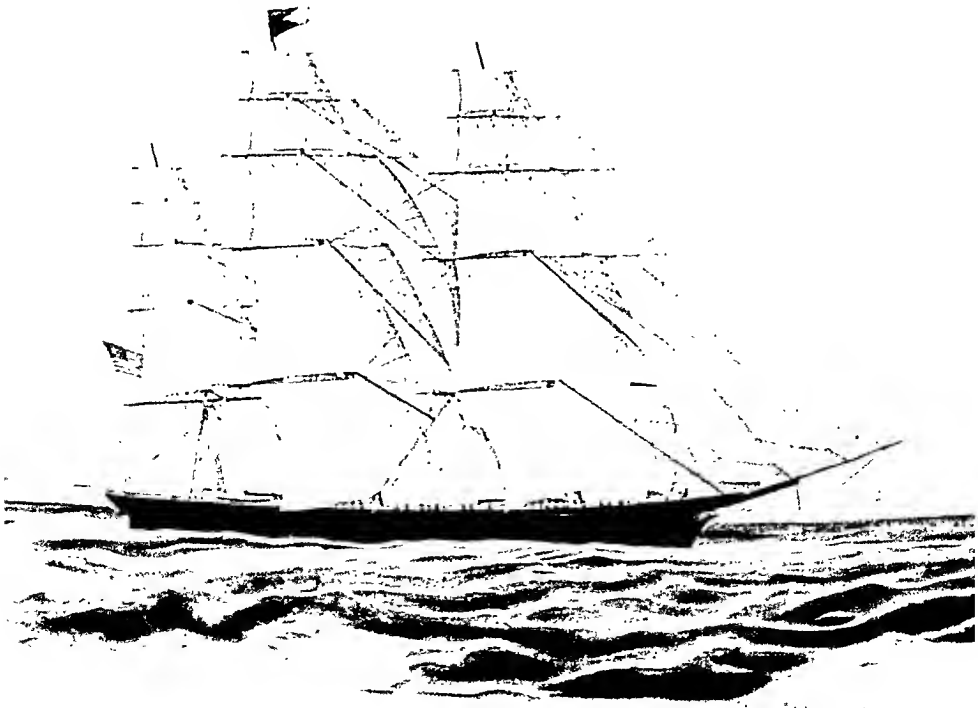
***The Clipper Ship, Especially, Places the American Merchant Marine in the Front Rank.*** Between 1840 and 1860, the American merchant marine became a serious challenger to Britain, mistress of the seas. But it was not with steamships that America made this challenge. It was mainly with sailing vessels, especially the graceful *clipper ships* that were the pride of America. A typical sailing vessel of the time was rather short and squat. The length of the slender clipper ship, on the other hand, was many times its width. Its masts, which towered high in the sky, seemed almost buried in clouds of canvas sails. So fast were such clippers as *The Flying Cloud* that they could outrace most steamships. Because of the clippers' speed, American merchants were able to take much of China's trade away from Britain.

***Some Reasons for the Decline of the American Merchant Marine.*** By 1860, America's challenge to Britain's merchant marine

had petered out. By this time, the gold rushes, which had begun in California in 1849 and in Australia two years later, were over. The fast clipper ship was no longer so much in demand. Beginning in the 1840's, Britain had forced China to open several more of its ports to British trade. The revolutions that had hit Europe hard in 1848 and kept many European merchant ships off the sea were also over. And the War Between the States, beginning in 1861, resulted in the loss of many American ships.

After this war, Americans preferred to put their money into railroads, mines, factories, and farms, rather than into shipping. Still another reason for the decline of the American merchant marine was its failure to shift quickly enough from wooden sailing vessels to iron steamships. The British, on the other hand, with financial help from their Government, succeeded in doing so. In time, the steamships improved by the British were able to carry much bigger cargoes than the clipper ships and to get them there faster. And when coal, oil, and gas began to be used in place of whale oil, America's famed whaling fleet began to die out, too.

*The clipper ship The Flying Cloud. A study of the clipper-ship era stirs one's imagination and emotions. For what reasons?*





*"The Song of the Talking Wire," painted by Henry F. Farny. The Indian is listening to the sound of the telegraph. While the painting portrays progress, it also evokes a feeling of sadness. Why?*

## Improvements in Communication Hurdle Mountains, Deserts, Plains, Oceans

**The Telegraph and the Cable Revolutionize Communication.** "What hath God wrought!" This message was sent a distance of forty miles, in 1844, in less than a minute. It was clicked out by means of a code made up of dots and dashes and carried by electric current over a wire. The code was called the *Morse Code*, after Samuel F. B. Morse, the man who sent the message. Morse thus proved, after many experiments, that an electric telegraph was commercially practical.<sup>1</sup>

Within a few years, many small private telegraph companies sprang up. Much confusion resulted as many operators clicked out dots and dashes over the same wire at the same time. But in 1856, these many small companies were united into one large company, *Western Union*. With financial aid from the Government, the telegraph lines of Western Union reached the Pacific Ocean a few years later.

A cable was laid under the Atlantic Ocean between North America and Europe by Cyrus W. Field in 1866. Its purpose was to transmit oceanic messages. This first underwater telegraph to unite two continents, the *Atlantic cable*, was achieved only after several heartbreaking failures. Like Morse, Field was jeered when he first suggested his idea, only to be cheered when it succeeded.

As we shall see, the principle of the telegraph was next used to transmit human voices by telephone. Its inventor called the telephone his *talking telegraph*. Later in-

<sup>1</sup> The telegraph illustrates the fact that an invention is seldom the work of one man. Morse's partner, Alfred Vail, another American, Joseph Henry (page 287), an Englishman, Sir Charles Wheatstone, and a Russian, Baron Schilling, had experimented with sending code messages over a wire by means of electricity, too.

and laws of the world outside their mountains. They had particular contempt for the rich planters, with their big plantations tilled by many slaves. This helps to explain why, in the War Between the States, these Southerners were to become supporters of the North.

**The Almost Tragic Life of the 'Poor White.'** Far worse off than any other white Southerners was a group that lived in the lowlands where cotton was cultivated. Their land was so poor that it was almost impossible for them to eke out a living. Their homes were miserable hovels. Pellagra (caused by an unbalanced diet), hookworm, and malaria drained them of their energies. This helps to explain why so many of them were shiftless. Negro slaves contemptuously called them "poor white trash." In the twentieth century, proper diet and medical care have tended to eliminate the evils that afflicted the "poor whites" for so long.

**The Industrial Revolution Encourages Concentration on Cotton Growing.** "No! You dare not make war upon cotton; no power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is king; . . ." A Southern senator hurled this warning at the industrial North in 1858. Why was he, like many other Southerners, so convinced of the great power of the cotton that was grown in the South in great quantities? In 1791, the United States had produced two million pounds of cotton. By 1860, it was producing two billion pounds. This amounted to two-thirds of the total exports of the United States and two-thirds of the world's total production of cotton. About four-fifths of the cotton used by British mills was imported from the South. By this time, practically the whole world had become accustomed to wearing cheap cotton clothing.

No wonder many Southerners felt that the North would not dare to go to war with the South! If such a war should break out, they felt confident that the South would win the world's sympathy. They argued as follows: Suppose, for example, that in such a war, the North blockades the South's ports.

Failure to get the South's cotton will force the closing of Britain's factories. Britain's profits will fall and its unemployment will rise. It won't be very long then before Britain rushes to the South's aid.

Cotton raised on plantations by slaves had not always been the leading crop of the South. Until 1790, the main crops raised in the South had been tobacco, rice, indigo, and sugar. About this time, Southerners were much worried. They had difficulty getting a decent price for such crops. They found that tobacco was exhausting their soil. Many began to wonder whether it paid to buy slaves. Many talked of freeing their slaves, because it was just too expensive to keep them.

But then Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin (page 300), which made it easier to separate the seeds from cotton. Thus cotton raising became more profitable. The spinning machines and power looms, which had been invented in Britain in the eighteenth century, had developed an appetite for raw cotton that was hard to satisfy. By the 1830's, steam locomotives were drawing trains carrying cotton to ports, and steamships were carrying cotton across the ocean. No longer did Southern planters talk of freeing their slaves. In fact, they began to use more slaves to cultivate the additional land they were devoting to cotton raising.

Why did planters feel that it paid to use slave labor? Cotton must be grown in a hot climate. Negroes, it was believed, could stand heat better than whites. Cotton growing requires little skill. Negro slaves, it was felt, could be easily trained for this work.<sup>1</sup> Cotton cultivation was a year-round task. By keeping busy in all seasons, a slave would pay for his upkeep.

**Cotton Is Only the Main One of Many Southern Crops by 1860.** Cotton may have been the leading crop, but the South was not entirely a one-crop section before the War

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<sup>1</sup> Actually, whites have proved that they, too, can work in the heat of the cotton fields, and Negroes have proved that they can do the most complex tasks.

Between the States. The South produced not only 100 per cent of the nation's cotton but 100 per cent of its rice and sugar, nearly 100 per cent of its tobacco and hemp, eighty per cent of its peas and beans, fifty per cent of its corn, and twenty-five per cent of its wheat. Hogs, cattle, fruits, peanuts, and sweet potatoes were also money-makers for the South.

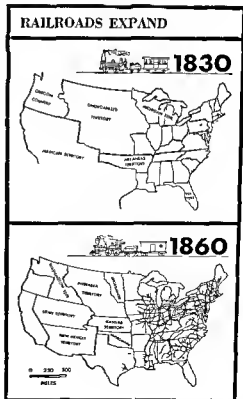
**Apart from Moral Considerations, Did Slavery Pay?** Many a planter who ran his large cotton plantation efficiently was quite pleased with the profits he made. He was usually convinced that he couldn't have done any better if he had gone in for manufacturing. But then, as now, there were those who believed that growing cotton with slave labor did not pay. What reasons did they give? Sometimes an epidemic or a fire would strike the slave quarters on a big plantation. Such a human tragedy was sure to be a colossal financial tragedy to the planter, for most of the wealth of such a planter was tied up in his slaves. To make the huge investment that big planters had in land and slaves pay, it was necessary to keep every slave busy the year round.

But growing cotton on the same land year after year tends to wear out the soil. To keep their slaves busy, cotton planters would move on to fresh soil, especially since the world demand for cotton was so great. This explains why many planters moved from the exhausted soil of such seaboard states as Georgia and South Carolina southwestward to the fertile soil of the Gulf states of Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas. Great quantities of cotton were produced on these fresh lands. But many more slaves were purchased to produce it. Thus even more of the planters' wealth came to be tied up in slaves. To keep this human investment busy, the planters had to acquire still more land. This situation caused a constant rise in the cost of slaves.

It is not surprising, in these circumstances, that many slaves were smuggled into the United States, even though there was a death penalty for slave-smugglers. Slaves could not

be brought in legally, since the Congress had forbidden their importation after 1808. The circumstances also explain why freed slaves lived in fear of being re-enslaved by kidnapers and why some Southern seaboard states, which produced little cotton, sold their slaves down the river (the Mississippi) to planters in the Gulf states.

Sometimes the world price for cotton dropped. For a few years then, there wasn't much profit in growing cotton. The planter couldn't fire his slaves, as a factory owner can fire his free laborers in bad times. The planter still had to feed, clothe, and house his slaves, and care for them when they were sick, or too young or old to be very productive. Indeed, since slaves did not own the land they worked, many of them had little incentive to be productive. As a result, many planters, especially in such states of the Old South as Georgia and South Carolina, had to mortgage their plantations. Many were even forced into bankruptcy. In the Old Southwest (the Gulf states), however, planters were usually more prosperous.



## America's Early Industrial And Agricultural Revolutions

1789

- Slater, later 'father of America's factory system,' arrives from England

1790

- United States Patent Office opened

1793

- Whitney invents cotton gin

1794

- Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike completed

1797

- Newbold patents first cast-iron plow

1800

- Whitney demonstrates practicality of standardized interchangeable parts

1807

- Fulton's *Clermont* launched
- Evans establishes iron works
- Embargo Act speeds industrialization

1811

- Work begun on National Road

1814

- Lowell's factory uses power loom

1816

- First protective tariff passed
- Second Bank of the United States chartered

1825

- Erie Canal completed

1827

- Philadelphia carpenters' strike called

1828

- Construction of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad begun
- Tariff of Abominations passed

1832

- Ruffin's essay on scientific agriculture published
- South Carolina nullifies tariff
- First real clipper ship built

1834

- McCormick introduces horse-drawn reaper
- National Trades' Union formed

1835

- Colt revolver patented

1837

- Deere introduces steel plow
- Panic leads to severe depression

1840

- Ten-hour day for workers on Federal public works passed

1842

- Massachusetts court recognizes strikes as legal

1844

- Morse's telegraph patented
- Goodyear's vulcanization of rubber patented

1846

- Howe's sewing machine patented

1850

- British-American treaty recognizes need for interoceanic canal through Central America

1851

- Kelly develops steelmaking process independently of Bessemer

1855

- Sault St. Marie Canal opened

1856

- Western Union Telegraph Company organized

1857

- Depression develops

1859


- Drake drills first oil well

1860

- Pany Express
- 30,000 miles of railroad tracks in United States

1861

- Telegraph reaches California

	<b>1862</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• McKay patents improved shoemaking machine</li> <li>• Department of Agriculture created</li> <li>• Homestead Act grants Government land practically free</li> <li>• Morrill Land Grant Act promotes agricultural and industrial education</li> </ul>
	<b>1866</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Field lays transatlantic cable</li> </ul>

Partly because so much Southern capital was invested in slaves and cotton plantations, there was little left to invest in factories or commerce. This cotton specialization and lack of much industrialization made the South dependent upon other sections of the country. From the South to the North, there flowed a constant river of money to pay for manufactured goods, banking services, and insurance and shipping costs. Because of its concentration on cotton cultivation, the South did not even raise quite enough food for its own needs. From the South to the Old Northwest, therefore, money flowed to pay for such commodities as cattle, hogs, and butter.

Cotton specialization and lack of much industrialization often hit hard the Southerner who was not a slaveowner. In selling his cotton, he had to compete with the big planters and their slave labor. The richest lands were monopolized by the richest planters. And planters were not interested in hiring free whites to work for them when they had Negro slaves. So relatively few were the factories that there were few factory jobs to be had. No wonder many a white went north, seeking to better himself! No wonder immigrants from Europe tended to settle in the North, rather than in the South!

The concentration of so much wealth in slaves and land was bad for the South in

other ways. There wasn't enough money left to do much for public education or other public welfare projects. Since so much of the work was done by slaves, many whites tended to look down on manual labor. Thus, those who say that slavery did not pay contend that it hurt the South as a whole, even though some planters may have profited from it.

*Southerner Hinton Helper Antagonizes His Section by Writing That Slavery Does Not Pay.* To Hinton Helper, a Southerner, slavery was like a cancer eating away at the flesh and blood of the South. This was the theme of his book *The Impending Crisis of the South*, published in 1857.

Helper blamed slavery for keeping the South behind the North in industry, commerce, banking, education, and prosperity and progress in general. Because of slavery, he wrote, the South was economically dependent upon the North in almost every way. He asserted that: as babies, Southerners were diapered with Northern cloth; as children, they played with Northern toys, as pupils, they studied from Northern books; as they aged, they used Northern eyeglasses and leaned on Northern canes, and when they died, their graves were dug by Northern shovels and marked by Northern gravestones. Slavery made big planters rich, Helper argued, but aggravated the poverty of the non-slaveholding, white, small-farm class, of which he was a member.

Helper's arguments were exaggerated. They were based on statistics that were not too accurate. His book embittered planters. Antislavery groups in the North distributed thousands of copies of it as propaganda. Yet Helper looked upon Negroes as inferiors. He urged an end to slavery not to help Negro slaves but to break the power of big planters in hopes of promoting the welfare of his own class.

*Why the Majority of Southerners, Even Nonslaveowners, Supported Slavery.* Most nonslaveowning Southerners expected someday to own slaves. Most Southerners looked to the big, influential planters for leadership.

Such big planters had much influence over institutions that mold public opinion, such as newspapers and schools. Especially in areas where Negroes outnumbered whites, whites feared that if slaves were freed, whites might be denied rights. If freed, Negroes would be worse off, most Southerners were convinced. They pointed to the discrimina-

tion against free Negroes in the North as evidence. Usually, even the poorest of "poor whites" supported slavery, because doing so made them feel that they had something in common with the big planters. Of course, as we know, the hostility of the mountain whites to the big planters made them an exception to this rule.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 13

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Samuel Slater	Bessemer process	John Deere	Baltimore and Ohio Railroad
Industrial Revolution	Oliver Evans	Cyrus McCormick	Peter Cooper
Eli Whitney	conveyor belt	county and state fairs	clipper ship
cotton gin	craft union	scientific breeding	Samuel F. B. Morse
interchangeable parts	federation of trade unions	turnpikes	Western Union
precision tools	<i>Commonwealth v. Hunt</i>	Conestoga wagon	Cyrus W. Field
Francis Lowell	Lowell girls	Robert Fulton	Pony Express
Charles Goodyear	Agricultural Revolution	John Fitch	Hinton Helper
Elias Howe	rotation of crops	Erie Canal	
Isaac Singer	Edmund Ruffin	Pullman cars	
Gordon McKay		Westinghouse air brake	

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

- Concerning Samuel Slater, tell (a) why he left England in disguise, (b) why he came here, and (c) his contribution to America's Industrial Revolution.
- Describe the contribution of Eli Whitney to (a) agriculture and (b) industry.
- Give examples of products made with interchangeable parts (a) before 1860 and (b) today.
- Show how American industrialization was speeded up by (a) the Embargo Act and (b) the War of 1812.
- Connect Francis Lowell with (a) manufacturing and (b) the tariff.
- Show the effects on industrialization of (a) vulcanization, (b) the sewing machine, and (c) the Bessemer process.
- Iron was all-important in America's first Industrial Revolution. Prove.
- Prove that Oliver Evans was a pioneer in many ways.
- Indicate some highlights of the labor movement before the Jacksonian period.
- Show how the labor movement during the Jacksonian period was stimulated by (a) factory conditions, (b) the growth

of towns and cities, and (c) the right to vote.

11. Sum up some (a) grievances, (b) demands, and (c) accomplishments of workers' organizations in Jackson's time.
12. List some of the obstacles to greater achievement by the labor movement in the Jacksonian period.
13. What made many Lowell girls (a) happy, (b) unhappy?
14. For what reasons did public opinion seem to favor manufacturers over labor organizations in Jackson's time?
15. For what reasons were many workers unwilling to join unions in Jackson's time?
16. What factors held back the progress of agriculture in the early 1800's?
17. List examples of the progress of the Agricultural Revolution in the Jacksonian period.
18. Give proof that Cyrus McCormick was an enterprising businessman.
19. What specific effects did the Agricultural Revolution have upon (a) the West and (b) New England?
20. List the obstacles to efficient transportation of goods between East and West in the early 1800's.
21. What were the contributions to American transportation of (a) turnpikes, (b) the Cumberland Road, (c) the Conestoga wagon, (d) the stagecoach, and (e) the steamboat?
22. Connect with the Erie Canal (a) its route, (b) De Witt Clinton, (c) the growth in prosperity of certain cities in New York, (d) its effect on the Old Northwest, and (e) its effect on American culture.
23. For what reasons were railroads (a) at first unpopular and (b) in time popular?
24. Trace the progress of American railroads to about 1860.
25. Show how specific means of transportation helped to bind the factory areas of the Northeast and the farm areas of the West more closely together.
26. Account for the rise and decline of the American merchant marine in the period

between about 1820 and about 1860.

27. Associate with the telegraph (a) the Morse Code, (b) Alfred Vail, (c) Western Union, (d) the Atlantic cable, (e) the telephone, and (f) the decline of the Pony Express.
28. Why did (a) some favor and (b) some oppose industrialization of the South in the 1840's?
29. How far had industrialization progressed in the South by 1860?
30. Sum up highlights in the ways of life of three social classes in the South before 1860.
31. Show specifically how the Industrial Revolution encouraged concentration on cotton growing in the South.
32. What were the risks of slave ownership (a) for the slaveowner and (b) for the South as a whole?
33. For which evils did Hinton Helper hold slavery responsible?
34. Give three reasons why many Southerners without slaves supported slavery.

#### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. If Samuel Slater had not come to America, would an Industrial Revolution have occurred here anyway about the same time? Discuss fully.
2. It might be argued that Eli Whitney was as much the father of the factory system as Samuel Slater. For what reasons?
3. Excluding Whitney, which inventor mentioned in this chapter do you think made the greatest contribution to America's Industrial Revolution? Tell why.
4. In every age men like Oliver Evans have been viciously attacked. What reasons explain such attacks?
5. For what reasons do you think the labor movement was very weak in the colonial period?
6. Write your impressions of the quotation on page 303.
7. What do you consider (a) the most evil working condition and (b) the most important demand of factory workers in



- Jackson's time? Justify your choice in each case.
8. For what reasons might the decision in the case of *Commonwealth v. Hunt* be considered one of the most important in labor history?
  9. The lives led by Lowell girls were not in keeping with an age of individualism. Explain.
  10. To what extent was it the farmers' own fault that farming methods remained backward in the early 1800's?
  11. Show connections between the work of men like Ruffin and Deere and the work of McCormick.
  12. How might a teacher in an agricultural school have taken advantage of an excursion with his class to a county or state fair?
  13. The Industrial and Agricultural Revolutions made a transportation revolution inevitable. For what reasons?
  14. Mention of (a) the Conestoga wagon, (b) the stagecoach, (c) the Pony Express, (d) the steamboat, and (e) the clipper ship stirs emotions in American hearts. Tell why in each case.
  15. In what ways might American history have been different if the Erie Canal had not been built?
  16. It was inevitable that (a) there would be strong opposition to the early railroads and that (b) railroads would end the canal craze. Give reasons why in each case.
  17. Show specifically how the world would have been handicapped if the telegraph had not been invented.
  18. If the South had become highly industrialized before the War Between the States, there might not have been such a war. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
  19. For what reasons has Southern plantation life before 1860 been a favorite theme in novels and movies?
  20. What answers might have been given to the senator who stated in 1858 that "Cotton is king"?
  21. Even if the slave-labor system seemed not especially profitable to a plantation owner, he was reluctant to give it up. For what reasons?
  22. Mention three adjectives that might be applied to Hinton Helper, and justify each.
- ☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. Write a letter such as a British manufacturer might have written to the British Government bitterly protesting its failure to prevent Samuel Slater from escaping to America.
  2. After further investigation, write an editorial such as a Southern newspaper might have published on learning of Whitney's invention of the cotton gin.
  3. In committee, make up a mural featuring the major inventions mentioned in this chapter.
  4. Write an imaginary conversation among Charles Goodyear, Elias Howe, and Oliver Evans in which they discuss the heartaches of being an inventor. Consult as many sources as possible.
  5. Investigate and report on the contributions of (a) William Kelly and (b) Henry Bessemer to the so-called Bessemer process.
  6. From each of three different sources select what you consider the most significant sentence on Oliver Evans. In each case tell why you consider the sentence significant.
  7. Imagine yourself (a) a union organizer of the Jacksonian period and (b) a worker opposed to unions at that time. Write out the arguments each might give in support of his point of view.
  8. From *Labor in America* by F. R. Dulles, report on (a) Labor in Colonial America, (b) the First Unions, (c) the Workingmen's Parties, (d) Labor Strength in the 1830's, or (e) the Impact of Industrialism. In your report, stress the most sig-

- nificant information, quotations, and comments of foreign visitors.
9. Write an imaginary page in the diary of a Lowell girl or a poem such as she might have written.
  10. In committee, investigate Europe's Agricultural Revolution and report on specific ways in which (a) the United States benefited from it and (b) it benefited from the American Agricultural Revolution.
  11. Draw a cartoon showing (a) some farming methods before and after America's first Agricultural Revolution, (b) a cynic watching Fulton trying to get the *Clermont* started, or (c) an American sighting his first moving railroad train.
  12. Write an advertisement such as McCormick might have written to get farmers to buy his reaper.
  13. Co-operate with others in making for the bulletin board an illustrated chart of means of transportation and communication mentioned in this chapter.
  14. After investigating modern turnpikes, write a paper entitled "The Rise, Decline, and Rise Again of Turnpikes in the United States."
  15. After some research, compose a song or poem entitled "Poor John Fitch."
  16. Write a short story entitled "A Trip on a River Steamboat in Jackson's Time." For ideas, see "Steamboat Days" in *Heritage of America*, edited by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins.
  17. Imagine yourself a major speaker at the ceremony opening the Erie Canal. Write a speech in which you pay tribute to the vision of its planners and the efforts of its builders. For human interest, investigate some of the incidents that occurred during its construction.
  18. Investigate and report on the unusual features of the canal built by Pennsylvania over the Allegheny Mountains from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh during the canal craze.
  19. Write a magazine article entitled (a) "I Was a Sailor on a Clipper Ship to China" or (b) "I Was a Rider on the Pony Express"
  20. Investigate and report on why some historians feel that Morse's partner, Alfred Vail, deserves more credit for the invention of the telegraph than Morse does himself.
  21. On an outline map of the United States, locate (a) the Cumberland Road, (b) the Erie Canal, (c) the Pennsylvania Canal over the Alleghenies, (d) the major inland waterways of the East, and (e) the route of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.
  22. Imagine yourself a European reporter visiting the South before 1860. Write your impressions for your newspaper. (See, for example, Section XVII of *Heritage of America*, edited by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins.)
  23. After further investigation, write a paper giving your conclusions as to (a) whether slavery paid or (b) the South's attitude toward Hinton Helper.
  24. Report on interesting tidbits of information, character traits of admirable people, and/or lessons to be learned from any one of the following articles in *American Heritage*: (a) "The Drive for Speed at Sea" (October, 1955); (b) "Father of the Factory System" (April, 1955); (c) "Eli Whitney, Nemesis of the South" (April, 1955); (d) "Great Days of the Overland Stage" (June, 1957); (e) "Heyday of the Floating Palace" (October, 1957); (f) "The Working Ladies of Lowell" (February, 1961).

## CHAPTER

# 14

### *The West: Where Hopes of Realizing The American Dream Run High*

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#### **Americans Push Westward**

- The United States Has Had Many Frontiers • Who Paved the Way West?
- Who Followed the Way West Paved by Pathfinders? • American Expansionists Demand All of Oregon • The Oregon Dispute Is Settled by Talking It Over
- The Texan War for Independence • Expansionists Hail Texas' Independence from Mexico and Admission as a State

#### **Expansionists Hail Victory in the Mexican War**

- Causes of the Mexican War • The Role of Expansionist President Polk • The Mexican War Leads to Some Hot Words Within the United States • The Highlights and Results of the Mexican War

#### **California's Gold Rush Helps to Bring It Into the Union**

- California, Slumbering Under Spanish, Then Mexican, Rule, Awakens as Americans Migrate There • The Risky Routes to California • The Risks of Life in a California Mining Camp • The Need for Law and Order in California Is a Factor in Its Admission as a State • California Bids 'Goodbye' to the Washbowl Miner
  - Other Far Western Areas Repeat California's Experiences
- 

The American Dream of equality and opportunity would best be realized in the West. This was the firm belief of many Americans. They felt it was God's will that the United States expand westward to the Pacific and even from the Arctic to the Caribbean. This spirit is known as *manifest destiny*. It made many patriotic Americans who went west feel almost as though they were taking part

in a religious crusade. They felt they were helping to open up to democracy vast areas where downtrodden Europeans could come to escape the tyranny of their rulers.

There were also practical considerations. American expansion westward to the Pacific might prevent Russian expansion southward from Alaska and British expansion southward from Canada. In addition, some Americans

favored expansion to the Pacific as a means of increasing American trade with Asia. Gaining such Pacific ports as San Francisco would be a vital step toward this goal. From our study of those who went west we shall soon discover still other practical reasons for westward expansion.

## Americans Push Westward

**The United States Has Had Many Frontiers.** By 1783, the Mississippi had become the western boundary of the United States. By 1803, the Rockies had become that boundary. By 1853, the present-day boundaries of the United States (except for Alaska and Hawaii) had been reached. By 1783, pioneers had settled as far west as the Alleghenies. By 1810, a million of them had settled between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. By 1860, half of the nearly thirty-two million people in the United States were living in the new states west of the Alleghenies.

These facts and figures give a clue as to why many Westerners felt confident, cocky, and even boastful. They also indicate that America has had not one frontier (page 47), but many. Once a frontier became a fairly settled area, pioneers set out from there to points farther west and new frontiers. However, America's westernmost boundary, the Pacific coast, was not its last frontier. The so-called last frontier was the Great Plains region stretching from western Missouri west to the Rockies. This expanse of 2,000 miles through plains and mountains was not settled until after 1860. For people had the much-mistaken notion that because there were few trees there, the soil was barren (page 196).

**Who Went West?** From time to time, the Government lowered the price of Western land. Cheap, fertile land was the magnet that drew many west. These were some groups it attracted:

- New England farmers fed up with trying to make a living on their rocky soil
- Poor Southern farmers who could not com-



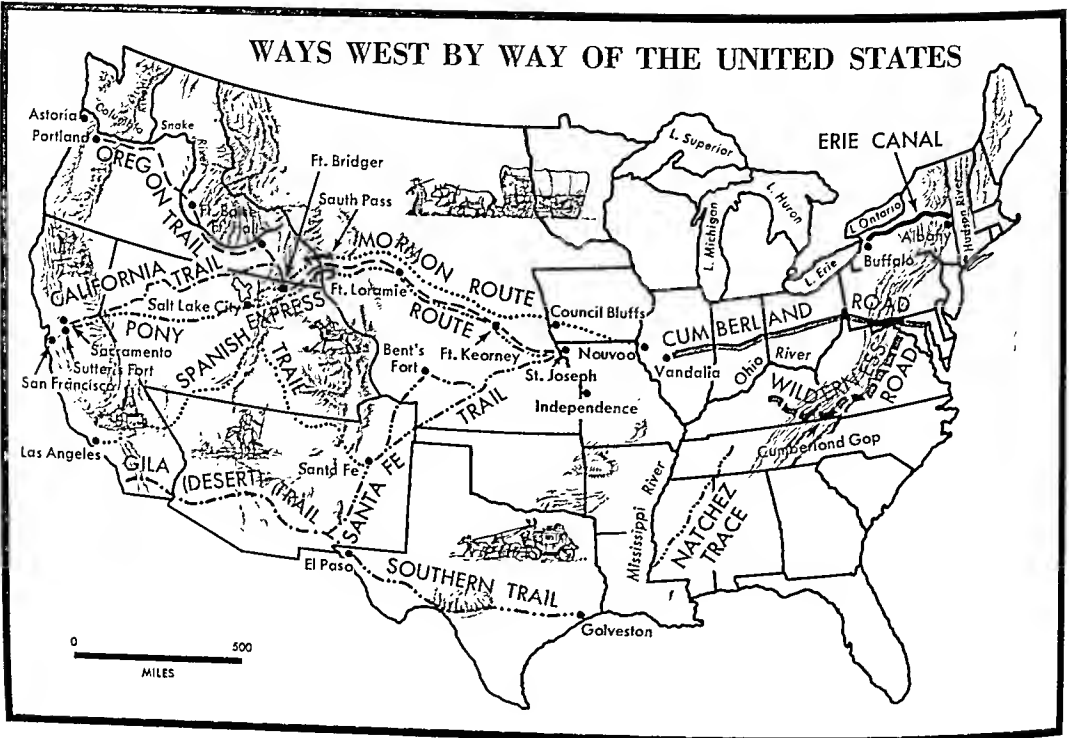
*Emigration to the Western country. How could "The Spirit of Our Nation Throughout Its History" be as a title for this illustration?*

- pete with rich planters and their gangs of slaves
- Planters whose soil had been worn out by intensive cotton cultivation
- Land speculators who hoped to sell later at a high price the land they bought at a low price
- European immigrants, discouraged by the devastation following Napoleon's wars and encouraged by the hope of building a new life
- City workers who felt that farm life on the frontier couldn't be worse than life in a city slum and the drudgery of factory work

To some, the West was a way of escape. To adventurers, the Wild West was a way of escaping the boredom of the conventional East. To certain religious groups, the West was a refuge from prejudice. Some criminals fled west to escape punishment and to build new lives for themselves. Of course, many went west in hopes of feathering their nests in a hurry. Such were many fur traders, frenzied seekers for gold and silver, cardsharps, saloonkeepers, and entertainers in boom towns.

**Who Paved the Way West?** Back in 1775,

## WAYS WEST BY WAY OF THE UNITED STATES



know, the United States and Britain had, in 1818, agreed to occupy Oregon jointly for ten years. And when the ten years were up, they agreed to continue this agreement. But by 1844, as we have seen, many members of the Democratic Party were demanding: "Fifty-four forty or fight!" They also clamored, in this campaign, for "the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas." Actually, fair-minded Americans realized that the United States was not entitled to all of Oregon.

The Democratic presidential candidate in 1844 was James K. Polk.<sup>1</sup> Conscientious, hard-working, and persistent, Polk was a strong believer in manifest destiny. His Whig opponent, Henry Clay (page 230), running for

President for the third time, straddled the issue of annexing Oregon, and of annexing Texas, too. Polk won.

It was expected that Polk would interpret his victory as an order from the American people to force Britain to give up all of Oregon. But both Polk and the British decided to talk it over, instead of fighting it out. Agreement was finally reached, in 1846, that the forty-ninth parallel should be the dividing line between Canada's portion of Oregon and that belonging to the United States. However, Vancouver Island, south of the forty-ninth parallel, remained in British hands. The treaty, in effect, extended from the Rockies to the Pacific the line fixed at the forty-ninth parallel in 1818 as the Canadian-American boundary (page 220).

What were some of the reasons for the peaceful settlement of the Oregon question? The Americans and British had already established a tradition for settling boundary disputes peacefully, in 1818 and 1842 (page 261). At the time the Oregon Treaty was signed, the United States was at war with Mexico over Texas. Continued friction with

<sup>1</sup> Polk was not too well known throughout the nation at this time. Such a candidate who wins the nomination instead of a more prominent man is known as a *dark horse*. Polk was America's first dark horse. Ex-President Van Buren had been expected to win the nomination, but did not, because of his strong stand against slavery, which the Democrats feared would lose them votes in the South. Polk was the first President whose election was announced by telegraph.

Britain might have led to an alliance between Britain and Mexico. The British were willing to compromise because they felt they might eventually lose all of Oregon, where far more Americans were settling than Canadians. Furthermore, the British felt more friendly following the reduction of the American tariff in 1846. This action increased the sale of British manufactures here.

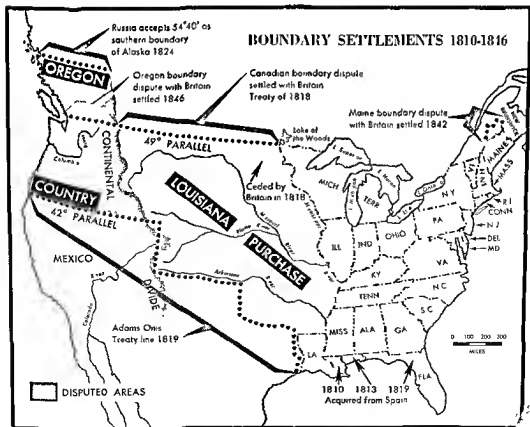
## Expansionists Hail Texas' Independence from Mexico

The time: Early 1836. The place: The Alamo, a fortified mission near San Antonio, Texas. The scene: Fewer than 200 Texans defending the fort against an attack by nearly 3,000 Mexicans.

For thirteen days, the brave defenders held out. Then, on order of Mexico's dictator, General Santa Anna, the Mexican trumpets sounded the *Dequello*. In answer to this

bloodcurdling call that no quarter be given to the enemy, columns of Mexican soldiers swept on against the walls of the Alamo. Several charges failed. But at last, on March 6, they swept over the walls. Not a single defender survived the bayoneting and shooting. Among the victims were Commander William Travis, frontiersman Davy Crockett, and Colonel James Bowie, inventor of a long and deadly knife that was named after him.

From the Alamo, Santa Anna swept on to still further conquests. Before him retreated a small band of Texan troops that General Sam Houston had gathered together—all that remained of the Texan army. And fleeing eastward toward Louisiana, across rivers swollen with spring floods, were thousands of Texan families, terrified by Santa Anna. By the time Santa Anna reached the San Jacinto River in April of 1836, he was so confident of victory that he set up camp and decided to take a nap in his tent.





*The storming of the Alamo. For what reasons has the story of the Alamo stirred the hearts of Americans in general and of Texans in particular?*

Then, just before dawn, the Texans struck. Swiftly and silently, they marched across the plain. They held their fire—even when fired upon. Not until practically face to face with the enemy did they open fire.

"Remember the Alamo!" the attackers roared. The Battle of San Jacinto was a complete victory for the Texans and their hero, Sam Houston. Santa Anna, who tried to escape by hiding in the grass disguised as a laborer, was captured.

Why had Texans been fighting Mexicans? What were the results of the Texan victory at San Jacinto?

**Causes of the Texan War for Independence.** Texas had been part of the vast Spanish Empire in the New World. In 1821, when Mexico won its independence from Spain, Texas became a Mexican province. But many Americans had long had a strong appetite for Texas. Many small frontier farmers, cotton and sugar planters, and cattle raisers were hungry to make use of its vast area, its warm climate, its rich black soil, its navigable rivers, and its ports on the Gulf of Mexico. To them, settling in Texas seemed a golden opportunity, for there were only about 4,000 Mexicans and Spaniards in this huge

frontier region. A main reason for the small number of Mexican and Spanish settlers there was fear of hostile Indians and of the fierce pirates who used the Gulf ports as bases of operation.

To encourage the development of Texas, the Spanish Government, in 1820, had made a grant of land there, under certain conditions, to an American, Moses Austin. When Austin died shortly thereafter, his son Stephen renewed this agreement with the Spanish Government, and later made one with the Mexican Government. In general, here were the terms of the agreement: Great stretches of land would be sold at very low prices to families of settlers whom Austin brought in. They would be exempt from paying taxes and tariff duties. If an American settler married a Mexican girl, he would receive a much larger stretch of land than other settlers. Settlers were to be admitted only if they were, or promised to become, Roman Catholics. (This was not strictly enforced, however.) Settlers would have to pledge allegiance to the Mexican flag and promise to use only Spanish in transacting official business.

Under this agreement, by 1830, Austin and others had brought 20,000 Americans into Texas.

**Troubles Develop Between Texans and Mexico.** How long will it be before Texas becomes more American than Mexican? This question worried many Mexicans as more and more Americans kept migrating into Texas. In 1819, when the United States had bought Florida from Spain, it had given up its claim to Texas. It had then recognized as Texas' southwest boundary the Sabine and Red Rivers. But suspicious Mexicans knew that many American cotton planters, land speculators, and expansionists in general had been furious at their Government for yielding this claim.

To keep Texas Mexican, therefore, Mexico passed a law in 1830 forbidding any more Americans to settle in Texas. Some previous land grants were canceled. Cotton planters were especially angered when the Mexican Government announced that no more slaves

could be brought into Texas. They were annoyed, too, when the Government started taxing imports, especially farm implements. Friction also developed because most settlers insisted on clinging to their English language and their American customs and traditions. In short, they refused to become Mexicanized. They demanded that Mexico live up to its promise to grant Texas local self-government (statehood in the Mexican Federation).

Texans had little respect for the central Government in Mexico City. Revolutions had so weakened it that it was almost incapable of maintaining law and order, especially in faraway Texas. Things came to a head when the tyrannical Santa Anna overthrew the Mexican Government and made himself dic-

tator in 1835. He announced that there would be no local self-government in Mexico—that all power would be centralized in his hands. To crush Texas' efforts at local self-government and to make Texas more Mexicanized, he marched his army into Texas in 1836. On March 2, 1836, Texas declared its independence from Mexico. The *Texan War for Independence* had begun. Actually, however, right up to the siege of the Alamo, most Texans, including Austin, had had no intention of seceding from Mexico. All they wanted was for Mexico to recognize what they considered their rights.

After his defeat at San Jacinto, Santa Anna promised to withdraw all Mexican troops from Texan soil and to end the war. He was released on his promise to do all that he could to get Mexico to recognize the independence of Texas and to accept the Rio Grande as its southern boundary. But the Mexican Congress, which had taken away Santa Anna's dictatorial powers, refused to live up to this promise.

Expansionists cheer as the Lone Star Republic finally becomes a state in the United States. After the victory at San Jacinto, Texas became an independent nation, the *Republic of Texas*. This *Lone Star Republic*, as it was popularly called, elected Sam Houston its first president.

*Some Reasons Why the Admission of Texas to the Union Was Delayed.* Most people expected that Texas would be quickly annexed to the United States. But although President Jackson hoped Texas would become part of the Union, he refused to recommend its annexation. Jackson feared that making Texas' admission an issue in the election of 1836 would hurt Van Buren's chances of election. This prospect was due in part to the fact that feeling was so strong on both sides of the annexation question. In any case, Jackson recognized the Republic of Texas in 1837.

Like Jackson, Van Buren, who succeeded Jackson, feared a possible war with Mexico were Texas annexed. Furthermore, Van Buren strongly opposed slavery. And many





Northern opponents of slavery at this time considered the demand to annex Texas a plot on the part of Southern planters to get more slave territory into the Union. Some Northerners feared that huge Texas, if admitted, would be broken up into five slave states. This would give the South ten additional senators.

***Some Reasons Why the Admission of Texas Had Powerful Support.*** Certain Northern manufacturers realized that they would have many more customers were Texas part of the United States, instead of a foreign country. Southern planters with lands worn out by cotton cultivation wanted the fresh lands of Texas. Southern statesmen wanted Texas annexed because this would give the South more representation in the Congress. Speculators in Texan lands and Texan bonds realized that with Texas' annexation, their investments would be more secure.

Furthermore, many Americans feared that Texas might become a colony, or a close ally, of Great Britain. In that event, Britain could get its cotton directly from Texas, instead of depending so much on the American South. Then, too, Texas would be a much better market for British manufactured goods. Slavery had been forbidden in all British colonies in 1833. British control of Texas might thus eventually lead to the abolition of slavery in Texas as well. This might act as a precedent for the abolition of slavery elsewhere in the South.

But the most powerful group supporting annexation of Texas were those who believed that America's manifest destiny was to expand westward to the Pacific. And this group included most Americans.

***Texas Is Finally Admitted to the Union.*** "The reoccupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas," as we know, was a Democratic slogan in the campaign of 1844. By using the word *reannexation*, the expansionist Democrats deliberately implied that Texas had been part of the Louisiana Purchase. Thus they hoped to win votes for their candidate, Polk, and for the annexation of Texas. They knew that many Northerners

were opposed to, or lukewarm about, the annexation of Texas because it would come into the Union as a slave state. By including Oregon in their slogan, they hoped to win votes among Northern expansionists who were opposed to slavery. The prefix *re* was used in each case to imply that the United States was only asking for what had previously belonged to it.

An effort was made in the Senate to get the necessary two-thirds vote to ratify a treaty annexing Texas. It failed. Supporters of annexation therefore proposed a joint resolution in the House and the Senate for annexing Texas. A joint resolution requires only a majority vote. It passed. On March 1, 1845, three days before Polk took office, the then President, Tyler, also an expansionist, signed the resolution.

Texas has been treated here in the story of westward expansion because Texas is in the southwestern part of the United States. However, Texas raised cotton, using slave labor. Moreover, it fought on the side of other Southern states in the War Between the States. These are two reasons why Texas is usually considered part of the section called the South.

## **Victory in the Mexican War: Expansionists' Fondest Hopes Are Realized**

***Why Many Mexicans Latched for War with the United States.*** One day in 1842, an American naval officer heard a rumor that the United States and Mexico were at war. He promptly occupied a California town, pulled down the Mexican flag, and ran up the American flag. Imagine his humiliation at finding out, shortly afterward, that the rumor had been false! Red-faced, he muttered his apologies to the Mexican authorities and quit the town.

Incidents such as this made many Mexicans suspicious of the United States. They were suspicious that some Americans wanted not

only California but all of Mexico's territory east and southeast of California, and perhaps even Mexico itself. These suspicious Mexicans were also angry Mexicans. They were angry because they felt that the United States had encouraged the revolution in Texas and because the United States had then proceeded to annex Texas. They were angry, too, because the United States claimed that the Rio Grande was the southern boundary of Texas. They argued that the Nueces River, farther north, was its southern boundary. In short, both the United States and Mexico claimed the area between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande.

Many of these suspicious and angry Mexicans had contempt for Americans. They looked upon Americans as crude hypocrites, dollar-chasers, and incompetent, cowardly fighters. Suspicion, anger, and contempt made many Mexican officials itch for war with the United States. And they felt confident that Mexico could win such a war. Their army was about twice as large as that of the United States. Cocky Mexican generals were certain that the United States could not successfully invade vast Mexico with its mountains, deserts, and jungles.

Many Mexican politicians were convinced that the United States would be disunited in a war with Mexico. For they thought that many Americans opposed to slavery would oppose a war with Mexico. They felt that such Americans would look upon such a war as merely an excuse to get more territory for Southern planters. Many Mexicans expected the aid of Europe, especially Britain, in such a war. General Santa Anna even promised that in a war with the United States, he would quickly have the Mexican flag waving in Washington, D.C.! Such threats against the United States had helped restore him to power.

**Why Many Americans Itched for War with Mexico.** For several reasons, many Americans were angry at Mexico. They were angry because the Mexican Government had refused to accept Santa Anna's promise that the Rio Grande would be the southern boundary of

Texas. They were angry because Mexico had refused to recognize the annexation of Texas by the United States. They were angry because Mexico had broken off diplomatic relations with the United States by recalling its ambassador from Washington. These Americans pointed out that Texas had been independent for nearly ten years before the annexation and had been recognized as an independent republic by several European nations, as well as by the United States. They asked, in effect, If it was illegal for Texas to revolt against Mexico, had it not been just as illegal for Mexico to revolt against Spain earlier?

Another source of American anger was the Mexican Government's refusal to pay \$3 million in damages for American property destroyed in Mexico during several of its revolutions. This anger increased when the Mexican Government even refused to receive an envoy from the United States. This envoy, John Slidell, had been sent by Polk, late in 1845, to settle the American property claims and to offer to buy California and New Mexico. "Insulting!" the Mexican Government called this offer.

Many angry Americans had contempt for the Mexican Army, the Mexican Government, and the Mexican people. Expansionists, especially, asked questions like these: How could the Mexican Army, which was defeated by a small band of Texans in the Texan War for Independence, defeat the Army of the United States? How could anybody have respect for a Government that keeps changing overnight through revolutions, and that is ridden with incompetent and dishonest officials? Why should Americans respect a Government that has placed some Americans before a firing squad, without a trial?

It was the fond hope of these expansionists that through a war, the United States would be able to acquire from Mexico not only California, with the magnificent harbor at San Francisco, but the entire Southwest.

**Expansionist President Polk's Role in Relations with Mexico.** The determined Polk has been called the most outstanding Presi-

dent between Jackson and Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> His great dream was to see the American flag waving from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Part of this dream had already been realized with the acquisition of part of the Oregon country. Polk was in a hurry to get California, too. It was rumored that Britain might beat the United States to it. Polk had tried to buy California, but failed. Early in 1846, he ordered General Zachary Taylor to move his troops into the disputed territory between the Nueces and Rio Grande Rivers. This was, according to Polk, for the defense of Texas against a possible Mexican attack. A large force of Mexicans then attacked one of Taylor's scouting parties and killed several men. On May 13, 1846, Polk asked the Congress for a declaration of war. Mexico, he declared, "has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil."

**The Mexican War Leads to Some Hot Words Within the United States.** "This is no war of defense, but one of unnecessary and of offensive aggression. It is Mexico that is defending her firesides, her castles and altars, not we." This was the Mexican War as seen by Henry Clay. And Senator Thomas Benton of Missouri condemned the war thus:

Why not treat Great Britain and Mexico alike? Why not march up to 54° 40' as courageously as we march up to the Rio Grande?—Because Great Britain is strong and Mexico is weak.

Many of those opposed to the Mexican War were opposed to slavery. To them, in the words of the poet James Russell Lowell, the Mexican War was a Southern plot to seize "bigger pens to cram in slaves."

In spite of such hot words, most Americans, especially Southerners and Westerners, supported the war with enthusiasm. Even the New England Whigs, who condemned the

declaration of war, supported the fighting once it started. Many American historians today consider the hot words about America's guilt unfair. The above discussion on the basic causes of friction between Mexico and the United States helps to explain why.

In any case, the vast expanse of Mexican territory in the Southwest was like a vacuum. The Spaniards and Mexicans had done little to develop the natural resources of the area. In fact, few Spaniards or Mexicans had settled there. Almost as if pulled into this vacuum came thousands of restless, land-hungry, ambitious Americans. Under such circumstances, the sleepy Spanish-Mexican civilization of the Southwest was bound to give way to the dynamic civilization pressing from the East.

**Military Highlights of the Mexican War.** A group of Americans in California revolted against Mexico in June, 1846. This was a month after the declaration of war, but still before they had heard of it. They declared California to be the independent *Republic of California*. Because the white flag they hoisted bore the symbol of a bear alongside its lone star, the new republic became known as the *Bear Flag Republic*. The Bear Flag revolt had been aided by the explorer Colonel John C. Frémont and his men. Having heard of the declaration of war, American naval officers soon used their fleet to capture such California towns as Monterey, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. By early 1847, the Bear Flag had been replaced by the Stars and Stripes throughout California. Playing a part in the easy conquest of California was Colonel Stephen Kearny, who had just as easily conquered New Mexico in 1846.

"Ho for the halls of the Montezumas!" shouted many an American soldier in the campaign to capture Mexico's capital, Mexico City. This city had also been the capital of Mexico's Indian emperors, the Montezumas. Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott were the generals in charge of the campaign.

Even before war was officially declared, General Taylor had already won two battles in the disputed area between the Nueces

<sup>1</sup> The acquisition of Oregon and California were two major aims of Polk. Two others were the re-establishment of the Independent Treasury system (page 258) and a lower tariff. All four aims were achieved in Polk's one term of office.

River and the Rio Grande. After crossing the Rio Grande, he won several more victories. He was soon being called the "hero of Buena Vista," after his victory over Santa Anna at Buena Vista in 1847.

Farther south, General Scott, in the spring of 1847, landed his troops at Vera Cruz on the Gulf of Mexico and captured that important port. From there, his forces battled their way to "the halls of the Montezumas." To get there, they had to win out over high mountains, intense heat, yellow fever, dysentery, typhus, and heroic Mexican resistance. Before Mexico City could be taken, the fortress of Chapultepec guarding the city had to be stormed. The fortress was captured, but not before many Mexican boys of high school age had died in its defense.

**Results of the Mexican War.** "It is a part of our destiny to civilize that beautiful country. . . ." This statement, which appeared in the *New York Herald* at the close of the Mexican War, expressed the belief of many American expansionists that all of Mexico should be annexed. The American flag *does* now wave over what was once almost half of Mexico. Much of this land was acquired in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848), ending the war. In it, Mexico agreed to recognize Texas as part of the United States, and the Rio Grande as its southern boundary. In it, too, Mexico turned over to the United States the provinces of New Mexico and Upper California. From these provinces, called the *Mexican Cession*, eventually came the states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming.

In return, the United States paid Mexico \$15 million. It also promised to pay off about \$35 million in claims made by American citizens against the Government of Mexico.

Later, in 1853, the United States paid Mexico \$10 million for an additional small strip of land. The area then purchased, called the *Gadsden Purchase*, was the Gila River Valley in southern Arizona and New Mexico. Some sarcastically called the large sum paid for such a small stretch "conscience money."

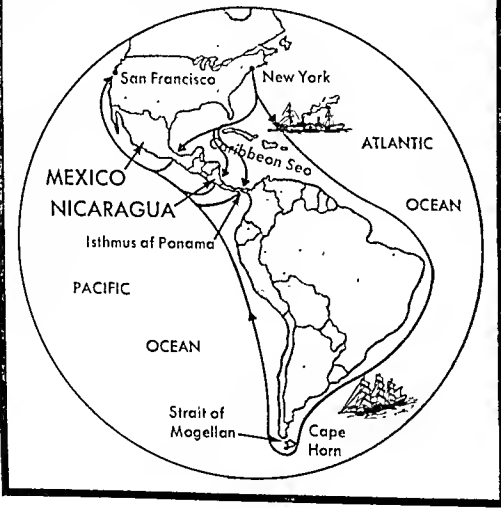


*The storming of Chapultepec, a highlight of the Mexican War. This war was to have important effects upon the United States itself and upon future relations between the United States and Mexico. Explain why.*

They were accusing the United States of having a guilty conscience about the land annexed from Mexico at the close of the Mexican War. Actually, the main purpose of the purchase was to get this flat stretch of land necessary for the future construction of a southern railroad across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.

With the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, the present-day boundaries of the United States (exclusive of Alaska and Hawaii) were reached. Manifest destiny had proved to be more than a dream.

## WAYS WEST SKIRTING THE UNITED STATES



After the Southwest came under the American flag in 1848, thousands migrated into this area. In the next year, 100,000 headed for California when they learned of the discovery of gold there. The United States now had a 1,000-mile coastline on the Pacific. As a result, its trade with China greatly increased. And in 1853, America's Commodore Matthew Perry opened up trade with Japan for the United States and for the world.

So that Easterners could get to California and the Orient more easily by water, plans for a canal connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific through the Isthmus of Panama were proposed. Plans were soon made for the construction of the first railroad to unite the East coast with the West coast. This railroad, the *Union Pacific*, was to be completed in 1869 (page 445).

But the territory acquired from Mexico helped to divide, as well as to unite, the country. Almost at once, heated debates took place in the Congress over whether the states to be created out of the Mexican Cession should be slave states or free states. And the territory acquired from Mexico helped to divide the hemisphere, too. Some Latin Americans had looked upon the United States as a kind of protector when the Monroe Doctrine had been announced. Now many

began looking upon the United States as an aggressor, and Americans as "Yankee imperialists."

## California, Slumbering Under Spanish, Then Mexican, Rule, Awakens As Americans Migrate There

A *vaquero* (Spanish cowboy) tending long-horned cattle on a large *hacienda* (estate) for a wealthy *grandee* (Spanish nobleman); a *presidio* (little fort); a *pueblo* (little Indian village); a *misión* (mission) administered by brown-robed friars—such sights were typical of sunny California in the late days of Spanish rule. Mission bells tolling, guitars tinkling, the staccato beat of the flying feet of dancers doing the *fandango*—such sounds sometimes interrupted the usual drowsy life of old Spanish California.

*The Donner party. No caravan crossing the continent suffered such hardships and horrors as the famous Donner party. Investigate to find out what sad mistakes this party made.*



On the farmlands run by the missions, Indians converted to Christianity were taught by the friars many handicrafts and also better methods of farming. In the 1830's, however, under Mexican rule, these self-sufficient mission lands were sold to private individuals. Most of the missions were broken up. The life of the Indians became much harder.

In the 1840's, even before the Mexican War, wagon trains from the United States began rolling west to California. They had been attracted by reports of such explorers as Frémont, known as the "pathfinder of the West." Such reports described California as a dreamland of undiscovered treasure, glorious climate, breathtaking beauty, fertile soil, and rich resources. Like the Spanish Government before it, the Mexican Government tried to discourage the adventurous American pioneers, but without success.

**California's Gold Rush Helps to Bring California into the Union as a Free State.** As they traveled, thousands of fortune hunters

on their way to California in 1849 sang:

Oh! California,  
That's the land for me;  
I'm off for Sacramento  
With my washbowl on my knee!

The way to California was taken in that year by such "forty-niners" as Chinese, Hawaiians, Australians, Europeans, and Mexicans, as well as Americans. Soldiers deserted their posts and sailors their ships to get there. California was "the land for" them because, in 1848, gold had been discovered in Sacramento, in the millstream of John Sutter. With their washbowls, they expected to sift gold from the river sands and become millionaires overnight.

**The Risky Routes to California.** How did these former clerks, teachers, ministers, factory workers, farmers, and craftsmen, infected with gold fever, get to California? One dangerous route was the long journey around Cape Horn by sailing vessel. Many

An 1849 caricature titled "Pork and Beans in the Gold Diggins" What adjectives would you apply to each of these three characters? Explain.



## The Early West

1775

- Boone leads pioneers through Cumberland Gap

1778

- Clark begins conquest of Northwest

1783

- Mississippi becomes Western boundary of United States

1785

- Land Ordinance sets up system for surveying and selling public land

1787

- Northwest Ordinance guarantees settlers rights

1792

- Captain Gray discovers Columbia River

1794

- Wayne defeats Indians at Fallen Timbers • Jay's Treaty signed

1795

- Pinckney's and Greenville Treaties signed

1803

- Rockies become Western boundary with purchase of Louisiana

1804

- Lewis and Clark begin expedition to Northwest

1806

- Pike explores Southwest

1811

- Astor founds fur-trading post in Oregon • Harrison's victory at Tippecanoe encourages Western settlement • Work begun on National Road

1814

- Jackson crushes Creeks in Old Southwest

1818

- Joint occupation of Oregon with Britain • Portion of Canadian boundary fixed

1819

- Spain renounces claim to Oregon

1820

- Mexico grants Austin land for settlers in Texas

1824

- Russia renounces claim to Oregon • Jed Smith leads group through south pass of Rockies

1825

- Erie Canal opened

1832

- Wyeth tries to promote business in Oregon

1834

- Jason Lee among first missionaries in Oregon

1836

- Texas wins independence

1844

- Demand for 'reoccupation of Oregon, reannexation of Texas'

1845

- Texas annexed to Union

1846

- Mexican War declared • Oregon Treaty fixes Northern boundary to Pacific

1847	• Mormons end trek at Great Salt Lake
1848	• Mexican Cession annexed by treaty
1849	• California gold rush
1851	• Vigilantes try to bring order to Barbary Coast
1852	• Wells, Fargo & Company organized
1853	• Gadsden Purchase
1859	• Nevada's Comstock lode discovered • Pike's Peak gold rush
1860	• Pony Express
1861	• Telegraph reaches California
1869	• Completion of first transcontinental railroad

such frail and far-from-watertight vessels were packed to overflowing. Another dangerous route was by ship to the Isthmus of Panama, thence on horseback, muleback, or on the backs of Indians across the Isthmus, where the gold seekers took ship for the "gold-diggings." Many died en route of yellow fever, in shipwrecks, or at the hands of highwaymen armed with Bowie knives or pistols.

Probably the most dangerous route of all was across the Great Plains along the Oregon or Santa Fe Trails, by covered wagon or on foot. Many who went overland stopped at Salt Lake City. There they bought supplies

from the Mormons (page 277). Some decided to settle there. Some turned back when they saw the gruesome sights along the trails. These were the skeletons of horses, cattle, and humans—victims of deadly diseases, of frigid cold or unbearable heat, of starvation or thirst, of hostile Indians, or of murderous bandits.

*The Risks of Life in a California Mining Camp.* What did the survivors find when they finally got to the golden land? A few found fortunes in gold, but many met misfortunes. They usually found themselves in ugly mining camps, which had sprung up overnight. The very names of these camps are a clue to the conditions that existed in them. Murderer's Bar, Bedbug, Hell's Delight, Hangtown, Skunk Gulch. Even if a miner made a lucky strike, he might not hold on to his gold very long. Dishonest miners might claim his claim as theirs, a practice called *claim-jumping*. Looking for some fun on his return to town after many lonely months of gold hunting, he might lose his gold in other ways. Cardsharps might swindle him in one of the many gambling halls. He might drink it away in one of the many saloons, give it away to one of the many dance-hall girls, or have it taken from him by a ruffian at the point of a gun.

Most who made money in mining camps were not miners. There were merchants who sold flour for \$400 a barrel, landlords who rented rooms at \$1,000 a month, and washwomen who laundered shirts at \$8 a dozen. No wonder some miners sent their shirts to be laundered in Hawaii or China And, of course, saloonkeepers and professional gamblers often made fortunes.

*Crude Efforts at Law and Order in the Mining Camps.* In spite of much lawlessness, most people in California in the gold-rush days realized the need for law and order. Almost from the start, courts were set up that punished evil doers by exile, whipping, or hanging. However, haste and prejudice, especially toward such groups as Mexicans, Indians, and Chinese, sometimes led to unfair trials and punishments.



## The Early West

1775

- Boone leads pioneers through Cumberland Gap

1778

- Clark begins conquest of Northwest

1783

- Mississippi becomes Western boundary of United States

1785

- Land Ordinance sets up system for surveying and selling public land

1787

- Northwest Ordinance guarantees settlers rights

1792

- Captain Gray discovers Columbia River

1794

- Wayne defeats Indians at Follen Timbers • Jay's Treaty signed

1795

- Pinckney's and Greenville Treaties signed

1803

- Rockies become Western boundary with purchase of Louisiana

1804

- Lewis and Clark begin expedition to Northwest

1806

- Pike explores Southwest

1811

- Astor founds fur-trading post in Oregon • Harrison's victory at Tippecanoe encourages Western settlement • Work begun on National Road

1814

- Jackson crushes Creeks in Old Southwest

1818

- Joint occupation of Oregon with Britain • Portion of Canadian boundary fixed

1819

- Spain renounces claim to Oregon

1820

- Mexico grants Austin land for settlers in Texas

1824

- Russia renounces claim to Oregon • Jed Smith leads group through south pass of Rockies

1825

- Erie Canal opened

1832

- Wyeth tries to promote business in Oregon

1834

- Jason Lee among first missionaries in Oregon

1836

- Texas wins independence

1844

- Demand for 'reoccupation of Oregon, reannexation of Texas'

1845

- Texas annexed to Union

1846

- Mexican War declared • Oregon Treaty fixes Northern boundary to Pacific

1847	• Mormons end trek at Great Salt Lake
1848	• Mexican Cession annexed by treaty
1849	• California gold rush
1851	• Vigilantes try to bring order to Barbary Coast
1852	• Wells, Fargo & Company organized
1853	• Gadsden Purchase
1859	• Nevada's Comstock lode discovered • Pike's Peak gold rush
1860	• Pony Express
1861	• Telegraph reaches California
1869	• Completion of first transcontinental railroad

such frail and far-from-watertight vessels were packed to overflowing. Another dangerous route was by ship to the Isthmus of Panama, thence on horseback, muleback, or on the backs of Indians across the Isthmus, where the gold seekers took ship for the "gold-diggings." Many died en route of yellow fever, in shipwrecks, or at the hands of highwaymen armed with Bowie knives or pistols.

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from the Mormons (page 277). Some decided to settle there. Some turned back when they saw the gruesome sights along the trails. These were the skeletons of horses, cattle, and humans—victims of deadly diseases, of frigid cold or unbearable heat, of starvation or thirst, of hostile Indians, or of murderous bandits.

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On what was called the *Barbary Coast* of San Francisco, many murders and other crimes were committed. Since they considered the courts too weak to handle such problems, a group of citizens formed committees (*vigilance committees*) that took matters into their own hands. The *vigilantes*, as committee members were nicknamed, hanged many murderers and thieves. But much injustice resulted from the mob violence they sometimes aroused.

*The Need for Law and Order Is a Factor in the Admission of California as a State.* President Zachary Taylor, elected as Polk's successor in 1848, announced that it was necessary "to substitute the rule of law and order there [in California] for the Bowie knife and revolver." California did get more law and order when it adopted a state constitution and was admitted to the Union as a free state in 1850 (page 353).

*California Bids 'Goodbye' to the Washbowl Miner.* Within a few years, big mining

companies using better methods of mining were able to crowd out the individual California miner, with his pickaxe and washbowl. There was still some gold there, but only through scientific methods could mining it be made to pay. Many miners then became ranchers, farmers, merchants, or workers in California's ever-growing cities.

*Other Western Areas Repeat California's Experiences.* What happened in California was to be repeated in other Western areas in the 1860's and 1870's, following the discovery of minerals there. Again, a few made fortunes. Again, the great majority soon switched from prospecting for gold and silver to farming or ranching—or headed back home. Such miners, farmers, and ranchers helped to pave the way for the creation of such states as Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and the Dakotas. For the story of the colorful, dramatic "Last West," of which these states were a part, see Chapter 19.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 14

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

manifest destiny	Pierre-Jean De Smet	Lone Star Republic	John C. Frémont
Daniel Boone	Oregon fever	Nueces River	forty-niners
Jedediah Smith	dark horse	John Slidell	John Sutter
Kit Carson	Santa Anna	Zachary Taylor	claim-jumping
Jim Bridger	the Alamo	Bear Flag Republic	Barbary Coast
54°40'	Degüello	Winfield Scott	vigilantes
Hudson's Bay Company	Sam Houston	Chapultepec	
Robert Gray	Battle of San Jacinto	Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo	
John Jacob Astor	Moses and Stephen Austin	Mexican Cession	
Nathaniel Wyeth		Gadsden Purchase	
Jason Lee		Matthew Perry	
Marcus Whitman	Texan War for Independence		

★ **Questions to Check**  
**Basic Information**

1. Mention three motives that inspired manifest destiny.
2. Connect with the various frontiers of the United States (a) the Alleghenies, (b) the Mississippi, (c) the Pacific coast, (d) the Great Plains, and (e) Alaska and Hawaii.
3. Prove by examples that some went west (a) for economic reasons and (b) for social reasons.
4. Describe the role played by mountain men in paving the way west.
5. What made the mountain men "a picturesque part of America's past"?
6. Prove that (a) life was hard in the Far West and that (b) the hard life tended to harden many settlers there.
7. On what basis did various countries claim the Oregon country?
8. Connect with the Oregon dispute (a) the election of 1844, (b) James K. Polk, (c) the forty-ninth parallel, (d) Vancouver Island, (e) friction with Mexico, and (f) the American tariff.
9. Sum up the (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) results of the Texan War for Independence.
10. Why did (a) President Jackson, (b) President Van Buren, and (c) many Northerners in general help delay Texas' admission to the Union?
11. Mention the various groups that urged the speedy admission of Texas as a state and give a reason why for each group.
12. Why did the Democrats in the campaign of 1844 combine the demand for acquiring Oregon with the demand for annexing Texas?
13. Sum up the (a) fundamental and (b) immediate causes of the Mexican War.
14. Tell how specific military leaders contributed to victory in the Mexican War.
15. Show the effects of the Mexican War upon (a) territorial expansion, (b) transportation, (c) migration, (d) trade, (e) foreign relations, and (f) the slavery issue.

16. Describe the attitude of such men as Clay, Benton, and Lowell toward the Mexican War.
17. In what sense was "the vast expanse of Mexican territory in the Southwest . . . like a vacuum"?
18. Show that the Gadsden Purchase was (a) criticized, yet (b) practical.
19. What was life like in California under Spanish rule?
20. Describe the dangers faced by a person in the gold-rush days (a) in getting to California and (b) once he got to California.
21. Prove that justice in California in the gold-rush days was often far from just.
22. Explain the fate of the California wash-bowl miner.

★ **Questions for Thought**  
**and Discussion**

1. If you had lived in the nineteenth century, would you have supported manifest destiny?
2. What character traits must have been characteristic of many who went west?
3. For what reasons do the mountain men stir the imagination?
4. Frontiersmen were usually both individualistic and co-operative. Explain how this was possible.
5. In what ways are our times (a) less rugged and (b) more rugged than frontier days?
6. "Westerners sometimes took the law into their own hands." Mention the dangers of such action. Give proof that this sort of thing has happened at other times, including today.
7. Give your interpretation of the lines by Sam Foss on page 327.
8. Which do you think had the stronger claim to Oregon, the United States or Great Britain?
9. In what ways did both Britain and the United States benefit by compromising the Oregon dispute?
10. Do you believe that such slogans as

"Fifty-four forty or fight!" should be used in a political campaign? Explain.

11. For Texans, what made (a) the Battle of the Alamo heart-rending and (b) the Battle of San Jacinto heart-warming? Explain fully.
12. Some might say that it was inevitable that Texas would break away from Mexico. To what extent would you agree? For what reasons?
13. Which policies of Mexico with respect to Texas do you consider especially unwise?
14. Suppose that Texas had remained an independent republic. How might (a) its history and (b) the history of the United States have been affected?
15. Could the Mexican War have been avoided? Give your reasons pro or con.
16. Arrange the causes of the Mexican War in what you consider the order of importance.
17. Is there ever justification for statements such as those made by Clay and Benton with respect to American relations with a foreign nation? Explain fully.
18. Suppose that the United States had never acquired the Mexican Cession. How might this have affected the history of (a) Mexico and (b) the United States?
19. How did the acquisition of the Mexican Cession help to (a) unite and (b) divide the United States?
20. What do you consider the most important result of the Mexican War? Justify your choice.
21. For what reasons is California (a) under Spanish rule or (b) in the gold-rush days a favorite theme in movies, television, and novels?
22. A very sensitive person should probably not have started out for California in the gold-rush days. For what reasons?
23. Do you believe that vigilance committees are ever justified? Justify your answer in detail.
24. Life today is even more dangerous, adventurous, and filled with more opportunities than was life in the gold-rush

days. Tell whether you agree and for what reasons.

### ☆ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check President Polk. Use as many sources of information as possible.
2. Read the references to manifest destiny or to the Mexican War in two foreign affairs books recommended on page xvi. Sum up similarities and differences in (a) points stressed and (b) points of view.
3. On an outline map indicate (a) the shifting frontiers of the United States from 1783 to 1860 (see C. L. and E. H. Lord's *Historical Atlas of the United States*), (b) the favorite routes west, or (c) territorial acquisitions through 1853. Include as many topographical features, such as rivers and mountains, and as many human-interest features, by symbols, as possible. Indicate your sources of information.
4. From *Men to Match My Mountains* by I. Stone, from the *Heritage of America*, edited by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins (Section XIX on "Westward the Course of Empire"), or from *This Is the West*, edited by R. W. Howard, select one event or one personality associated with the West before 1860 and write a brief television script on it, him, or her.
5. After studying the pictures and comments in *The American West* by L. Beche and C. Clegg, select the individuals or groups before 1860 that you think belong in either a Hall of Fame or a Hall of Infamy. In each case tell why.
6. From the *American Heritage* series, read and prepare a succinct, significant, one-minute talk on (a) "The Wild Freedom of the Mountain Men" (August, 1955); (b) "A Record Filled with Sunlight" (about Frémont—June, 1956); (c) "The

- Smart Ones Got Through" (about two groups that went west—June, 1955), (d) "The Storming of the Alamo" (February, 1961), or (e) "Vigilante Justice" (February, 1956).
7. Jessie Frémont, wife of John C., was a remarkable woman. Find out why and cite your sources.
  8. In committee, after research, report on ways by which the Government encouraged the westward movement, including (a) the Land Ordinance of 1785, (b) the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, (c) the Lewis and Clark expedition, (d) the lowering of the price of public land at specific times, (e) the winning of the Battle of Tippecanoe, (f) Jackson's Indian policies, and (g) promotion of improved transportation and communication.
  9. Select what you consider three of the most important highlights in the life of (a) Father Junipero Serra, (b) Dr. John McLaughlin, (c) Jesse Applegate, (d) Marcus Whitman, (e) John Jacob Astor, (f) Stephen Austin, or (g) Sam Houston. Cite your sources.
  10. Draw two cartoons on the Mexican War, one such as might have appeared in an American newspaper and one such as might have appeared in a Mexican newspaper.
  11. Write an imaginary dialogue between (a) Sam Houston and Santa Anna on the causes, conduct, and results of the Texan War for Independence, or between (b) President Polk and the poet Lowell on the Mexican War.
  12. Outline the scenes for a play on (a) the Texan War for Independence, (b) the Mexican War, or (c) the Oregon dispute.
  13. Obtain songs or poems dealing with any of the events in this chapter. Sing or read them to the class or tell what they reveal about the early West. (See, for example, *The Patriotic Anthology*, edited by C. Van Doren, on the period 1815–1860.)
  14. After a careful investigation of the campaign of 1844, write a campaign speech for either the Democratic Party or the Whig Party.
  15. Prepare a travel folder such as a tourist agency at the time of the gold rush might have prepared for visitors to California. In your advice include important "do's" and "don't's."
  16. Both good and bad character traits are revealed in the tragic story of the Donner party. Read up on it and prove this point.
  17. Write an appropriate epitaph for any one of those men who perished in the defense of the Alamo, or for the group as a whole.
  18. Visit a museum or historical society and report on any exhibits that throw light on the history of the early West.
  19. Borrow from the school library or the public library picture collections or picture books on the early West and show these to the class, adding any significant comments of your own.
  20. Make a matching question on the information in this chapter. Test a classmate on it.

## CHAPTER

# 15

### *Passions Prevail Over Reason and Widen The Gap Between North and South*

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#### **Some Roots of the Slavery Problem**

• Who Profited from the Slave Trade • The Significance of the Labor Shortage and Fear of Slave Rebellions • Some Southerners and Northerners Protest Slavery in the Late 1700's • In the 1800's, Passions Flare Over Slavery • The Attitudes and Actions of Abolitionists, Free-Soilers, and Antiabolitionists

#### **Certain Events of the 1850's Culminate in a Great Tragedy**

• The Compromise of 1850 Only Postpones Trouble • *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Stirs Passions • The Kansas-Nebraska Act Creates More Abolitionists and Speeds the Birth of the Republican Party • The Dred Scott Decision and the Lincoln-Douglas Debates Create New Arguments • Results of John Brown's Raid Are Explosive • Lincoln's Election Leads to the South's Secession and War

#### **Opinions Differ as to the Causes of the War Between the States**

• Hot Passions Paralyzed Cool Thinking • Blundering of Statesmen • Belief That Slavery Was a Moral Evil • An Agricultural Society v. an Industrial One • Upset in the Balance of Power in the Congress • States' Rights v. a Strong Central Government • Growing Southern Nationalism • Social Differences Between North and South

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"The Yankee nation can beat all creation!" So proclaimed many proud Americans in the 1830's and '40's as they took stock of the great progress that had been made since the creation of the nation. Such Americans were becoming more and more positive that nothing could stop this country from building a paradise here on earth.

Yet, by the end of the 1850's, supreme confidence had given way to mortal fear that the United States would be split into two nations—one in the North and one in the South. And in 1861, when war broke out between these two sections, many were convinced that the American dream of achieving an earthly paradise would never come true.

A major cause of the hope-shattering conflict between North and South was the quarrel over slavery.

## Some Roots of the Slavery Problem

**Northerners, Europeans, Africans, and Arabs Profit from the Slave Trade.** Many a slave ship leaving the coast of Africa for the New World was a floating horror. Beneath the decks were hundreds of slaves, with their owners' brands on their arms or breasts, packed so close together that they could neither stand up nor move sideways. When a storm threatened, even the few portholes were closed. According to one observer, ". . . In the hopes of procuring room to breathe men strangled those next them, " Conditions were so bad on such slave ships that often about one-third of the slave cargo died before the ship docked.

Much of the profit from this slave trade—and sometimes profits were as high as 500 per cent—went into the pockets of Northern shipowners. However, many slave ships were operated by the British, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, too. Frequently, even African chieftains profited from the slave trade. Such rulers sometimes sold their own subjects, war captives, or others seized in raids to sea captains on Africa's west coast. Prominent in raiding African settlements to obtain Negroes for sale into slavery were many Arabs.

**The Labor Shortage Encourages Slavery.** Into the harbor of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619 sailed a Dutch ship bringing twenty Negroes from Africa. This shipment of what was called "black ivory" was the first of many to the British colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. At first, such Negroes were considered not slaves but more like indentured servants (page 53). But labor in the Thirteen Colonies was scarce. Employers to whom these Negroes were bound were worried because, within a few years, their term of service would be ended. As a result, within a short

time, many colonies passed laws recognizing such Negroes as slaves.

**Fear of Slave Rebellions Leads to Strict Laws Regulating Slaves.** With increasing numbers of slaves, there developed increasing fears that slave rebellions might break out against masters and their families. Accordingly, many colonies made it illegal for a slave to carry a weapon of any kind, to travel on the roads after dark without a permit, or to hold meetings with other slaves. In some colonies, it became a crime to teach a slave to read or write. Educated slaves, it was feared, might become leaders of slave rebellions.

**Why Slaves Were More in Demand in the South Than in the North.** There was no strong opposition to slavery in the colonies during the 1600's and 1700's. In fact, there were slaves in all of them then. But the greatest percentage was in the Southern colonies. Planters, as we know, believed that Negroes could stand the intense heat on Southern plantations much better than whites. Northern farmers felt little need for slave labor on their small and less fertile farms. Usually, the family could do all the work itself. Furthermore, many Northerners were engaged in commerce or small industry, rather than farming Negro slaves, not being trained for such vocations, were consequently not in great demand in them.

## An Antislavery Movement, Supported By Both Northerners and Southerners, Begins in the Eighteenth Century

**Some Spiritual and Moral Objections to Slavery.** ". . . Those who steal and rob men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike?" This was the attitude toward slavery expressed by a religious group in Pennsylvania, the *Mennonites*, at the end of the seventeenth century. Such groups and Quakers such as John Woolman (page 38) considered slavery un-Christian.

In both North and South such questions as the following were being asked with



recognized slavery, the uncompromising Garrison burned a copy of it before a large crowd. He called the Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell."

"No union with slaveowners!" he proclaimed, and demanded that the North separate itself from the slaveholding South.

**Abolitionists: Some Radical, Some Moderate.** Men and women who, like Garrison, wished to abolish slavery were called *abolitionists*. However, many of them, unlike the radical Garrison and his followers, were moderate abolitionists. Some even called Garrison "the Massachusetts madman." Some moderate abolitionists were willing to see abolition reached gradually. Some were shocked at Garrison's violent language and his demand that the North separate itself from the South. Unlike Garrison, some of these moderates believed that slavery could be voted out of existence by the ballot. That is why they, unlike him, favored forming an abolitionist political party.

The abolitionist movement included poets and philosophers. The poet Whittier wrote:

No slave-hunt in our borders,—no pirate  
on our strand!

No fetters in the Bay State,<sup>1</sup>—no slave  
upon our land!

The philosopher Emerson wrote:

If you put a chain around the neck of a  
slave, the other end fastens itself around  
your own.

The abolitionist movement also included former slaveowners, such as the Grimké sisters and James G. Birney; former slaves, such as Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman; ministers, such as William Ellery Channing and Theodore Parker; lawyers, such as Wendell Phillips; rich men such as the Tappan brothers; and educators, such as Theodore Dwight Weld. Many believe that

the moderate abolitionist Weld was more influential than Garrison in the abolitionist movement.

**Free-Soilers Oppose Slavery, But Are Not Abolitionists.** Another antislavery group—not abolitionists—believed that slavery should be tolerated where it existed. However, it opposed the extension of slavery into the territories of the United States and, therefore, the creation of any new slave states. This group was usually called the *free-soilers*. Many free-soilers felt sorry for the slaves and wanted to see them free. Others had no sympathy for Negroes, but merely wanted to keep them out of the West and thus preserve the West for white men.

**Antislavery Action Abroad and the Reform Spirit at Home Strengthen the Antislavery Movement.** In the 1820's, many colonies in Latin America had won their independence from Spain. Before long, slaves there were given their freedom. In 1833, the British Parliament emancipated the slaves in British colonies, usually compensating their owners. Can the United States, which prides itself on its freedom, do less? asked many Americans. At this time—the era of Jacksonian democracy—reformers were trying to do much to help such unfortunates as debtors, drunkards, and criminals (Chapter 12). And who, Americans asked, was more unfortunate than a slave?

**Some Actions and Arguments of Abolitionists.** From the South and slavery to the North or Canada and freedom, the fugitive slave secretly made his way. Few would have reached a free state or Canada without the aid of abolitionists. Slaves who escaped in this manner were said to travel as passengers on the *Underground Railroad*. The stations on this railroad were the homes of abolitionists, often Quakers. Runaway slaves were hidden there in attics or haystacks, until conductors could guide them on to the next station.

But operating the Underground Railroad was breaking the Fugitive Slave Law. Here, in essence, are arguments abolitionists gave for doing so: To obey the Fugitive Slave

<sup>1</sup> "Fetters" means chains. The "Bay State" is Massachusetts. Whittier's poem is a protest against the Fugitive Slave Law, which required Northern states to return runaway slaves.

Law would be to break a higher law, a law of God. Does not the Bible preach the brotherhood of man? Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Law is obedience to the Declaration of Independence.

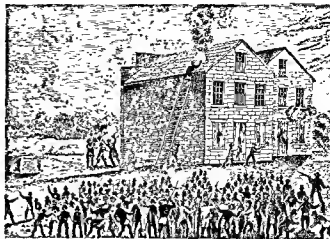
If a radical abolitionist had been asked why he was so bitter toward slaveowners, he would probably have countered with questions like these:

Isn't it shameful to separate slave children from their parents, and wives from their husbands, and sell them to different masters in distant places? Isn't it brutal to flog slaves, brand them with hot irons, or to send bloodhounds after them when they try to escape? Isn't it sinful to sell human beings like cows or horses at public auctions? Isn't it almost irreligious to show such contempt for any individual's dignity? How can a man develop a sense of responsibility if he is a slave? Does not every man, black or white, have the right to get a job of his own choosing, to get an education, and to have a voice in his government?

Some abolitionists exaggerated the cruelty of slaveowners in order to make more effective propaganda. Abolitionists lectured throughout the North, organized antislavery societies, published newspapers and pamphlets, and sent petitions to the national Congress and to state legislatures. They thus kept the fight against slavery a major topic of discussion.<sup>1</sup> But only a small fraction of the population became abolitionists.

Some historians have recently pointed out that some radical abolitionists were conservatives on issues other than slavery. For example, such abolitionists showed little concern about the evil conditions under which free laborers had to work in many Northern factories.

Certain moderate abolitionists formed a political party, the *Liberty Party*. Its candidate for President in 1840 and 1844, James G. Birney, polled only a tiny percentage of the



*The Alton riot. After Elijah Lovejoy was killed here by an antiabolitionist mob, the abolitionist Wendell Phillips said: "When he fell, civil authority was trampled underfoot. . . . He took refuge under the banner of liberty . . . when he fell, [the] glorious stars and stripes, . . . were blotted out in the martyr's blood." What is your reaction to Phillips' statement?*

votes cast. The great majority of the people, even in the North, were opposed to the abolitionists. Let us see how some Northerners showed their opposition, and why they took their stand.

**Some Actions and Arguments of Antiabolitionists in the North.** Rotten eggs and rocks were hurled at abolitionist speakers. Some were tarred and feathered. Abolitionist meeting halls were burned and abolitionist printing presses, even in the North, were smashed. In 1835, in Boston, Massachusetts, Garrison was beaten and dragged through the streets at the end of a rope. He narrowly escaped hanging. Two years later, in Alton, Illinois, the abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy was shot to death. Some abolitionists lost their friends, some abolitionist clergymen, their pulpits; and some abolitionist businessmen, their customers.

Many Northerners recognized that hot-headed abolitionists such as Garrison were arousing Southerners to similar hot-headedness. They feared that rising tempers on both sides would forever prevent the peaceful emancipation of slaves—perhaps even leading to a war that might destroy the Union.

<sup>1</sup> As a result, movements such as women's rights tended to become minor issues by 1860.

In the view of many, abolitionist propaganda was causing contempt for the Constitution and a breakdown in law and order. Many Northern workers feared that freed slaves might take over their jobs. Many Northern merchants, manufacturers, and bankers feared that bitterness aroused by the abolitionists might destroy their profitable business with the South. Many political and religious leaders feared that abolitionist propaganda was weakening their political parties and their churches. In fact, both major political parties *did* split into Northern and Southern wings. So did some of the churches. Even many Northerners who did not like slavery felt that slavery was a problem the South had to settle for itself.

**Some Actions of Antiabolitionists in the South.** A \$5,000 reward! This was Georgia's standing offer to anyone who would kidnap Garrison and deliver him to that state. Southerners blamed Garrison's abolitionist propaganda for encouraging a slave uprising in Virginia in 1831.

**A Slave Rebellion Leads to Stricter Southern Slave Laws.** The leader of this uprising was Nat Turner, a Negro preacher. The rebellion was crushed after many, both whites and Negroes, had died. Fearful of another rebellion, planters went to sleep with pistols under their pillows. Slave laws were made ever more strict to make it ever more difficult for slaves to rebel.

**Attempts to Control Writing and Speaking Against Slavery.** Following Nat Turner's rebellion, abolitionist literature was seized from Southern post offices and burned. Southerners were also angry at the number of anti-slavery petitions, often expressed in threatening language, that were swamping the Congress. In 1836, they were able to get the Congress to pass a resolution directing that antislavery petitions be completely ignored. This *gag rule*, as the resolution has been called, angered many Northerners who were not abolitionists. They regarded the gag rule as a violation of the right of petition guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. One such person was John Quincy Adams, the former

President and, at this time, a member of the House of Representatives. Adams fought the gag rule in the Congress day after day for eight years. When it was repealed in 1844, even many Southerners were relieved. They realized that because it seemed unconstitutional, the gag rule had boomeranged. Instead of hurting the abolitionists, it had made them seem martyrs in the cause of civil liberties.

**Some Arguments of Antiabolitionists in the South.** If a Southern planter had been asked why he was so bitter toward abolitionists and so passionate in his defense of slavery, he probably would have answered somewhat as follows:

Why not? Are not the abolitionists hypocrites? Are not the so-called free laborers in the North much worse off than our slaves? Don't men, women, and children alike work there in filthy factories for low wages and sometimes for longer hours than our slaves? In bad times, they lose their jobs. Without wages, they often go hungry or are evicted from the slums in which most of them live. Few ever get medical attention.

Our slaves work in the fresh air and sunshine. We take care of them when they are sick and when they get too old to work. Actually, in terms of food, clothing, and shelter, they have a higher standard of living than many so-called free factory workers.

Isn't it interesting that that hypocrite Garrison closes his eyes to these evils and can only see evils in our system of slavery? And aren't Northerners hypocrites to criticize us when they discriminate against their free Negroes? Abolitionists lie when they say that all Southern planters beat their slaves mercilessly. It is true that now and then, some may. But Northerners have no monopoly on kindness. Many of us treat our slaves like members of our family. Furthermore, wouldn't it be stupid to make a common practice of whipping slaves? Such treatment might injure their health so that they could not work, or lower the price at which they could be sold.

The planter who argued this way exaggerated the kindness of slaveowners in general, just as abolitionists exaggerated their cruelty. It is true, however, that many Northern workers, except for being free, lived miserable lives.

*Why Many Southerners Came to Believe That Slavery Was 'a Positive Good.'* In 1852, the Southern novelist Simms (page 284) wrote:

Slavery is a wisely devised institution of heaven devised for the benefit, improvement, and safety, morally, socially, and physically, of a barbarous and inferior race, who would otherwise perish by famine or by filth, by the sword, by disease, by waste . . .

Most Southerners agreed with Simms that the Negro race was inferior. Calhoun said that the clause in the Declaration of Independence stating that "all men are created equal" was just not true. By the time of Simms' statement, many Southerners had shifted from the belief that slavery was a necessary evil to the conviction that it was "a positive good." They argued: In Africa, Negroes lived like savages. As slaves on plantations, they have been civilized and Christianized and taught cleanliness and discipline. What's more, they have more rights than they did under their tribal chiefs in Africa.

Some Southerners tried to justify slavery in a number of other ways. They said that history justified it, since, for thousands of years, almost every society around the world had had some form of slavery. They pointed to clauses in the Constitution that recognized slavery. They contended that slavery was such a natural form of society that when freed slaves were sent to Liberia, some of them enslaved the natives there.

A view held by many Southerners was that economics justified slavery. Suppose, they said, that the four million slaves were freed. What then? The South would go bankrupt because it would lose billions of dollars in slave property and would also be

unable to cultivate its cotton fields. Northern and British textile mills would have to close down, causing unemployment. And millions of jobless slaves would be aimlessly wandering around the land getting themselves into trouble and becoming a burden on society.

Southerners argued, finally, that it was easy enough for Northerners who did not have their wealth tied up in slaves to sound so noble about freeing slaves.

## Political Parties And the Slavery Issue

**The Two Major Parties Try to Evade the Slavery Issue in the Election of 1848.** To take a stand in favor of slavery would lose votes in the North. To take a stand against slavery would lose votes in the South. So we'll take no stand at all on slavery. Reasoning along these lines, both major parties, the Whigs and the Democrats, in the election of 1848, dodged the slavery issue. Many in both parties also feared that continued discussion about this passionate issue might split the nation.

The Whigs nominated Zachary Taylor. Why? Jackson in 1828 and Harrison in 1840—both military heroes—had won the Presidency. The Whigs felt sure that Taylor, the hero of the Battle of Buena Vista, would have similar success.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Taylor owned slaves and it was felt that this would win him Southern votes. Yet he had never taken the kind of strong proslavery stand that would lose him Northern votes. Indeed, Taylor had no political experience at all and had never even voted in a presidential election.

For Vice-President, the Whigs nominated Millard Fillmore. As a Northerner with free-soil sentiments, Fillmore was expected to win votes for the party where Taylor might not, and vice versa.

<sup>1</sup> To many, it seems odd that the Whigs should have nominated the hero of a war to which they had been so opposed, the Mexican War.



*A campaign caricature of 1848 captioned "An Available Candidate: The One Qualification for a Whig President." This cartoon ridicules the Whigs' choice of Zachary Taylor as their candidate. Give your impressions of this type of campaign tactic.*

The Democrats also nominated a former general, a veteran of the War of 1812 named Lewis Cass. Although a Northerner, Cass had never expressed views that would anger Southern voters.

**A Minor Party Makes Opposition to the Extension of Slavery a Major Issue in 1848.** The failure of the two major parties to face the slavery issue led to the birth of a third party, the *Free-Soil Party*, in 1848. This party was made up of many former Liberty Party moderate abolitionists and of many

antislavery Whigs and antislavery Democrats. The Free-Soilers did not recommend the abolition of slavery throughout the United States. But they did oppose the extension of slavery into the territories. They demanded that the land in these territories be given away free to free farmers or free laborers. The Free-Soilers' candidate was ex-President Martin Van Buren. Their campaign slogan was: "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men!"

**The Significance of the Free-Soil Party.** The Free-Soilers did not win a single state. But by taking enough votes away from the Democrats in New York State, they enabled the Whigs to win with Taylor. By polling nearly 300,000 votes, the Free-Soilers proved to be much more popular than the Liberty Party had been in 1840 or 1844. Moreover, they elected a sufficient number of members to the Congress to assume the balance of power there. Since the Congress was fairly evenly divided between Whigs and Democrats, each of these major parties would have to woo this minor party in order to get its bills passed. By polling only 219 votes in the entire South, the Free-Soilers highlighted how dead now was the former antislavery feeling in the South.

In the 1850's, more Northerners were to come to feel that the Free-Soilers were right. At the same time, more Southerners were to become more determined to have slavery extended to all the territories. As a result, as we shall see, the Democratic Party divided, the Whig Party disappeared, and a new party, the *Republican Party*, appeared. The Republican Party adopted the attitude of the Free-Soilers in their opposition to the extension of slavery. The Free-Soil Party itself disappeared.

### **The Compromise of 1850 Merely Delays Settlement Of Major Differences**

Many a congressman was armed with a Colt revolver or a Bowie knife at meetings of the Congress in 1850. Similarly, the state

legislatures were said to resemble "furnaces in full blast, emitting heat and passion . . ." What explains this explosive atmosphere in the legislatures of the country? California, part of the Mexican Cession (page 335), had applied for admission as a free state. This delighted the North as much as it angered the South. Southerners were also angry because some Northern congressmen wanted to forbid slavery forever in all of the territory acquired from Mexico. A proposal to this effect, called the *Wilmot Proviso*, had been made and defeated while the Mexican War was still on.

**Clay Tries to Get the North and South to Compromise Some Outstanding Differences in 1850.** In 1820, Henry Clay had helped to bring about the Missouri Compromise (page 227). In 1833, he had achieved a compromise on the tariff (page 250). In 1850, this "great compromiser" tried to calm Congressional passions by introducing another compromise. Clay hoped thereby to settle, once and for all, all the slavery issues that were causing so much bitterness.

This *Compromise of 1850*, as it came to be called, aimed to please the North by recommending (1) that California's request for admission as a free state be granted and (2) that the slave trade be forbidden in the District of Columbia. It aimed to please the South by recommending (1) that slavery itself never be abolished in the District of Columbia without compensation to slave-

owners and unless the state of Maryland consented and (2) the passage of a much stricter *Fugitive Slave Law*.

The proposed compromise also recommended that the rest of the Mexican Cession outside of California be organized into two territories, Utah and New Mexico. It suggested that in these territories the settlers themselves should decide whether slavery should be permitted or not. This idea of letting the settlers decide became known as *popular sovereignty* or *squatter sovereignty*. Popular sovereignty was supposed to please the South, which feared that the *Wilmot Proviso* might be applied to this area.

Clay's compromise also proposed that some Western land claimed by Texas be turned over to the territory of New Mexico. Texas would be compensated by the Federal Government's assumption of a \$10 million debt that Texas owed. Slaveholding Texas would be pleased at being relieved of this debt. Northerners would be pleased because western Texas would become part of New Mexico, which was expected eventually to come into the Union as a free state. And as creditors of Texas ever since the Texan War, Northerners would be delighted at the prospect of getting paid quickly.

**Clay's Compromise Proposals Evoke Passionate and Brilliant Speeches in the Congress.** To save the Union, both North and South should give in a little to each other. So urged Senator Clay in proposing his com-

*Rothermel's painting of Clay addressing the United States Senate in 1850. Clay urged support of the Compromise of 1850 in these words: "... let us discard all resentment, all passions, all petty jealousies, all personal desires, all love of place, ... Let us ... think alone of our God, our country, our consciences, and our glorious Union."*



promise. He told the North that it could afford to be generous by reason of its great wealth and large population. He told the South that if it left the Union, it would never have an opportunity to extend slavery into the territories of the United States. Said this three-times-unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency, now in his seventies, ailing, and free from personal ambition:

I know no South, no North, no East, no West, to which I owe any allegiance. . . . The Union . . . is my country.

The aged Calhoun, dying of tuberculosis, was so weak that another senator had to read his speech for him. Like Clay, Calhoun dearly loved the Union. But to him, Clay's compromise seemed its death warrant. He reasoned thus:

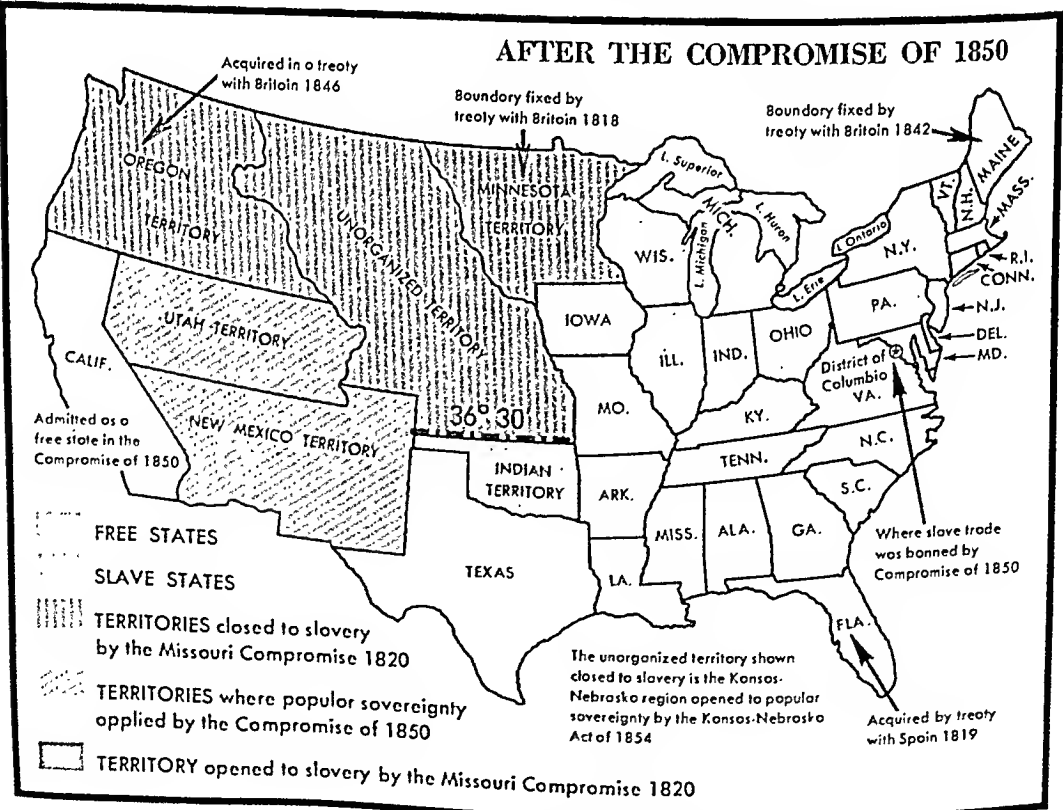
For thirty years, there has existed in the Congress a balance between the number of free states and the number of slave states. California's admission will destroy

that balance. In all probability, more free states will be carved out of the Mexican Cession. The North will then control forever not only the House of Representatives but also the Senate. Before long, a law will be passed abolishing slavery.

As a counterproposal, Calhoun urged the North to:

- Preserve the balance in the Senate
- Stop spreading abolitionist propaganda
- Stop helping fugitive slaves
- Stop attempting to exclude slavery from the territories
- Stop concentrating so much power in the central Government at the expense of the states
- Stop setting up high tariffs and building internal improvements for the benefit of the North at the expense of the South

Otherwise, concluded Calhoun, let the South "part in peace."



Although sixty-eight years of age and in poor health, Senator Daniel Webster still dreamed of becoming President. He knew that support of Clay's compromise with the South might mean political suicide for him, a Northerner from Massachusetts, where antislavery feeling was strong. Nevertheless, to preserve the Union, Webster was willing to grant the South any concessions within reason. He warned abolitionists to stop antagonizing the South with their strong attacks on slavery. He begged Northerners not to interfere with the return of fugitive slaves. He urged Northern congressmen not to insist on the Wilmot Proviso. He pointed out that slavery wouldn't be practical in the Mexican Cession anyway, because of the climate and other geographical conditions there. In this famous speech, which came to be called his *Seventh of March speech*, Webster also said:

I would rather hear of . . . war, pestilence, and famine than to hear gentlemen talk of secession.

Especially because of his support of the strict Fugitive Slave Law in Clay's compromise, abolitionists called Webster a traitor to the cause of freedom.

The eloquent arguments of Webster and Clay and the influence of Senator Stephen A. Douglas won over enough moderates to secure the passage of the compromise. Lovers of the Union in both North and South voted for it because they realized how close the nation was coming to splitting in two. Support for the compromise came, too, from Northern businessmen and Southern planters who feared that such a split would end the business they did with each other.

**Sectional Passions Are Quieted Only Briefly After the Compromise of 1850.** THE COUNTRY SAVED! This was one of many newspaper headlines expressing joy at the passage of the compromise. In both North and South many breathed sighs of relief. They felt that at last the slavery controversy was permanently settled. Millard Fillmore, who, as Vice-President, succeeded to the Presidency upon

President Taylor's death in 1850, announced that he would give the compromise his full support. So did Franklin Pierce, a Democrat elected President in 1852.

Moreover, many persons were glad to see the slavery controversy quiet down because they did not want anything to interfere with the prosperity of the early 1850's. Gold was pouring in from California. Wheat from the Middle West and cotton from the South were being exported to Europe in tremendous quantities. Factories were humming. Railroad mileage was steadily increasing. The American merchant marine, especially its fast clipper ships, was giving the British stiff competition. And in 1854, Japan signed a treaty with Commodore Matthew Perry, opening up Japanese ports to American trade.

But the high hopes held out for the Compromise of 1850 were soon shattered.

**The Stricter Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 Widens the North-South Split.** "This filthy enactment was made in the nineteenth century by people who could read and write. I will not obey it . . . !" In these angry words the philosopher Emerson condemned the Fugitive Slave Law. Why did this law make Emerson so angry? How did this law make the abolitionists, formerly hated by so many, even in the North, now more popular?

Under this law, a Negro accused of being a runaway slave was denied a trial by jury and the right either to testify for himself or to have witnesses testify for him. Suspected runaways were brought before United States commissioners. These commissioners would listen only to the evidence offered by the alleged master or his agent, and then give his decision. If the commissioner turned the alleged runaway over to the alleged master, he received twice as high a fee as if he freed him. Furthermore, all citizens were expected to co-operate in catching runaway slaves. Aiding a runaway slave might subject a citizen to a fine of \$2,000 or a sentence of six months in jail.

Although most Northerners obeyed the



# CAUTION!!

## COLORED PEOPLE

OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,

You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and advised, to avoid conversing with the

Watchmen and Police Officers  
of Boston,

For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR & ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as

## KIDNAPPERS

AND

## Slave Catchers,

And they have already been actually employed in KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY, and the Welfare of the Fugitives among you, Shun them in every possible manner, as so many HOUNDS on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.

Keep a Sharp Look Out for  
KIDNAPPERS, and have  
TOP EYE open.

APRIL 24, 1851.

*An 1851 broadside warning Boston's colored people to beware of kidnapers. Mounting resentment against the new Fugitive Slave Law caused Massachusetts to pass a strong personal liberty law. Read it in Document 182 of Documents of American History, edited by H. S. Commager.*

law, many did all they could to obstruct it. In fact, after the passage of the stricter Fugitive Slave Law, the Underground Railroad worked overtime. One mob in New York State seized a runaway slave from the custody of the marshal. The marshal himself was brought to trial on the charge of kidnapping! Many Northern states even went so far as to pass laws canceling out the

Fugitive Slave Law in their states. Such laws, called *personal liberty laws*, ordered trial by jury for alleged runaway slaves and forbade state officials to act as slave-catchers or to use state prisons for fugitive slaves.

Only a tiny percentage of slaves succeeded in escaping from their masters. Nevertheless, the anger of Southerners at Northern violations of the Fugitive Slave Law increased steadily. They accused Northerners of having no respect for Federal laws or even for the Constitution itself, which had recognized slavery.

*The Fugitive Slave Law Stimulates the Writing of Uncle Tom's Cabin.* "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war." This is how President Abraham Lincoln smilingly greeted Harriet Beecher Stowe when she was introduced to him in 1862. Mrs. Stowe was the author of the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published ten years earlier. Lincoln was saying that the novel's antislavery propaganda had so stirred the emotions of millions that the War Between the States became even more difficult to prevent.

Mrs. Stowe's story tells of the faithful old slave, Uncle Tom, flogged to death by his brutal, black-mustached master, Simon Legree, and of the barefoot slave girl, Eliza, pursued by bloodhounds as she flees across the frozen river, her baby clasped in her arms. Millions in the North and in Europe, and even some Southerners, shed tears as they read the novel or watched the play based on it. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* converted large numbers to abolitionism. Many vowed that they would never obey the Fugitive Slave Law. The novel even inspired some Russian nobles to free their serfs.

Mrs. Stowe had hoped that her book would inspire masters to free their slaves. But in her effort to show the sinfulness of slavery, she stressed extreme, rather than typical, conditions in the South. Southerners pointed out that she had never lived in a slave state and had no understanding of life on a plantation.

*The Compromise of 1850 Inspires a Stronger Drive for Acquiring Cuba.* Jefferson

and many Presidents who followed him dreamed of the day when Cuba would become part of the United States. Presidents Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan tried to buy it. What made Cuba so desirable? Cuba is such a large and fertile island that it is called the Pearl of the Antilles (West Indies). Many believed that America's manifest destiny included control of Cuba, as well as of all the other islands of the Caribbean Sea. Many felt that possession of Cuba was necessary to protect the southern borders of the United States. And many feared that if the United States did not take Cuba from weak Spain, Britain or France would.

As a result of the Compromise of 1850, many Southerners in particular became ever more convinced that the United States had to obtain Cuba. They hoped that Cuba could be divided into slave states to make up for the North's gains in the Compromise of 1850.<sup>1</sup> The desire for more slave territory explains why some Southerners, without Government approval, supported private military expeditions to seize Cuba, and Nicaragua, too.

**The Ostend Manifesto Shocks Many, Especially Antislavery Groups.** In 1851, America's foreign ministers to Britain, France, and Spain took an unprecedented step. They met at Ostend, Belgium, in that year to discuss the Cuban question. They made the bold proposal that if Spain refused to sell Cuba to the United States, and menaced the United States from Cuba, the United States should take Cuba by force.

This proposal, the *Ostend Manifesto*, was emphatically turned down by the secretary of state of the United States. Latin America and all Europe, as well as most Americans, considered it shocking. Needless to say, the loudest outcry against it came from Northern antislavery newspapers. Nevertheless, in the presidential campaigns of 1856 and 1860,

the Democratic Party, strongly influenced by Southerners, demanded Cuba's annexation.

## Certain Events of the 1850's Culminate in a Great Tragedy

**1854: The Kansas-Nebraska Act, Canceling the Missouri Compromise, Is Approved by the South, But Attacked by the North.** "... the scheme of ... a corrupt and ambitious demagogue, of grasping, dishonorable slaveholders. . . ." These angry words appeared in a Northern newspaper attacking a law passed by the Congress in 1854. This law, the *Kansas-Nebraska Act*, was introduced by Senator Stephen A. Douglas. Under it, the vast area west of Iowa and Missouri to the Rocky Mountains was organized into two territories: Nebraska in the north and Kansas in the south. The Territories of Nebraska and Kansas made up that part of the Louisiana Purchase which had not yet been made into states.<sup>1</sup>

The *Kansas-Nebraska Act* provided that the principle of popular sovereignty should apply to these two territories. Both were north of the parallel 36°30'. According to the Missouri Compromise of 1820, slavery was forever to be forbidden in this area. But the *Kansas-Nebraska Act* specifically canceled this provision.

**The Kansas-Nebraska Act Makes Many More Northerners Abolitionists.** The *Kansas-Nebraska Act* probably turned more Northerners into abolitionists than all of Garrison's propaganda, the Fugitive Slave Law, or *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Neither the North nor the South had been entirely satisfied with the Compromise of 1850. Yet they had looked upon it as a kind of truce, which, if it could be prolonged, someday might bring permanent peace between the sections. When the *Kansas-Nebraska Act* canceled the Missouri Compromise, many Northerners no longer felt any obligation to live up to the Compro-

<sup>1</sup> Such as the admission of California as a free state. Furthermore, the chances of carving slave states out of the rest of the Mexican Cession were not good (page 355).

<sup>1</sup> Today this area includes the states of Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado.

mise of 1850 either. To such Northerners, the thirty-four-year-old Missouri Compromise had come to seem something permanent and almost sacred. But now, suppose enough slaveholders settled in Kansas, next door to slave state Missouri. Then, under the principle of popular sovereignty, Kansas might become a slave state.

Northerners called Douglas a skunk and burned him in effigy. Mass meetings were held throughout the North denouncing him and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Douglas, whose middle name was Arnold, was called "Benedict Arnold." A Northern Democrat, he was accused of selling out to the South in order to win support for his candidacy for the Presidency in 1856.

*Why Did Douglas Do It?* Historians have long disagreed as to why Douglas introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. These are some points made in his defense: The principle of popular sovereignty had been approved by the Congress in the Compromise of 1850. To Douglas, popular sovereignty seemed democratic because it gave the people an opportunity to decide what they wanted. He considered the Kansas-Nebraska Act fair to both North and South. He assumed that Nebraska, with its Northern climate, would probably become a free state, and Kansas, a slave state, like its neighbor, Missouri.

The charge that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was a plot of "grasping, dishonorable slaveholders" seems unfair. It was true that some slaveowners wanted to expand westward into Kansas from their worn-out soil in Missouri. And some Southerners looked forward to adding one more slave state. However, most Southerners felt that the chances of either Kansas' or Nebraska's becoming a slave state under popular sovereignty were not too good. Even Kansas was far enough north that few slaveowners would settle there and try to grow cotton.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act pleased most Southerners, not because they would gain any practical advantages from it but because it seemed indirectly to recognize a long-time claim of theirs. This was that they had the

right to take their slaves into any of the territories of the United States, even those in which slavery had earlier been banned.

Many historians have long felt that ambition to be President was not Douglas' main motive. Many believe that a main motive *was* his interest in seeing a transcontinental railroad built in the North, running from Chicago to the West. Such a railroad would probably run through the southern part of the Nebraska Territory, not far from the northern border of the Kansas Territory. But until the Kansas-Nebraska area was organized with territorial governments, with police protection, and with a much larger population, it seemed unwise to build the desired railroad. Douglas thought that his Kansas-Nebraska Act would make all this possible. Its popular sovereignty provisions in particular would act like a magnet to attract a large population quickly.

It has been said that Douglas wanted to see such a railroad built because he owned much real estate around Chicago and also wanted to speculate in railroad stock. It has also been said that as senator from Illinois, he was eager to promote the interests of the Northwest. His proposed railroad would, of course, do so. Furthermore, Douglas felt that a railroad to the Pacific would encourage the settlement of the entire West and build up the prosperity of the entire nation. Prosperity, Douglas hoped, would encourage Americans to forget their sectional differences.

Just which motives were uppermost in Douglas' mind, no one can say.

*'Bleeding Kansas' and Bleeding Sumner: Both Results of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.* Into Kansas poured free-soilers from the North and proslavery men from the South. Such was the result of the popular-sovereignty clause in the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Obviously, both Northerners and Southerners would want to have enough of their own people there to vote on whether the territory should be organized as a free or slave territory. Before long, Kansas had two territorial governments, a free-soil government and a proslavery government. Each claimed to be

the rightful government. Stuffed ballot boxes and illegal voters were used by both sides.

In the spring of 1856, proslavery men, some of them drunk, raced through Lawrence, a town settled by free-soilers. They looted and destroyed homes and stores and smashed printing presses. A fanatical abolitionist, John Brown, sought revenge. Leading a small band, including four of his sons, he raided a proslavery settlement. The raiders seized and slaughtered five men.

This *Pottawatomie Massacre*, as it was called, led to a civil war in Kansas. Because several hundred lost their lives in this struggle, the territory was soon being referred to as "Bleeding Kansas." "Border ruffians" is what the free-soilers called the proslavery group. "Cutthroats" is what the proslavery group called the free-soilers. The names were fitting for some in both groups. Some on both sides were no better than gangsters, taking advantage of the excitement to commit robberies and murders. Some on both sides had little interest in slavery one way or the other. Their main interest was to jump the land claims of others and to speculate in real estate. On the other hand, the main motive of many who entered the territory was to farm the fertile land there. After several years of civil war in Kansas, the territory was admitted to the Union as a free state in 1861.

Violence bred by the Kansas-Nebraska Act was not confined to Kansas. One day in 1856, Congressman Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, cane in hand, walked up to the Senate desk of Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Brooks proceeded to bring the cane down on Sumner's head repeatedly, until the cane broke. The bleeding Sumner lay unconscious on the floor. It took him nearly four years to recover.

In a sense, Sumner had brought this attack upon himself. A few days before, he had delivered a speech, later called "The Crime Against Kansas." Sumner, an abolitionist, was a cultured man. Yet in this speech, he had made a vulgar attack upon proslavery men in general, and upon Senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina in par-

ticular. In attacking Sumner, Brooks felt he was avenging the Sumner attack upon his section, his state, and his uncle, Senator Butler.

Many thoughtful persons in both North and South were shocked at both Sumner's violent words and Brooks' violent action—both on the floor of the United States Senate. These displays of passion replacing reason made them fear for their country. As a result of the violence, thousands of persons bought copies of Sumner's speech who might otherwise not have paid any attention to it. To many Southerners, this meant that Northerners in general approved of Sumner's violent words. Southern admirers of Brooks' action sent him canes to replace the one he had broken. To many Northerners, this meant that Southerners in general approved of Brooks' violent action.

**1854: The Birth of the Republican Party Is Speeded by the Kansas-Nebraska Act.** Now is the time for a new political party. This was the view of many enemies of slavery while the hated Kansas-Nebraska Bill was being debated in 1854. They had become disgusted with the Democrats and weary of the Whigs. Why? They felt that neither party would work vigorously to prevent the further extension of slavery. For within each there were Northern and Southern wings that disagreed sharply over this question.

In any case, the Whig Party seemed to have no future. True, in 1840 and 1848, the Whigs had won presidential elections. In 1852, the Whig candidate, General Winfield Scott, had been defeated by Democrat Franklin Pierce. By then, the Whig Party was already disorganized and dying. Hastening its death were the deaths in 1852 of the two great Whig leaders—both lovers of the Union—Clay and Webster.

In 1854, therefore, Democratic and Whig opponents of the extension of slavery joined with many members of the Free-Soil Party and formed a new party, called the *Republican Party*. Some abolitionists and some temperance leaders (page 274) joined, too. The name "Republican" was a wise choice be-

cause it appealed to many who remembered fondly the old Jeffersonian Republican Party.

What did this new-born Republican Party demand? It demanded that the Kansas-Nebraska Act, because it had repealed the Missouri Compromise and made possible the extension of slavery into more territory, be repealed. The Republicans demanded the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, charging that it violated the Bill of Rights. They declared that the Congress *did* have the right to pass laws prohibiting slavery in the territories of the United States. At the same time, they assured the country that they had no desire to interfere with slavery in the states where it already existed.

**'Doughface' Bachelor Defeats Romantic Pathfinder in Election of 1856.** "Free speech, free press, free soil, free men, and Frémont and victory!" was the Republican slogan in the presidential campaign of 1856. The slogan reveals how much the Republican Party owed to the Free-Soil Party of 1848 (page 352). The Republicans thought that they could win with General John C. Frémont as their candidate. Frémont was the glamorous Western pathfinder who had also made headlines during the Mexican War (page 334). Romance entered the campaign, too. The Republicans publicized Frémont's happy marriage to his pretty and bright wife, Jessie, who had loyally supported him in his Western adventures. They had picked Frémont over more prominent Republicans, such as Seward and Sumner, because he had not expressed himself strongly on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Thus, it was felt, he would have made fewer enemies than they.

Frémont's Democratic opponent in this campaign was an old bachelor, James Buchanan. He had been United States minister to Britain at the time the heated Kansas-Nebraska debate was taking place. Thus it was felt that he, too, had made fewer enemies than more prominent men in his party. Buchanan was called a "doughface," that is, a Northerner with Southern sympathies. As a doughface, he would, the Democrats hoped, win votes in both the North and the South.

The Democratic platform called for support of the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

After a campaign of bitter name-calling, the old bachelor beat out the romantic husband for President in 1856, but not by much.

***The American Party Helps to Defeat Frémont and the Republicans in 1856.*** Although Buchanan had a majority of the electoral votes, he did not win a majority of the popular votes. If the Republican Party had had the popular votes of another new party in this election, it would have had more popular votes than Buchanan. This other new party, the *American Party*, was made up mainly of Know-Nothings (page 278). Some supported the American Party because they thought that by stirring up prejudice against immigrants, they would be taking people's minds off the slavery issue. Its presidential candidate, ex-President Fillmore, was among those who hoped that by so doing, the party would unite North and South.

***Some Danger Signs in the Election of 1856.*** Several danger signs appeared in the election of 1856. The Democratic and Republican Parties proved themselves to be far more sectional parties than national parties. Just as the Republican Party won most of its votes in the North and West, so the Democratic Party won most of its votes in the South. Uncompromising Southerners had threatened to urge their states to secede if the Republican Party, with its platform of no further extension of slavery, had won. Uncompromising abolitionists were hoping that the South would secede. Their complaint was that the Republican Party platform did not go far enough.

**1857: The Dred Scott Case Creates New Arguments Over the Slavery Issue.** Enemies of slavery were infuriated by the developments in a complicated case that came before the Supreme Court in 1857: the Dred Scott case. Let us find out why.

***How the Dred Scott Case Originated.*** From the slave state of Missouri into the free state of Illinois, then into a free territory, and, after a few years, back again to Missouri

went a slave with his master. Later, the slave, Dred Scott, sued for his freedom. He received support from abolitionists, who sought to make this a test case.<sup>1</sup> Scott's lawyers argued that since he had lived in a free state and in a free territory north of 36°30' (page 229), he should be declared a free man. In time, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court.

*How the Supreme Court Ruled in the Dred Scott Case.* The Court stated that no slaves or descendants of slaves, even if free, could be citizens of the United States. Accordingly, since Scott was not a citizen, he was not, the Court ruled, eligible to sue in a Federal court. Normally, this judgment would have closed the case. But in those abnormal times, some of the justices thought that the highest court in the land ought to give an opinion on the entire slavery issue. Thus they hoped to put an end to the bitterness over slavery once and for all. The Court's judgment against Scott's right to sue and the Court's opinion, which we are about to discuss, have together come to be called the *Dred Scott decision*. However, it was the opinion that led to great bitterness.

The opinion given by Chief Justice Roger Taney made these major points. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 is unconstitutional, because the Congress has no right to prohibit slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of 36°30'. The Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act are likewise unconstitutional, because the Congress has no right to permit a territory to decide whether it should have slavery or not.

In short, it was the Court's opinion that the Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in any territory of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

What was the reasoning behind this opinion? A slave was considered to be the property of his master. And, Taney argued, the Fifth Amendment in the Bill of Rights states

that the Congress may not interfere with a man's property without due process of law.

Taney's four fellow Southern justices on the Supreme Court concurred in his opinion. Yet only Taney owned slaves. And he had emancipated all his except two who were too aged and helpless to be able to make a living on their own.

*How the Dred Scott Case Affected Republicans, and Northerners and Southerners in General.* The Court's opinion in the Dred Scott case shocked the Republican Party. The main principle of the party was opposition to the further extension of slavery to the territories of the United States. If the Court's opinion that the Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in the territories were accepted, the Republican Party might just as well drop out of existence. Republicans, abolitionists, and many Northerners in general branded the opinion illegal and immoral. They pledged refusal to accept it. Some, formerly lukewarm on the slavery issue, were so aroused by the opinion that they joined the Republican Party. There were even some Democrats who did so.

Democrat Stephen Douglas defended the Court's opinion. But as the main spokesman for the principle of popular sovereignty, he was concerned about the conclusions to be drawn. If, for example, the Congress could not prohibit slavery in the territories, how could the legislature of a territory created by the Congress do so? If, indeed, according to the Court, slavery was legal in all the territories, then the principle of popular sovereignty would be illegal. For, under popular sovereignty, people could vote slavery out of existence in their territory.

Some furious Northerners declared that the opinion in the Dred Scott case was part of a long-standing Southern plot to fasten slavery permanently on the nation.

Southerners in general were delighted with the Court's opinion, and condemned the North for refusing to accept it.

And what happened to Dred Scott? One year after his master freed him, he died of tuberculosis.

<sup>1</sup> Actually, Scott would have been freed anyway, since his master's widow had married an abolitionist.

<sup>2</sup> The opinion applied only to territories, not to states.

time! This was the gleeful feeling of many Republican leaders about the election of 1860. The Democratic Party was splitting in two. Why were the Democrats splitting, when they knew that such a split was bound to help the Republicans in the approaching election? Many Democrats had been pretty sure that Douglas would win the Democratic nomination. But to many uncompromising leaders from the Deep South, Douglas' Freeport Doctrine proved that he was no friend of the South. They were furious because this doctrine had indicated that territorial legislatures could evade the Court's opinion in the Dred Scott case. To prevent such evasion, these Southerners said, popular sovereignty must go. They demanded that the Congress pass special laws to protect slavery in the territories. And they wanted this demand included in the Democratic platform.

But the supporters of Douglas rejected the demands of the Deep South. And Douglas himself stood by his Freeport Doctrine.

These differences explain the split in the Democratic Party. The Northern Democrats nominated Douglas and the Southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. For Vice-President, the Northern Democrats nominated a Southerner, and the Southern Democrats a Northerner. But this attempt to prove that each wing of the party had national, not sectional, interests at heart fooled nobody.

**The Constitutional Union Party Is Ridiculed as Not Realistic.** A new party, the *Constitutional Union Party*, also entered the presidential contest. This party was made up of some former members of the now-dead Whig Party and of some Know-Nothings. It maintained that the only thing that counted was the preservation of the Union. It nominated John Bell, a Southerner, for President. If only the sections would stop hurling hot words at each other, there would be no danger of their hurling hot lead, the Constitutional Unionists seemed to feel. But by now, feelings were so hot in both sections that many ridiculed the new party as one cherishing merely

pious hopes and out of step with the times.

**Why Lincoln Was Nominated by the Republicans.** Many people—including Seward himself—had been reasonably sure that William H. Seward would win the Republican nomination. Without question, no other Republican was better known. But in his long career in politics, Seward had made many enemies. His attacks on the Know-Nothings for their religious prejudice had lost him some support. Furthermore, although not a radical abolitionist, Seward had made some radical statements on the slavery issue. He had, for example, referred to "a higher law than the Constitution"<sup>1</sup> when proslavery groups pointed out that the Constitution recognized slavery. He had predicted "an irrepressible conflict" over slavery. Conservative voters, the party feared, would therefore not vote for him.

Lincoln was considered much more conservative than Seward on the slavery question. Seward had condemned the Fugitive Slave Law. Lincoln had said that it should be enforced. Yet Lincoln's views were considered strong enough to satisfy the antislavery groups in the Republican Party. His campaign managers won over influential Republicans to support him for the nomination. Many were promised important Government jobs if Lincoln was elected. This was done in spite of Lincoln's warning to them: "I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none."

Some big-city politicians thought of Lincoln as a simple country lawyer who would take orders from them. Actually, Lincoln was a clever politician, who had no intention of being anybody's puppet. Some political leaders thought that this Westerner would have the same sort of appeal to the average voter as Andrew Jackson had had. Lincoln's log-cabin birth, rail-splitting youth, struggles at self-education, "fair and square" reputation, homely humor, and obvious interest in the plain people would all make for good public-

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<sup>1</sup> Meaning God's law.

ity in the election campaign. All this helps to explain why Lincoln won the Republican nomination. Seward's supporters were, as one historian has put it, "so overcome by their favorite's defeat that they cried like heart-broken children."

**How the Republican Platform in 1860 Appealed for Votes.** In the Republican platform of 1860, there was something for almost everybody. To please Northern businessmen, a high protective tariff and a Federal banking system were promised. To please Western farmers and would-be Western settlers from the East, free farm lands were promised. "Vote yourself a farm!" became a Republican slogan. Northerners and Westerners both liked the Republican promise to promote Federal aid for such internal improvements as a transcontinental railroad.

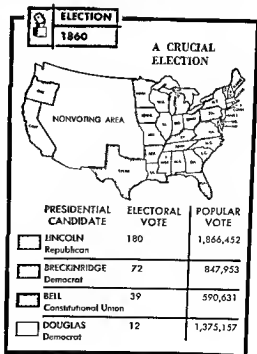
How much the Republican platform resembled the Federalist Hamilton's program (page 161) and the Whig Clay's American system (page 216)! But Jeffersonian idealism was also injected. The platform declared its firm support of the noble ideals that Jefferson had written into the Declaration of Independence. Even the South was promised something: that the Republicans would not interfere with slavery where it already existed. Furthermore, John Brown's raid was condemned. Opponents of slavery would be pleased by the Republican pledge to oppose the further extension of slavery to the territories. Lovers of the Union would be pleased by the declaration that secession was illegal.

However, probably more persons voted the Republican ticket because of its economic appeals<sup>1</sup> than because they were opposed to the extension of slavery in the territories. (In fact, many whites, disliking competition from Negroes, hoped that free Negroes, as well as slaves, would be barred from the territories.) In 1857, a severe panic had struck the na-

tion. Merchants and manufacturers in the North had suffered far more in this *Panic of 1857* than had the cotton planters of the South. Such Northerners felt that if a high tariff and a sound banking system had existed at this time, they would have suffered far less. They blamed Southerners in the Congress for blocking such measures. This helps to explain why many businessmen who had supported the Democrats financially in 1856 swung their support to the Republicans in 1860.

**Some Techniques Used in the 1860 Election.** In fear of losing votes, Lincoln spokesmen said little about slavery. They concentrated instead on such issues as the need for a high tariff and a transcontinental railroad. Lincoln's opponents indulged in name-calling. They called him an African gorilla, an abolitionist, and a Know-Nothing. Douglas and many Southerners warned that people who voted for Lincoln were really voting for the break-up of the Union. But Lincoln won anyway.

**Election Returns in 1860 Analyzed.** Lincoln was a minority President. Although he



<sup>1</sup> These economic appeals had little appeal to Southerners. The states-rights South had long opposed giving the Federal Government as much power over economic questions as the Republican platform promised.



seceded from the Union by Inauguration Day. Four more were ready to follow. On their way south were many Federal military and civilian officials whose allegiance was now to their native states in the Confederacy, rather than to the Federal Government. Almost all the forts and military equipment in the seceded states were now in the control of the Confederacy. And from besieged Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, came a cry for help.

**Lincoln's Inaugural Address Is Friendly, But Firm, Toward the South.** In his Inaugural Address, Lincoln tried to persuade the seceded states to come back into the Union. He declared:

Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them.

Geography emphasizes this point of Lincoln's dramatically: The Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River run north and south, not east and west. Lincoln also appealed to patriotism when, referring to the common heritage of all Americans, he spoke of "the mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave." And he tried to soothe Southern feelings by emphasizing his promise not to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed.

At the same time, Lincoln warned that the Union was perpetual and that secession was rebellion. He declared that he was determined to "hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the [federal] government." But in protecting such property, Lincoln pledged, the Government would not use force unless forced to do so. He went on:

In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. . . . You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect, and defend" it.

Lincoln ended by saying:

We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. . . .

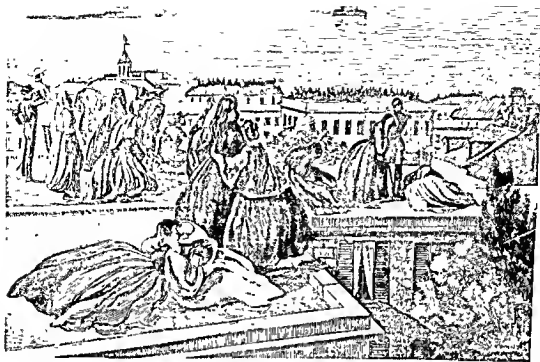
But Lincoln's Inaugural Address failed to convince the seceded states. Last-minute compromise proposals failed, too. The South refused to yield on its demand for protection of slavery in all the territories. Lincoln just as stubbornly opposed any further extension of slavery into any of the territories.

**The Bombardment of Fort Sumter Begins the War Between the States.** Whether or not to answer Fort Sumter's call for help was one of the most difficult decisions Lincoln ever had to make. If Lincoln *did* send men and munitions, war might break out and, to many, the Federal Government might seem the aggressor. Furthermore, such action might lead to the secession of more slave states.

But suppose Lincoln did *not* send men and munitions, and, as a result, Fort Sumter fell into the hands of the Confederacy. This would be interpreted as a sign that Lincoln considered the Confederacy legal. Many Northerners would call it a cowardly surrender.

Lincoln finally decided not to send men and munitions to Fort Sumter, but to send provisions to keep its garrison from starving. The Confederacy interpreted this action as "a threat" and "a challenge." It also considered the action a double cross; for Seward, Lincoln's secretary of state, had given Confederate envoys the impression that the fort would be surrendered. Furthermore, the Confederacy felt that it would be the laughingstock of the world if it were to permit Union forts to remain in its territory.

Therefore, Confederate officers demanded that Major Robert Anderson, in command of Fort Sumter, surrender it immediately. Anderson refused. Then Confederate batteries on the shore began blasting the fort in the harbor. Spectators cheered them on from the roofs of houses along the shore. Thus began the terrible and tragic War Be-



*The housetops of Charleston during the bombardment of Fort Sumter. This might be called one of the most tragic events in all of American history. For what reasons?*

tween the States. For thirty-four hours, the eighty-four men in the fort endured the bombardment. They finally surrendered on April 13, 1861.

To many Northerners, the South now appeared to be the aggressor, having fired the first shot—and upon the Stars and Stripes at that. Confederates considered the North the aggressor "for the refusal to surrender Sumter and the attempt to reinforce it."

The firing on Fort Sumter caused war fever to rage in both North and South. Lincoln's old political rival, Douglas, now tried to rally Northerners to the support of the Union with such statements as: "There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots or traitors." Former Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, formerly sympathetic to the South, stuck by the Stars and Stripes, too. Far more volunteers answered Lincoln's call for enlistments than could be immediately used.

Just as passionately patriotic, thousands of Southern volunteers rallied to the Stars and Bars. Even many Southerners who had thought that slavery and secession were wrong joined up. Such volunteers considered Lincoln's call for troops an aggressive act. Considering it aggression, too, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee seceded to join the Confederacy.

### **Opinions Differ as to the Causes Of the War Between the States**

From the creation of the nation, North and South had often tried to settle their differences by compromise. Why, by 1860, then, was compromise no longer acceptable? Why, by 1861, then, were men from North and South fighting on opposite sides in a war

## The Road to the War Between the States

1619	• First Negroes brought to colonies
1688	• Mennonites present first public protest against slavery
1712	• Slave riot in New York
1774	• Rhode Island becomes first colony to forbid slavery
1775	• Quakers organize first American antislavery society
1787	• Slavery forbidden in North-west Territory
1788	• Constitution ratified; three-fifths compromise; fugitive slave provision; importation of slaves not to be forbidden for twenty years
1793	• Whitney invents cotton gin
1804	• By this date, emancipation, immediate or gradual, achieved in all states north of Maryland
1820	• Missouri Compromise
1822	• Liberia founded by American Colonization Society
1828	• Tariff of Abominations • Calhoun's 'Exposition and Protest' published

1830	• Webster-Hayne debate
1831	• Garrison's <i>Liberator</i> appears • Nat Turner's rebellion • Underground Railroad so named about this time
1832	• South Carolina nullifies tariff
1833	• Compromise Tariff blasted by Webster
1836	• Congress adopts gag rule
1837	• Abolitionist Lovejoy shot to death
1840	• Liberty Party nominates Birney
1844	• Gag rule repealed
1846	• Mexican War begins • Wilmot Proviso proposed
1848	• Free-Soil Party nominates Van Buren • Mexican Cession acquired
1850	• Compromise of 1850 • Vermont first state to pass personal liberty law
1852	• <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> published
1854	• Kansas-Nebraska Act • Birth of the Republican Party • Ostend Manifesto demands Cuba
1856	• Civil war in Kansas • Brooks canes Sumner
1857	• Dred Scott case • <i>Helper's Impending Crisis of the South</i> published

1858	• Lincoln-Douglas debates
1859	• John Brown's raid
1860	• Lincoln elected • South Carolina secedes
1861	• Firing on Fort Sumter • War Between the States begins

favor of the North and West explains why Southerners demanded the annexation of Cuba, which could be made into one or more slave states. The breaking of the balance also helps to explain why Southern states seceded when Lincoln was elected President. As we know, Lincoln and his Republican Party were opposed to the admission of new slave states from the territories.

**States' Rights v. a Strong Central Government as a Cause of the War.** The Southern states had seceded not to preserve slavery but to preserve the rights of the states. This is what former Confederate leaders maintained for many years after the war was over. Lincoln, on the other hand, asserted that the Union was fighting the war not to free the slaves but to preserve the Union.

Believers in states' rights argued as follows: The states are older than the Union. The states created the Union. The states may nullify an act of the Congress if they feel that it is unconstitutional or interferes with their rights. A state may even secede from the Union.

Some such states' rights arguments had been used by Jefferson and Madison in writing the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, by New Englanders at the Hartford Convention, by Calhoun in his "Exposition and Protest," and by Hayne in the Webster-Hayne debate. Obviously, the states' rights point of view conflicted with Lincoln's point of view that no state has the right to leave the Union. It is obvious, too, why Southerners would stress states' rights arguments in a Congress where the political balance of

power had been broken. For this break had made the South a minority there. Through using states' rights arguments, the South hoped to curb the power of the Congress controlled by the majority.

**Growing Nationalistic Feeling for the South, Rather Than for the Union, as a Cause of the War.** "I fear northerner and southerner are aliens. . . . We differ like Celt and Anglo-Saxon." This statement by a Southerner in 1860 expresses the feeling of many Southerners at this time. It shows that such persons were beginning to think of the South not as a section of the United States but almost as a separate nation. Some such Southerners quoted the Declaration of Independence as giving them the right to break away from the Union and set up their own independent government. Southerners who felt nationalistic toward the South expressed this feeling something like this: Why remain in a Union with the North when we are so different in our way of life and in the way we make a living? We'll make a much better living as an independent nation. We'll have our own factories, our own banking system, our own shipping industry, our own tariff, instead of depending on those that benefit the North.

**Social Differences Between North and South as a Cause of the War.** In the North, changes took place quickly and the pace of living was faster. There was constant agitation for free public schools, women's rights, and rights for workers. In the South, life was much less hurried and changes came slowly. Many planters lived an aristocratic, semi-feudal kind of life, overseeing the slaves who worked their plantations. Even many Southerners who did not own plantations became accustomed to the Southern way of life. Some considered this way of life so sacred that they hated the thought of change. It is obvious that the social differences as a cause of the war are closely related to the economic disagreements between North and South. In fact, all the basic causes frequently mentioned are more or less connected with one another.

# STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 15

## ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

American Colonization Society	Compromise of 1850	John Brown	John C. Breckinridge
Liberia	popular or squatter sovereignty	Pottawatomie Massacre	Constitutional Union Party
William L. Garrison	Seventh of March speech	Charles Sumner	John Bell
abolitionists	Franklin Pierce	Preston S. Brooks	William H. Seward
free-soilers	Fugitive Slave Law of 1850	Republican Party	Panic of 1857
Underground Railroad	personal liberty laws	James Buchanan	Confederate States of America
Liberty Party	Harriet Beecher Stowe	"doughface"	Stars and Bars
Elijah Lovcjoy	Ostend Manifesto	Dred Scott decision	Jefferson Davis
Nat Turner	Kansas-Nebraska Act	Roger Tancy	Fort Sumter
gag rule	Stephen A. Douglas	Lincoln's "house-divided" speech	
Millard Fillmore	"Bleeding Kansas"	Lincoln-Douglas debates	
Lewis Cass		Freeport Doctrine	
Free-Soil Party		John Brown's raid	
Wilmot Proviso			

## ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Prove that slave trading was not a monopoly of any one nation or group.
2. Give some specific results of the fear of slave rebellions during the colonial period.
3. For what practical reasons was slavery less common in the North than in the South?
4. Connect with the early antislavery movement (a) Mennonites and Quakers, (b) the Declaration of Independence, (c) the attitude of Washington and Jefferson, (d) certain French philosophers, and (e) business reasons.
5. Give examples from the close of the American Revolution to about 1830 to prove that many Southerners opposed slavery.
6. Sum up all the clauses in the Constitution that are in any way related to slavery.
7. Associate with the growing proslavery sentiment in the South (a) the cotton gin, (b) the British textile industry, and (c) representation of the sections in the Congress.
8. For what specific reasons was the Missouri Compromise displeasing to (a) Southerners and (b) Northerners?
9. How did the views of abolitionists like Garrison differ from those of (a) moderate abolitionists and (b) free-soilers?
10. Prove that the antislavery movement was in tune with the times (a) in the United States and (b) outside the United States.
11. Make a list of techniques used by abolitionists in their fight against slavery.
12. For what reasons did the techniques used by abolitionists worry many Northern antiabolitionists?

13. Make a list of techniques used by anti-abolitionists in the South in their defense of slavery.
14. Show how, in the election of 1848, the major parties played down the slavery issue, while a third party faced up to it.
15. Mention three ways in which the Free-Soul Party strongly influenced the political picture.
16. Show specifically how California's application for admission to the Union aggravated the slavery controversy.
17. In Column I, list the terms of the Missouri Compromise. In Column II, list the terms of the Compromise of 1850. In Column III, list the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
18. With respect to the Compromise of 1850, sum up the arguments given or role played by (a) Clay, (b) Calhoun, (c) Webster, and (d) Douglas.
19. Give specific reasons why businessmen in general were happy in the early 1850's.
20. For what reasons were (a) many Northerners bitter at the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and (b) many Southerners bitter at the personal liberty laws?
21. Explain why *Uncle Tom's Cabin* aroused strong emotions in both North and South.
22. Strategic, political, and economic reasons help to explain the interest of the United States in Cuba in our early history. Give proof.
23. Give specific reasons why many Northerners strongly resented the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
24. Outline some possible motives of Douglas in proposing the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
25. Connect with the Kansas-Nebraska Act (a) the Pottawatomie Massacre, (b) civil war in Kansas, (c) violence in the Senate, and (d) the birth of the Republican Party.
26. With respect to the new-born Republican Party, tell (a) what groups it was composed of, (b) its principles, (c) its reason for nominating Frémont rather than Seward, (d) the effect of the American Party on Republican fortunes in the election of 1856, and (e) the significance of that election.
27. Concerning the Dred Scott case, give (a) the issues involved, (b) the majority opinion given by Taney, and (c) its effects on Douglas, the Republican Party, Northerners in general, and Southerners in general.
28. Describe the controversy between Lincoln and Douglas over the "house-divided" speech.
29. With respect to the Freeport Doctrine, tell (a) the specific circumstances that led to it, (b) what it was, and (c) how it hurt Douglas politically.
30. Describe the (a) reasons for, (b) highlights of, and (c) effects of John Brown's raid.
31. In the election of 1860, the Republican Party was greatly helped by (a) a split in the Democratic Party, (b) the inadequacy of the Constitutional Union Party, (c) the nomination of Lincoln rather than Seward, and (d) the Republican platform. Point out why.
32. Indicate two significant conclusions that might be drawn from the results of the election of 1860.
33. Mention four highlights of the Confederate constitution.
34. Point out why immediate secession seemed (a) unwise to Southern moderates, but (b) wise to Southern extremists.
35. How did secession cause division within states and even within families?
36. Describe (a) Buchanan's views on secession and (b) why they were criticized.
37. Describe two of the most serious problems facing Lincoln upon his inauguration as President.
38. Give specific proof that in his Inaugural Address, Lincoln was (a) firm, but (b) friendly toward the South.
39. Point out (a) why yielding on Fort Sumter appealed to neither Lincoln nor the Confederacy and (b) the effects of

the firing on Fort Sumter in both North and South.

40. Explain fully any three of the causes frequently given for the War Between the States.

### ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Give your reactions to (a) the conditions on many slave ships and (b) the international slave trade in general. Explain fully.
2. What do you consider the most important reason for the antislavery movement that began in the eighteenth century? Justify your choice fully.
3. What do you think Jefferson meant by his statement on slavery: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just"?
4. For what reasons do you think the words "slave" and "slavery" were not used in the original Constitution?
5. Would you have supported or opposed the plan to settle freed Negroes in Liberia? Justify your stand fully.
6. Which clause in the original Constitution seems to you to have given the greatest sanction to slavery? Give reasons for your choice.
7. Which group do you think had the better legal case, Southern slaveowners who felt that they should be allowed to take their slaves into any territory or those Northerners who felt that slavery should be banned in all territories? Base your answer on a study of the Northwest Ordinance and those provisions in the Constitution that either group might quote.
8. Does any issue ever justify the passionate, uncompromising attitude of a William Lloyd Garrison? Justify your answer.
9. Give your interpretation of Emerson's statement: "If you put a chain around the neck of a slave, the other end fastens itself around your own."
10. Since the Underground Railroad was illegal, do you personally feel that those who operated it should have been severely punished? Give reasons for your answer.
11. Do you feel that (a) those abolitionists who exaggerated the cruelty of slaveowners or (b) those Southerners who exaggerated the kindness of slaveowners were justified in doing so? Explain fully.
12. What reasons might explain why relatively few became abolitionists, in spite of the intensive abolitionist propaganda?
13. Give your opinion of (a) the practice of seizing abolitionist literature from Southern post offices and (b) the gag rule in the Congress.
14. Compare the actions and arguments of the abolitionists with those of the anti-abolitionists in the South. What conclusions do you draw?
15. Which section do you believe got the better of the Compromise of 1850, the North or the South? Give reasons.
16. In what ways did the reactions to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* indicate that compromising differences between the North and South was not going to be easy?
17. The Kansas-Nebraska Act showed poor judgment on the part of Douglas. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
18. Why might a good citizen be troubled by the reasons why (a) the Republicans nominated Frémont in 1856 and (b) the Democrats nominated Buchanan?
19. What do you consider the most serious danger sign in the election of 1856?
20. The Court's opinion in the Dred Scott case was in conflict with (a) the basic principle of the new-born Republican Party and (b) the principle of popular sovereignty. Prove.
21. What factors might explain why two New England intellectuals differed so sharply in their opinions of John Brown as did Emerson and Hawthorne?
22. Compare the Republican platform in 1860 with (a) Federalist Hamilton's pro-

gram and (b) Whig Clay's American system

23. Do you believe that the course of events would have been much different if (a) moderates like Jefferson Davis had won out over extremists on the question of immediate secession or (b) Andrew Jackson, instead of Buchanan, had been President in 1860?
24. Suppose that you had been President Lincoln in 1861. (a) What would you have included in your Inaugural Address? (b) What would you have done when Fort Sumter was bombarded? Explain
25. Show ways in which the various causes given for the War Between the States are connected with one another

★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

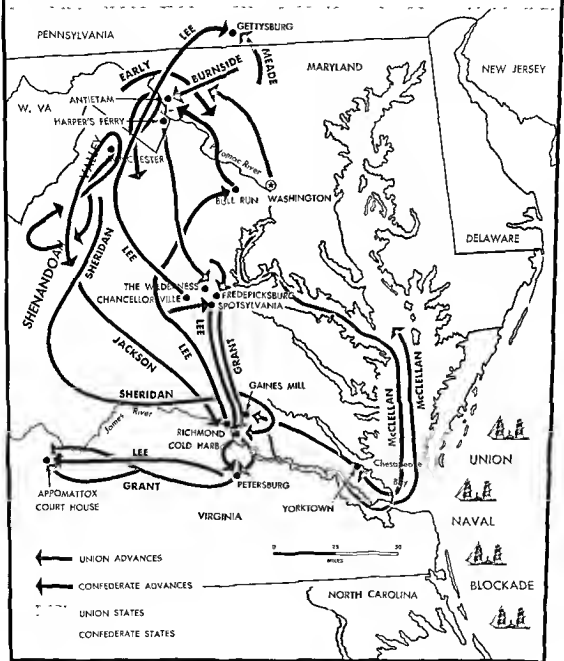
1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities that a President should possess, check Presidents (a) Taylor, (b) Fillmore, and (c) Buchanan. Use as many sources as possible.
2. Investigate any individual mentioned in this chapter with respect to the slavery controversy. Find out and report on his or her (a) views, (b) methods, (c) obstacles, (d) successes and failures, (e) significant quotations, and (f) career's dramatic highlights
3. On one or more outline maps of the United States indicate as clearly as you can the free and slave sections (a) before and immediately after the Missouri Compromise and (b) before and immediately after the Compromise of 1850. Indicate also areas that were neither free nor slave.
4. Draw a freeland map showing how the Kansas-Nebraska Act canceled the Missouri Compromise
5. Imagine yourself (a) a conductor on the Underground Railroad, (b) a book reviewer on a Southern newspaper assigned

to review *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, (c) a foreign correspondent commenting on the Ostend Manifesto, (d) a reporter interviewing Douglas on his motives for proposing the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, or (e) a congressman speaking on the gag rule. Make the report you choose as significant and dramatic as you can.

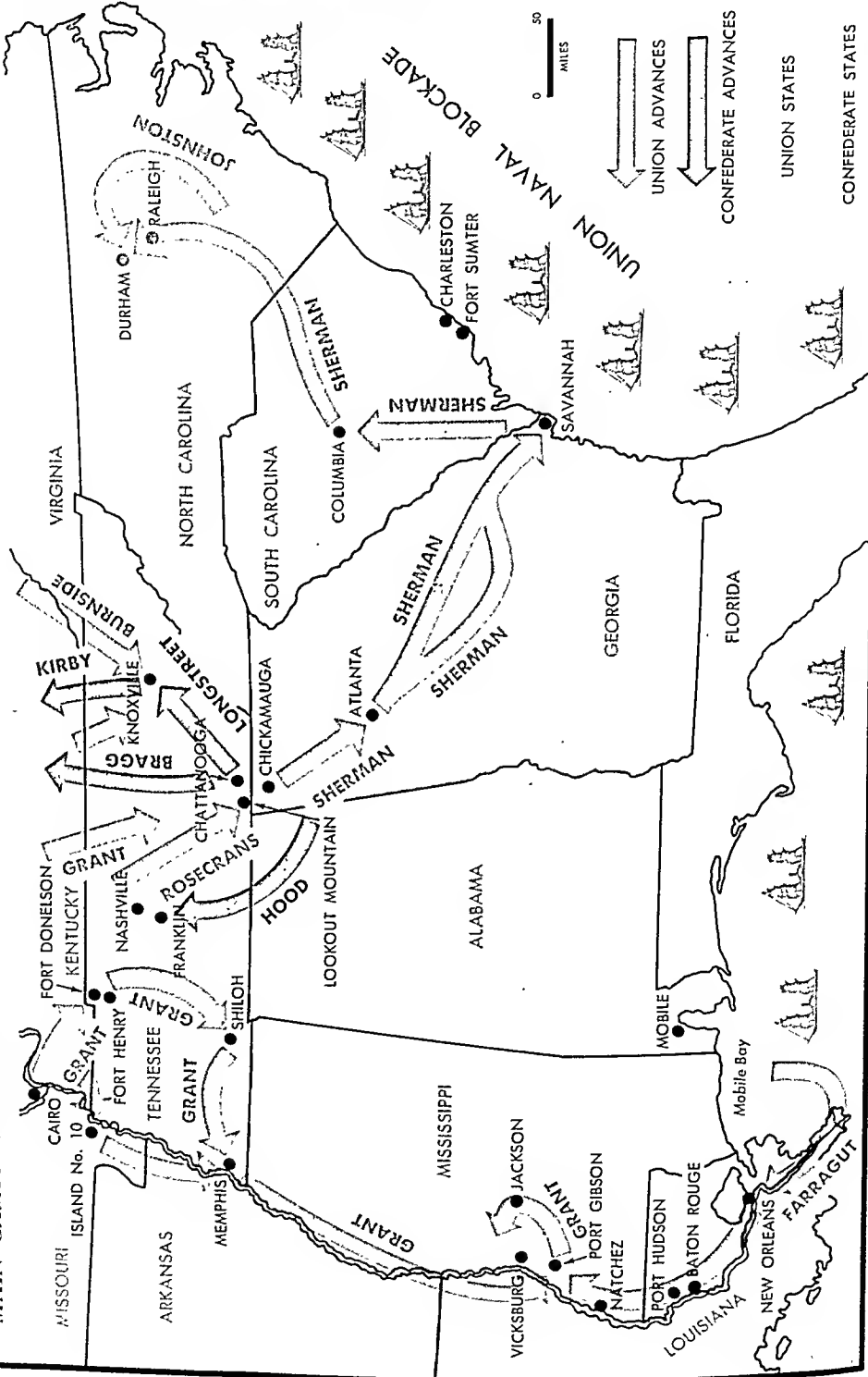
6. Sketch for the bulletin board some scenes for a mural on highlights of the slavery controversy.
7. Prepare a two-minute news broadcast on (a) Nat Turner's rebellion, (b) Brooks' attack on Sumner, (c) John Brown's raid, (d) South Carolina's secession, or (e) the firing on Fort Sumter. Consult source books to enrich this activity
8. Write a newspaper editorial on (a) Garrison's views on slavery, (b) Simms' views on slavery, (c) the effects of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, (d) Taney's opinion in the Dred Scott case, or (e) any of the four candidates for President in 1860
9. Make a chart for the bulletin board summing up the causes often given for the War Between the States under such headings as *Political*, *Social*, and *Economic*
10. Debate. (a) That the War Between the States could have been avoided if political leaders had shown greater wisdom, (b) That Lincoln should have taken no action in support of Fort Sumter, or (c) That the popular sovereignty theory had much to commend in it.
11. After research in committee, sum up ways in which the views and roles in politics of Robert B. Rhett, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, and William L. Yancey were (a) similar and (b) different.
12. From *A Treasury of Great American Speeches*, edited by C. Hurd, select any speech from Section II, "Growing Pains," and give its five most significant highlights.
13. Read "A Yankee Approves of Slavery" and "Fanny Kemble Disapproves of Slavery," in the *Heritage of America*, edited



- by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins. Describe in detail your reactions to each article.
14. Write a scene for a play based upon the section "Abolition and Fugitive Slaves" in the same source as that cited in Question 13.
  15. After careful research, investigate and report on the status of the free Negro before the War Between the States in (a) the South and (b) the North.
  16. In committee, for each of the events on the time line of events leading to the War Between the States, look up one interesting quotation. Have the entire class discuss these quotations.
  17. Write the lyrics for a song on any dramatic event discussed in this chapter.
  18. Borrow from the library picture books dealing with this period. After studying them, mark off with slips of paper those which you consider significant enough to show to the rest of the class.
  19. Investigate and report on campaign slogans and songs used in presidential campaigns from 1848 through 1860.
  20. On the basis of your investigation of (a) Frederick Douglass, (b) Angelina and Sarah Grimké, (c) Gerrit Smith, (d) Harriet Tubman, or (e) Theodore D. Weld, make a list of questions you would like to have asked him or her, and give his or her possible answers.
  21. A history of the United States from the War of 1812 to the War Between the States might well be written around the careers of Calhoun, Clay, and Webster. After a committee investigation of their lives, prepare a committee report outlining the table of contents for such a history.
  22. From the *American Heritage* series, read (a) "Great Man Eloquent" (about Daniel Webster—December, 1957); (b) "The Needless Conflict" (about the War Between the States—August, 1956); or (c) "Mad Old Man from Massachusetts" (about John Quincy Adams and the gag rule—April, 1961). Outline specific reasons why you would or would not recommend the article to fellow pupils.

**WAR****1861-1865****MAIN CAMPAIGNS OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES  
IN THE EAST**

## MAIN CAMPAIGNS OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES IN THE WEST AND SOUTH



## CHAPTER

# 16

### *The War Between the States: The Bloodiest War in History Until the Twentieth Century*

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#### **The Military Phases of the War Between the States**

• Resources of Both Sides Compared • Lincoln Is Disappointed in Generals McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker • Gettysburg Is a Major Turning Point in the War • The Union Splits the Confederacy into East and West Sections • Sherman's March Cuts the Confederacy into North and South Sections • Lee's Brilliant Defense Finally Succumbs to Grant's Sledgehammer Offense

#### **The Home Fronts During the War Between the States**

• Problems in Raising Armies and Money on Both Sides • War Needs Create a Business Boom in the Union • Many on the Home Fronts Dedicate Time and Money to the War Effort • How the Union Government Boosted the Business Boom • Some Reasons for the Bad Times in the Confederacy

#### **Lincoln Faces Up to Foreign and Domestic Problems**

• The Union Is Threatened by War with Britain and France • Some Reasons Why Russia Sympathized with the Union • Lincoln Proves to His Cabinet That He Is President • Problems Created by Copperheads • Lincoln Issues the Emancipation Proclamation; Is Re-elected in 1864, and Is Assassinated in 1865

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#### **Union Resources Are Much Greater, But the Confederacy Almost Wins**

Twenty-three of the then thirty-four states remained in the Union. About twenty-two million of the nation's then thirty-one million people lived in the Union. About 20,000 of

the nation's then 30,000 miles of railroad track were in Union territory. Most of the nation's mines, factories, banks, and skilled labor were in Union hands. So were by far most of the nation's fertile, food-producing fields.

Many of these advantages of the Union

were a result of the greater industrialization that had taken place in the North. By perfecting the principle of standardized, interchangeable parts, Eli Whitney had made it possible for Northern factories to turn out hundreds of thousands of guns and other war materials. By their invention and perfection of the sewing machine, Howe and Singer had freed for army service many craftsmen, who otherwise would have had to remain at home sewing single items by hand. Moreover, such inventions made possible the mass production of uniforms and shoes for the Northern army.

The many new railroads had speeded up the North's industrialization. In the war, they made the transportation of food and soldiers much more efficient. And the discovery of gold in California and of silver in Nevada (page 465) helped the North to buy the goods it needed to wage the war.

By his invention of the reaper, Southerner Cyrus McCormick helped the North to win its conflict with the South. The reaper freed many farm laborers for service in the Northern army. It increased the population of the North by encouraging farmer immigrants from Europe to come to the United States. By making possible mass production of grain, it helped to keep the Northern army fed.

By controlling most of the merchant marine and the navy, the Union had control of the seas around the United States. And Union soldiers were inspired by the feeling that they were fighting to preserve the Union that so many Americans had worked so long to build.

In spite of the Union's overwhelming superiority in resources, the Confederacy put up a strong fight for four years, from 1861 to 1865. Indeed, at times up to about 1863, it was on the verge of winning the war. How was this possible?

**Some Reasons Why the Confederacy Almost Won.** It would seem that the number of the Confederacy's fighting men would be limited, since three-and-a-half million of its population of nine million were slaves. However, as we have seen, many thousands from

border states that remained in the Union fought for the Confederacy. In fact, many Northerners and Westerners did, too. Thus, in the early years of the war, Confederate armies were not much smaller than Union armies.

Southerners fought with the fervor of men who felt they were defending their homes and their right to be an independent nation against Northern invaders. And those who fight on the defensive do not require as many troops as those who fight on the offensive.

Hunting and handling horses were common experiences among most Southerners. From the very outset, this background helped to make them expert riflemen and expert cavalymen. On the other hand, many of the Union soldiers had been factory workers, shopkeepers, and clerks before the war. Only as the war progressed did they acquire the necessary training and experience to become skilled fighters.

Furthermore, Southerners were fighting on territory with which they were familiar. The South's many rivers helped Southerners to transport troops and supplies. To Northerners, whose supply lines were necessarily much longer, these rivers were obstacles to be hurdled. All the South had to do was to hold out. But if the North wanted to bring the South back into the Union, it had to invade, conquer, and hold a vast territory.

Only late in the war was Lincoln able to find competent generals. From the beginning, Southern generals for the most part proved themselves to be masters of military strategy. Of these masters, the team of Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson was the most brilliant. Both had opposed the South's secession. Both condemned warfare. Both were devoutly religious. Jackson organized a Sunday school for Negroes, on which he spent much of his time and money. Lee, to whom slavery was "a moral and political evil in any country," freed his own slaves. Fellow Virginians, both men loved the Union. But neither could bring himself to fight against his native state.

As Confederate commanders, both Lee

and Jackson were idolized by their men. Lee was handsome, tactful, and modest. In fact, his admirers in both North and South have compared him to the most chivalrous knights of the Middle Ages. At the start of the war, President Lincoln had offered this daring military genius the command of the Union forces. If he had accepted, some say, the Union might have won the war in a matter of months.

In May, 1863, Jackson was accidentally shot by his own men in battle (page 384). When his left arm had to be amputated, Lee, who depended so much upon him, wrote to him:

You are better off than I am, for while you have lost your *left*, I have lost my *right* arm.

A few days later, weakened by his wound and pneumonia, Jackson died. On his deathbed, he had whispered.

Better that ten Jacksons should fall than one Lee!

## Various Union Generals Disappoint Lincoln

**The First Battle of Bull Run: A Warning That the War Would Be a Long and Bloody One.** On their march to Virginia and the first major battle of the war, some of the soldiers wore red Turkish-type balloon trousers, others wore Scottish kilts. Some decorated their hats with feathers and their guns with flowers. They sang as they marched. Some passed around bottles of whiskey. Accompanying the army as it marched along the road were carriages filled with congressmen wearing top hats and ladies in crinoline skirts. In many a carriage were picnic baskets packed with delicacies and bottles of champagne.

A few days later, on July 21, 1861, the Union troops had become "a confused mob, utterly demoralized," fleeing in panic back toward Washington, D.C. In panic, too, and

adding to the confusion, were the congressmen and ladies, in no less a hurry to get back to the capital.

What had happened to make the soldiers who had left Washington cheering return "demoralized"? "On to Richmond!" had been the cry in the North ever since the fall of Fort Sumter. Politicians, the press, and the people had been convinced that in one battle, the North could soundly thrash the South and compel it to come back into the Union. General Winfield Scott would have preferred not to join battle with the South until the Union army had been carefully trained and well-equipped. But the pressure of those who demanded a quick victory had won out. Consequently, a hastily assembled, poorly trained, overconfident army had been ordered into Virginia to capture the capital of the Confederacy, Richmond. So confident of success was the North that the congressmen and ladies had gone along to watch and celebrate the expected victory. The cheering army had met the Confederates about thirty miles from Washington at a stream called Bull Run, near Manassas, Virginia.

At first, in this *First Battle of Bull Run* (or *Manassas*), Union forces fought courageously. They seemed to be winning. But the tide soon turned. "Stonewall" Jackson, standing like "a stone wall" against the Union attack, proved to be an inspiration to his men. And when a Union general failed to follow instructions, Southern reinforcements were able to reach the front lines. Then the inexperienced Union army panicked and ran, with the piercing "rebel yell" in their ears.

If the Confederate army had followed in hot pursuit all the way to Washington, it might have captured the capital. But the Confederate army was also disorganized. Some lingered on the battlefield picking up Union trophies. Some left for home, feeling that the war was virtually over.

In the long run, the beating suffered by the North at Bull Run was a victory. It taught the North that the war was not going to be a picnic, but a long-drawn-out, bloody struggle.

Henceforth, Union soldiers were to be properly trained and better disciplined. And no longer were regiments to wear any battle costume that they thought picturesque or colorful. The standard Union suit was to be blue, just as the Confederate uniform was to be gray.

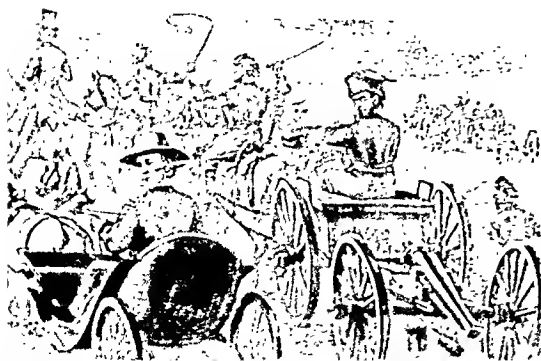
At the same time, the victory at Bull Run shifted the burden of overconfidence to the Confederates. They tended thereafter to underestimate the enemy and developed a false sense of security.

**Union Strategy Develops as the War Progresses.** Again and again, as we shall see, one Union general after another tried to capture Richmond. The battlefields of this campaign were strewn with many thousands of blue-clad and gray-clad corpses. Only after four long and bloody years did Richmond fall.

After savage fighting, the Union succeeded in bringing about an east-west split in the Confederacy by gaining control of the Mississippi River. Then Union forces in the West swung southeast through Georgia, thereby bringing about a north-south split in the Confederacy. Next, these Union forces in Georgia swung northward and met Union forces from the North swinging southward.

Throughout the war, the Union blockaded the South's ports. Its specific purpose was to prevent the Confederacy from exporting its cotton and other products and from importing military equipment and food.

*Commander in Chief Lincoln and his staff going to the front. For what reasons might a President want to visit the fighting fronts?*



By bringing about the east-west and north-south splits, and by maintaining a successful blockade, Union forces finally crushed the Confederacy. This strategy—worked out as the war progressed—of crushing the Confederacy by wrapping Union forces around it, was called the *Anaconda policy*.<sup>1</sup>

**Overcautious, McClellan Fails in His Peninsular Campaign.** "In ten days I shall be in Richmond!" boasted General George B. McClellan early in 1862. The energetic McClellan was an excellent organizer. He had spent the long winter months drilling his men thoroughly. They had become a first-rate fighting machine. Yet, in spite of his boast, McClellan did not move. Most commentators charge him with being overcautious, always overestimating the enemy's forces and underestimating his own.<sup>2</sup>

McClellan's failure to move prompted many Northerners to protest bitterly. Lincoln became so impatient with him as to remark: "If General McClellan does not want to use the army, I would like to borrow it." Lincoln *did* borrow some of the men McClellan had drilled and shifted them to other generals. McClellan was left with a powerful striking force of more than 100,000, called the *Army of the Potomac*. He finally moved on Richmond by way of the peninsula between the James and York Rivers. In this *Peninsular Campaign*, as it was called, McClellan failed to capture Richmond. Indeed, he was forced to retreat. But the victorious Confederates lost more men than he did.

In defeating McClellan, Confederate commander Lee had been brilliantly assisted by "Stonewall" Jackson. Jackson, in the Shenandoah Valley, had given the impression that he was preparing for an attack on Washington. The capital became so jittery that thousands of troops were borrowed from Mc-

<sup>1</sup> An anaconda is a huge serpent that wraps itself about its victim and crushes it to death.

<sup>2</sup> Others praise McClellan's caution. They say that the Union, with its powerful resources, had everything to gain by waiting until its armies were so strong that they could quickly crush the Confederacy.

Clellan's army to guard the city. Thousands more were stationed in the Shenandoah Valley to keep an eye on Jackson. There Jackson defeated one Union force after another and then joined Lee in the defense of Richmond.

**General Pope Boasts, But Is Beaten in the Second Battle of Bull Run.** Disappointed with McClellan, Lincoln transferred most of his army to General John Pope. Pope did not help the morale of these troops by taunting them with their defeat in the Peninsular Campaign and bragging about his own victories in the West. He soon had much less to brag about. In August, 1862, the Lee and Jackson team fell upon him and beat him badly in the *Second Battle of Bull Run*. The humiliated Pope then retreated to Washington.

**McClellan Gets a Second Chance and Halts Lee's Drive Northward.** Flushed with success, Lee moved northward, crossing the Potomac into the Union state of Maryland. A Confederate victory in Maryland might bring that border state into the Confederacy. It might also bring the Confederacy aid from nations that tended to be sympathetic to it anyway (page 396). Such nations might even wish to ally themselves to the Confederacy, if it looked as though it might win.

To stop Lee, Lincoln once more placed McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac. Its soldiers, who respected and loved McClellan, cheered this change. In September, 1862, at Antietam Creek, McClellan allowed Lee's retreat across the Potomac. This *Battle of Antietam* (or *Sharpsburg*) was one of the bloodiest of the war. Although Lee's drive northward was halted, both the public and the President were displeased with McClellan's failure to pursue Lee.

**Lincoln Once More Becomes Impatient with McClellan's Excessive Caution.** In the months that followed, the cautious McClellan kept demanding more men and more supplies before he would be willing to resume the campaign against Lee. Again and again, he expressed his contempt for the Commander in Chief, Lincoln, whom he blamed

for not giving him more support. But Lincoln was interested only in preserving the Union—and not in engaging in personal feuds. He said: "Never mind, I will hold McClellan's horse, if he will only bring us success." However, when McClellan persisted in drilling, instead of pursuing, Lincoln replaced him with General Ambrose Burnside.

**Burnside Blames Himself for the Fredericksburg Fiasco.** Burnside was a modest gentleman.<sup>1</sup> He believed that he was the wrong man for the job of commander of the Army of the Potomac. Perhaps he was right. Against Lee's heavily fortified position at Fredericksburg, Virginia, Burnside launched six charges in succession. The plan across which these charges were made became blanketed with the dead bodies of brave men in blue. This is why the *Battle of Fredericksburg* has been called "Burnside's Slaughter Pen." Burnside had played right into the hands of Lee and Jackson by fighting exactly the kind of battle that they had lured him into. After the battle, mourning his dead men, he sobbed "Oh! Oh! those men! . . . those men over there! I'm thinking of them all the time."

**General Hooker Boasts, But Is Beaten at the Battle of Chancellorsville.** Still in search of a general who could defeat Lee and capture Richmond, Lincoln appointed still another commander for the Army of the Potomac: "Fighting Joe" Hooker. Lincoln had heard that it was Hooker's belief that "both the army and the government [need] a dictator." To Hooker, Lincoln wrote:

Only those generals who gain success can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success and I will risk the dictatorship.

Hooker was far from modest. He proclaimed:

My plans are perfect. May God have mercy upon Lee, for I will have none.

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<sup>1</sup> Burnside is perhaps best known for establishing a fashion in whiskers that we know as "sideburns."



But it turned out to be Hooker who needed mercy in the *Battle of Chancellorsville*, in May, 1863. With their usual excellent teamwork, Lee and Jackson smashed Hooker's much larger forces. But the North's loss of a battle was far exceeded by the South's loss of a leader. For it was at Chancellorsville that Jackson was killed (page 381).

And now, to the long list of commanders of the Army of the Potomac—McClellan, Pope, McClellan again, Burnside, Hooker—was added the name of General George G. Meade.

### **The Battle of Gettysburg: A Major Turning Point In the War Between the States**

From Seminary Ridge to Cemetery Ridge, in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, is about one mile. From Seminary Ridge, to capture Cemetery Ridge, marched 15,000 of the Confederacy's finest troops, banners flying and muskets shining in the sun. From Cemetery Ridge, Union cannon blasted huge holes in the mile-wide marching lines of gray. "Arms, heads, blankets, guns and knapsacks" flew in all directions. But re-forming their lines, and still bearing their flags, the brave Confederate survivors pressed on. Some finally hurdled the stone wall protecting Cemetery Ridge. These either died in fierce hand-to-hand fighting or were forced to surrender or retreat.

This ill-fated march into "the jaws of hell" is usually called *Pickett's charge*. The daring

General George E. Pickett had led one of the divisions involved. After the battle, heart-broken, Pickett wrote to his wife:

. . . I . . . led them on—on—on. Oh God! I can't write you a love letter today, my Sally, for . . . the over-powering thought of those whose lives were sacrificed—of the brokenhearted widows and mothers and orphans.

Pickett's charge was the bloodiest of several bloody engagements in a battle that lasted through the first three days of July, 1863. In this famous *Battle of Gettysburg*, there were more than 50,000 casualties.

**What Made the Battle of Gettysburg So Significant.** Until Gettysburg, it had seemed as though no Union general could defeat Lee. In fact, Lee's many victories help to explain why he dared to invade the Union state of Pennsylvania. He had grown so confident that he felt that he could beat Union troops on their own soil, too. He knew that the important Confederate city of Vicksburg on the Mississippi was about to fall to Union forces (page 386). A victory in the North at Gettysburg would tend to offset the discouragement in the South over the expected fall of Vicksburg. It might also strengthen the arguments of those Northerners who were urging the war's end, even if this meant giving in to the Confederacy. And, as throughout the war, Lee hoped that decisive victories would bring the Confederacy foreign aid.

Gettysburg was the farthest point north Southern armies were to reach. The Union victory there was a major turning point in



*Battle of Gettysburg. When one of Lee's generals, almost crying, approached him after this battle, Lee comforted him thus: "Never mind, general, all this has been my fault—it is I that have lost this fight, . . ."*

the war Gettysburg turned the mood of Northerners from gloom to glee And after the Confederate defeats at Gettysburg and—the following day—at Vicksburg, many Southerners felt that the Confederacy's chances of winning the war were poor.

**Lincoln Laments the Failure to Turn Lee's Retreat Into a Smashing Defeat.** The Union team under the command of General Meade had shown great courage and skill at Gettysburg. President Lincoln recognized this fact. Yet he felt that Meade had missed a golden opportunity to bring the war to a speedy conclusion Meade, he believed, should have quickly pursued and hammered away at Lee's battered forces as they retreated south through heavy rains and thick mud "Our army held the war in the hollow of their hand and they would not close it," the President remarked sadly

## The Confederacy Is Split Into East-West and North-South Sections

**From the Start, Union Armies, Especially Grant's, Have Greater Success in the West Than in the East.** Lincoln's disappointment with Meade prompted him to act once more From the West to be Meade's superior, Lincoln called a general with a record of successes. Ulysses S Grant

**Grant's Pre-War Career Held Little Promise.** At West Point, Grant had received barely passing marks. It is true that for his services in the Mexican War he had rated an honor mark. But from the end of the Mexican War to the beginning of the War Between the States, his had been a dismal record. He had resigned from the peacetime army before he could be court-martialed for drinking too much at lonely army bases. He had failed at farming and in the real estate business. When he was appointed general, his father, recalling his son's past failures, had warned him:

Be careful, Ulyss'. You are a general now  
—It's a good job. Don't lose it!

Grant did not fit the picture that one usually has of a general who is a West Point graduate His figure was short and rather dumpy, his clothing sloppy, and his posture bad An ever-present cigar seemed almost a part of his roughly bearded face Yet this man, who seemed so shy and lacking in confidence, deserves top marks for his military achievements in the War Between the States He was a daring general who, in battle, had all the tenacity of a bulldog. Much as he hated war, ~~that is, if he was determined to~~ win, no matter what the cost.

**Why Conquest of Tennessee Was Important to the Union.** Union strategy recognized that in the war in the West, Tennessee was an important key Union conquest of Tennessee would prevent Southern sympathizers in Kentucky, Tennessee's neighbor to the north, from taking that border state into the Confederacy Union conquest of Tennessee would also pave the way for a movement southwestward to the Mississippi and a movement southeastward through Georgia to the Atlantic coast Success in these two movements would mean that the Union was well on its way to achieving two of the goals in its general strategy. These were to bring about an east-west split and a north-south split in the Confederacy (page 332)

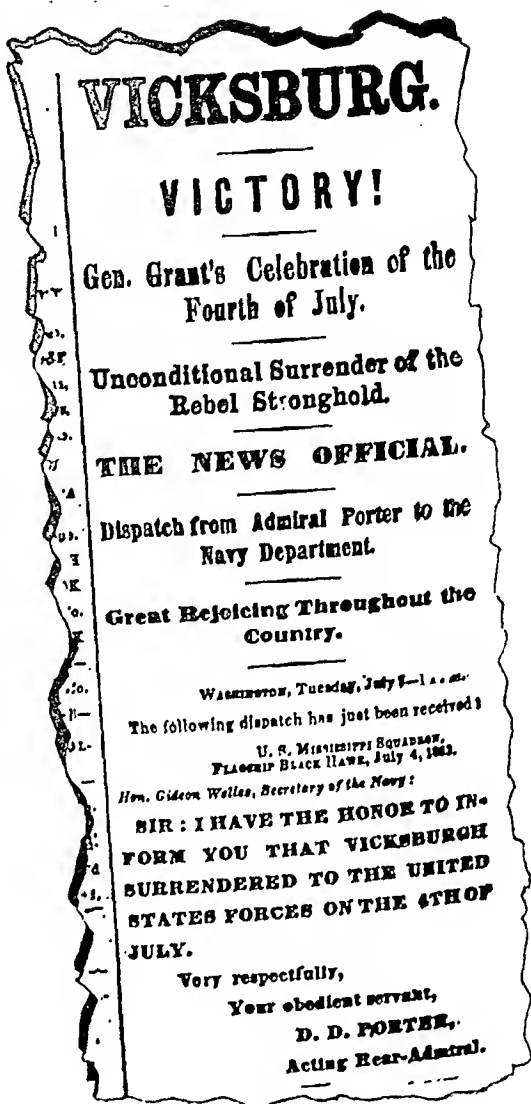
**Grant's Role in the Conquest of Tennessee.** Union conquest of Tennessee got off to a good start in February, 1862, when Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River fell to Grant and Union gunboats. Grant demanded—and got—an "Unconditional and immediate surrender" from the Confederate commander at Fort Donelson. Soon Ulysses Simpson Grant was being called "Unconditional Surrender" Grant.

With northern Tennessee secure, Grant moved southwestward toward the Mississippi At Shiloh, Tennessee, he got careless and placed his army in a position difficult to defend. Seizing this opportunity, a Confederate army pounced upon the Union forces Had it not been for the gallant stand taken

by these Union troops, the arrival of Union reinforcements, the skill of such Union generals as William Tecumseh Sherman, and the death of the skillful Confederate General Albert S. Johnston, the Union army might have been annihilated. The *Battle of Shiloh* (or *Pittsburg Landing*) finally ended with the withdrawal of the Confederate forces, after heavy loss of life on both sides.

*Farragut's Role in Gaining Control of the Mississippi Helps to Bring About the East-West Split.* After Shiloh, Grant continued on his march to the Mississippi. Meanwhile, a Union naval commander, David G. Farragut, aided by troops, used his gunboats to capture New Orleans. His gunboats then continued up the Mississippi to capture Baton Rouge and Natchez, before the summer of 1862. As Farragut's gunboats were moving northward on the Mississippi, other Union gunboats were moving southward. But a stretch of the Mississippi, between heavily fortified Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Port Hudson, Louisiana, remained in Confederate hands. Through this gap, to supply the Confederacy in the East, poured food from western Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, and European manufactures and munitions imported by way of Mexico.

*Grant's Role in Gaining Control of the Mississippi: The Vicksburg Campaign.* In his drive to capture Vicksburg, Grant won five battles. He succeeded in bottling up the Confederate army in the city. Then, for more than six long weeks, Grant laid siege to Vicksburg. At the same time, Union gunboats in the Mississippi shelled the city. To escape the shelling, many Vicksburgers lived in caves dug out of the hillsides. To escape starvation, some desperate inhabitants even ate rats. Finally, on the Fourth of July, 1863, the day after the Union victory at Gettysburg, Vicksburg surrendered. A few days later, when Port Hudson surrendered, too, Union forces were in complete control of the Mississippi. Now, western Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas were cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. The east-west split had been achieved.



*New York Times headlines of July 8, 1863, following the Vicksburg victory.*

The Conquest of Chattanooga is a Springboard for Sherman's March Through Georgia. Chattanooga, in southeastern Tennessee, was a key Southern railroad center. Capturing it would give Union forces under General William S. Rosecrans a key to the door of Georgia. Near Chattanooga, in the fall of 1863, Rosecrans' forces were in serious trouble. Following a bitter battle at Chickamauga, they had had to retreat to Chattanooga. The Confederates had quickly placed the city under siege. Grant, fresh from his Vicksburg victory, came to Rosecrans' rescue. After fierce fighting at Lookout Mountain

and Missionary Ridge, Grant's forces won the *Battle of Chattanooga*, in November, 1863.

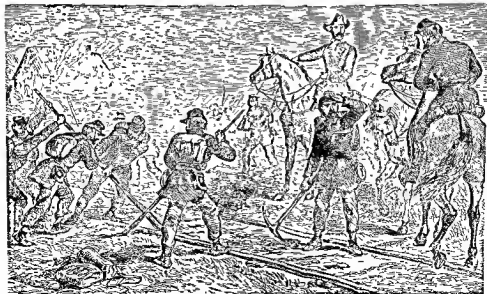
In this battle Grant got fine teamwork from the methodical General George H. Thomas, the boyishly enthusiastic cavalry General "Little Phil" Sheridan, and the strong-willed, high-strung General Sherman. Their display of skill was proof that at last the Union had developed competent military leadership. By now, too, there was no longer any doubt in Lincoln's mind that he had found his general for the campaign to capture Richmond. Grant was promoted to general in chief. He was ordered north to take direct command of the campaign in Virginia.

**Sherman's March Through Georgia Cuts the Confederacy Into North and South Sections and Leaves a Legacy of Bitterness.** From Chattanooga, General Sherman began a march through Georgia to Savannah on the seacoast. It was expected that Sherman would push northward from Savannah, while Grant was driving southward toward Richmond. Then Confederate forces, caught between their two armies, could be completely crushed.

To this day, the name of Sherman is a synonym for cruelty to many Southerners. This is because of what his army did on its march from Chattanooga to Atlanta and from Atlanta to Savannah, in the fall of 1864. Sherman's troops conquered Atlanta and burned it to the ground. Singing triumphantly "John Brown's soul goes marching on! Glory, glory, hallelujah!" they marched on. They laid waste a stretch of land sixty miles wide in the course of their 250-mile march to Savannah. On this march, Sherman's army, which had cut itself off from its base of supplies, lived off the land. Soldiers raided plantations for cattle, pigs, and poultry. Warehouses and homes were set aflame. Bridges were destroyed and railroad ties ripped up. Some of the more disreputable soldiers disobeyed orders and stole family treasures.

For a whole month while this was happening, the North did not know what was happening. For Sherman sent no dispatches. Then, just before Christmas, 1864, to the news-hungry Union came the exciting report that Sherman had captured Savannah. Now the Confederacy had been split into north and south sections, just as Grant, by gaining

*Sherman's march to the sea. Sherman, a practitioner of total war during the war, said after the war: "I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is only those who have neither fired a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is hell."*



control of the Mississippi, had split it into east and west sections.

The thorough General Thomas had helped to make Sherman's campaign possible. Confederate General John B. Hood had hoped to prevent Sherman's march through Georgia by threatening central Tennessee. But Sherman continued his march, confident that Thomas, with twice as many men as Hood, could take care of him in Tennessee. He did. Hood's army was almost annihilated at the *Battle of Nashville*.

Northward into South Carolina from Georgia poured Sherman's raiding troops. There the harsh treatment given Georgia was multiplied many times. Many Northern soldiers seemed to feel that this was just punishment for South Carolina's having started the chain reaction of secession.

*What Explains Sherman's Harsh Military Methods in the South?* Before the war, Sherman had been head of a military academy in the South. He had on many occasions expressed affection for the South. He was not opposed to slavery. In fact, he had stated:

If the people of the South had stood by the Constitution, I, for one, would have fought for the protection of slave property just as much as for any other kind of property.

In the light of all this, what explains Sherman's harshness? Sherman's goal was to destroy his enemy's will to fight by destroying his supplies and transportation facilities, and by terrifying his relatives and other civilians. Such tactics today are called "total war." Sherman explained his concept of total war thus:

... we are not only fighting hostile armies, but a hostile people, and must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war.

And he also said:

If they [the people of Georgia] raise a howl against my barbarity and cruelty, I will answer that war is war, and not popularity-seeking.

## Lee's Brilliant Defense Finally Bows To Grant's Sledgehammer Offense

*Why Things Looked Dark for the Union in 1864.* "Hold on with a bulldog grip, and chew and choke as much as possible." Thus Lincoln urged Grant in April, 1864. Grant, now in Virginia, was to try hard for months to get "a bulldog grip" on Lee. To do so, Grant hurled sledgehammer blows at Lee's forces in the Wilderness Campaign, at Spotsylvania Courthouse, and at Cold Harbor. He seemed willing to sacrifice, if necessary, any number of men to achieve his end. His forces suffered staggering losses. At the *Battle of Cold Harbor*, the boys in blue pinned slips of paper bearing their names and addresses to the backs of their uniforms so their relatives would be able to claim their bodies. As this battle dragged on for days, the battlefield was strewn with corpses and the moans of the wounded went unanswered.

Lee had placed his men in a position practically impossible to take by frontal attack. That is why many have found fault with Grant's assault at Cold Harbor. In fact, many in the Union were beginning to think that Lee's brilliant defensive strategy would make it impossible for Grant ever to achieve his "bulldog grip." Over and over again, in this dark summer of 1864, they asked: Will an end ever come to this terrible slaughter? To which some replied: Let's put an end to it, even if it means an independent Confederacy. A sad song of the time, "Tenting Tonight," expressed the feelings of millions of Northerners. It went:

Many are the hearts that are weary to-night.

Waiting for the war to cease.

Many are the eyes that are looking for the light,

To see the dawn of peace.

*Military, Political, and Diplomatic Blows Make Things Look Darker for the Confederacy in 1864.* In May, 1864, the Confederacy lost its valuable cavalry leader, the gal-

lant "Jeb" Stuart, in battle with the Union's cavalry leader, Phil Sheridan. In August, naval commander Farragut broke through the heavily fortified Confederate defenses and took Mobile Bay in Alabama. In October, Sheridan crushed the Confederate army in the Shenandoah Valley. He then so ravaged that fertile region that, as he said, "A crow flying over the country would need to carry his rations. No longer could the valley feed Lee's forces. No longer could Confederate raiders use the valley as a base for threatening Washington."

In November, Lincoln was overwhelmingly re-elected (page 401). And Lincoln had pledged that the war would continue, no matter what the cost, until the South was once more back in the Union. In December, the Confederacy's dark prospects grew darker still when, as we know, Savannah fell to Sherman. Furthermore, by now it was clear that the Confederacy was not going to get recognition and aid from the Governments of Emperor Napoleon III of France or Queen Victoria of Britain.

**The Confederacy Is Harder and Harder Pressed—and the Blockade Tightens.** Grant, in his battering offensive, was suffering much greater losses than Lee in his brilliant defensive. Yet the less-populated Confederacy could less afford its losses. By the end of 1864, many Confederate soldiers were practically in rags. Many were hungry most of the time. The Union blockade had grown increasingly effective. As a result, it had become more difficult for the Confederacy to get from Europe food, clothing, medicine, or other supplies.

Back in 1862, the Confederacy had made a dramatic but unsuccessful attempt to smash the Union blockade. The sides of a wooden warship, the *Merrimack*, had been reinforced by the Confederacy with iron. The *Merrimack*, rechristened the *Virginia*, had little trouble ramming and burning two wooden Union warships. The Union began to worry that this ironclad and others that might be in the making might destroy the Union blockade. Therefore, the Union hurriedly pre-

pared the *Monitor*, its own ironclad craft.<sup>1</sup> The *Monitor* fought the *Virginia* to a draw off the coast of Virginia. No longer was the *Virginia* a threat to the Union blockade!

This battle between ironclads proved that wooden warships would soon become museum pieces. And, of course, the Union, with its superior industrial strength, was in a better position to build ironclads.

**Richmond Finally Falls.** The darkest days of all for the Confederacy came in April, 1865. After a nine-month siege by Grant, Petersburg, protecting Richmond twenty miles away, fell. Lee then moved out of Richmond and some of Grant's forces moved in. With Grant and Sheridan in hot pursuit from different directions, and with his escape routes blocked, Lee surrendered.

**The Dramatic Meeting Between Grant and Lee at Appomattox Courthouse.** In a farmhouse in the village of Appomattox Courthouse, on April 9, 1865, a most touching scene unfolded. Here Lee, erect and immaculately uniformed, met Grant, stoop-shouldered and wearing his lieutenant general's stars on a private's rumpled uniform. Treating each other with dignity and respect, the two commanders talked over the old days when they had fought together in the Mexican War. Then Grant announced the Union's terms, which, in keeping with Lincoln's wishes, were generous:

Let all the men who claim to own a horse or mule take the animals home with them to work their little farms.

This concession, among others, explains Lee's comment:

*This will do much toward conciliating our people.*

As Lee said his sad good-byes to his men, Grant and his officers removed their hats.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Monitor* had been designed by the inventor John Ericsson. It was soon nicknamed the "Yankee cheesebox on a raft." The "cheesebox" was a turret-like affair from which guns could be aimed in all directions.

And when Union soldiers hailed their victory with cheers and gun salutes, Grant stopped them, saying:

The war is over. The rebels are our countrymen again.

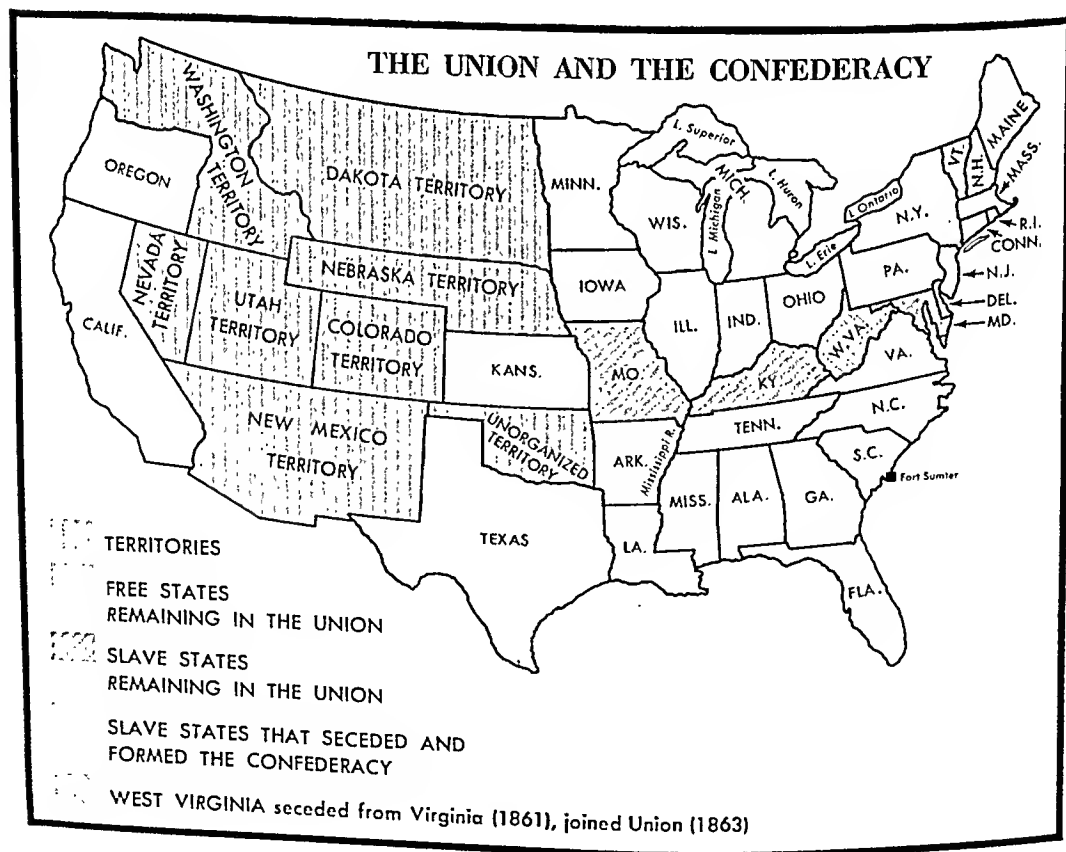
## The Home Fronts During The War Between the States

**How the Union Raised Armies to Fight the War.** The wave of patriotism that swept the Union after the firing on Fort Sumter had swept thousands of enthusiastic volunteers into the army. But when the war dragged on and lists of casualties grew longer, lists of volunteers grew shorter. When volunteering almost stopped, the Congress, in 1863, passed the first United States *Conscription Act*. This made liable to a draft all able-bodied, unmarried, male citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five. Married men over

thirty-five were exempt. If a drafted man had money, he could hire a substitute to take his place or buy his exemption by paying the Government \$300. Throughout the Union, many considered this draft law undemocratic. They asked: Why should men with money be able to stay home and make more money, while poor men risk their lives?

Such a feeling helps to explain the bloody draft riots that took place in New York City for four days ending on July 16, 1863. Many of the rioters were poor, foreign-born working people. Many such immigrants had left European countries to escape compulsory military service, which was traditional there. Many of them, emotionally and unfairly, held the Negro responsible for the war and the draft. Many of them feared the competition of Negro workers for jobs.

During the draft riots, Negroes were hanged from lamp posts and fires set under their feet. An armory was sacked and its



guns were seized. Rioting mobs rushed through the streets shouting:

Down with the draft! . . . Down with the rich! . . . We'll hang Abe Lincoln on a sour-apple tree!

Records of draft boards were destroyed. Stores and homes were looted and burned. About a thousand persons, including some policemen and soldiers, were killed or wounded. The rioters were only stopped when Federal troops by the thousands were ordered in against them. Other Northern cities had their draft riots, too, but on a much smaller scale.

The draft encouraged many men to enlist who felt that they would eventually be drafted anyway. To give further encouragement to enlistments, the Federal Government offered to all who would enlist a sum of money called a *bounty*. Since the state and local governments also offered bounties, a volunteer might get as much as \$1,000 for enlisting. Some enlistees would accept the bounty in one community, desert, accept the bounty in another community, desert again—and so on. Some such unpatriotic enlistees, called *bounty-jumpers*, repeated this process as many as twenty or thirty times.

Some swindlers brought in poverty-stricken Europeans, whom they enlisted in the army. They even bribed some members of draft boards to accept, and thus make eligible for the bounty, many who were mentally ill or physically handicapped. Most of the bounties, of course, then went into the pockets of these unscrupulous *bounty-brokers*.

**How the Confederacy Raised Armies to Fight the War.** In the Confederacy, too, when the guns had begun firing, men had rushed enthusiastically to volunteer. But, as in the Union, volunteering soon fell off sharply. This was a serious problem for the Confederacy since it had far fewer men than the Union, and explains why conscription was adopted by the Confederacy a year before it was by the Union. No draft riots, such as those in New York City, took place in the South. Yet there was considerable resistance

to the draft there, too. Many Southerners asked: Aren't we fighting this war for states' rights? What right, then, does the central government, the Confederacy, have to force a state to contribute men to the armed forces?<sup>1</sup> In fact, the strong states' rights feeling in the Confederacy was one of the biggest handicaps to the central government throughout the war.

In the Confederacy, as in the Union, if a drafted man had money, he could hire a substitute to take his place or buy his exemption. Many groups who, the government felt, were needed on the home front, were exempted, too. For example, exemptions were granted those who owned twenty or more slaves. One Southerner is said to have owned only nineteen. His neighbors refused to sell him another because they thought it was his patriotic duty to go off to war. He was just about ready to go into the army when one of his slaves gave birth to a baby!

Because of protests that the exemptions favored certain groups, the Confederacy did away with some of them in 1863. However, in the Confederacy, as in the Union, because of the undemocratic features of the draft, the cry was often heard that the conflict was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight!"

Most men in both armies were volunteers. Some were rich and some were poor. In spite of draft dodgers and deserters on both sides, the great majority fought bravely to the bitter end.

**How the Union Raised Money to Fight the War.** To conduct the war cost the Government of the United States \$4 billion. How did it raise the money?

**More and Higher Taxes Than Ever Before.** The first income tax in American history was levied during the War Between the States. At its highest point, this income tax was extremely low as compared with income taxes today, never exceeding ten per cent on incomes above \$5,000. But the income

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<sup>1</sup> Many members of the Democratic Party in the North protested the draft there on the same grounds.



tax was just one of a wide variety of taxes imposed to meet the expenses of fighting the war—a goal they were nonetheless inadequate to accomplish.

Suppose the Government had raised the \$4 billion by taxation. This would have meant that the generation that fought the war would also have been paying for it. Such heavy taxation might so have antagonized the people as to hurt the war effort. Congressmen who voted for such heavy taxation might not have been re-elected. Suppose the Government had raised the money by borrowing. This would have meant that generations as yet unborn would have been paying for the war. As it turned out, the Government raised about three times as much by borrowing as through taxation.

**Borrowing Money Through Bonds and Greenbacks.** By means of interest-bearing bonds payable at a fixed future date, \$2.5 billion was borrowed. By means of a special, noninterest-bearing kind of paper money, called *greenbacks*, more than \$400 million was borrowed. These greenbacks were backed not by gold or silver but only by the Government's promise to pay sometime in the future. For this reason, this type of money was nicknamed "printing-press money." Creditors were forced to accept greenbacks in payment for almost all kinds of debts.<sup>1</sup> Thus greenbacks were a kind of forced loan.

In the Union's dark days, in the summer of 1864, the value of a greenback dropped to only thirty-nine cents in gold. People feared that if the Union lost, it would be unable to redeem the greenbacks.

**The Difficulties of the Confederacy in Raising Money to Fight the War.** For three main reasons, the Confederacy had much more difficulty in raising money than the Union. First, there was much less capital in the Confederacy. Second, the blockade made it difficult for the Confederacy to raise money

by selling goods abroad. It also made it difficult to import goods on which customs duties could be collected. And third, the strong belief in states' rights in the South hindered tax collection. Many Southerners felt that the central government of the Confederacy had no right to tax the states and local communities.

The Confederacy borrowed money and levied many different types of taxes. But the amount raised was far from enough. That is why the main means used by the Confederacy to raise money was the printing press. So much printing-press money was issued that the value of this Confederate paper money kept dropping steadily. In 1864, when Confederate soldiers were being paid \$18 a month, coffee cost \$18 a pound. And a man's suit cost about \$1,500.

**War Needs Bring About a Business Boom in the Union.** Boots and shoes, uniforms and blankets, guns and ships, coal and iron, and hundreds of other items were needed for the war effort. Army contracts were handed out for these on such profitable terms that many became millionaires. Many also made fortunes out of the oil wells discovered in Pennsylvania in 1859 and from working the newly discovered gold and silver mines in Arizona, Colorado, and Nevada.

Many farmers, too, got rich during the war, even though many of their farm laborers were away fighting. The laborers were often replaced by women and children or by immigrants. And many a farmer who had formerly stuck to his old-fashioned methods was now compelled by the labor shortage to use the newly invented farm machinery (page 307). As a result, factories producing such machinery hummed with activity. Crop failures in Europe gave many American farmers bigger markets. Army needs gave them much higher prices. However, much of the profits from agriculture went to middlemen.

Before the war, so many railroads had been built that there wasn't enough business to keep them busy. During the war, there was so much business in transporting troops and the products of factories and farms that

<sup>1</sup> Greenbacks, although they were legal tender for most debts, could not be used for paying import duties or interest on Government bonds.

there weren't enough railroads to handle it. As a result, many a railroad that before the war had been on the verge of bankruptcy added more miles of track and paid big dividends.

**Some Groups That Did Not Gain by the Business Boom.** As production and profits skyrocketed, so did prices of goods. Prices jumped nearly 120 per cent, while wages were rising only a little over forty per cent. Thus many an average worker had been better off economically before the war than he was during it. In particular, people who lived on pensions or who had fixed salaries suffered from this inflation (page 485). Some national unions were organized during the war. However, they were still too weak to have enough influence to get wages raised.

**Unscrupulous Profiteers Think Only of Their Pocketbooks and Their Pleasures in the Business Boom.** Uniforms, shoes, blankets, and knapsacks so shoddy that they fell apart in heavy rains were sold by unscrupulous individuals to the Union Government. So were worn-out horses, ready for their graves, and rotting ships, salvaged from watery graves. So were rifles that wouldn't fire, or that exploded in a soldier's own face, and food that poisoned, rather than nourished. Some profiteers boldly boasted of their great profits, while patriots were giving their lives for their country. Some even expressed the hope that the war would continue so that they could make still greater profits. They competed with one another to display their wealth by decking their wives in huge diamonds and in the latest Paris fashions. With money so plentiful, never before had gambling dens, prize fights, saloons, and race tracks, as well as theaters, opera houses, and circuses, been so popular.

**Many Patriots on the Home Front Dedicate Their Time and Money to the War Effort.** To think that most Northerners were vulgar profiteers would be an insult to the memory of the millions of civilians who served their fellow men and their country so nobly. It would be an insult to the many patriots who, at the beginning of the war, paid for soldiers'

uniforms out of their own pockets; to the neighbors who took care of the families of servicemen, to the thousands of women's groups who made bandages for the wounded; to the thousands of volunteer women nurses who, in the face of strong official disapproval, gave up sheltered lives at home to brave the horrors of the battlefield;<sup>1</sup> and to war-born agencies such as the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission.<sup>2</sup>

**The Heroic Work of the United States Sanitary Commission.** The United States Sanitary Commission was a kind of early American Red Cross. It had been influenced by the British Sanitary Commission, born during the Crimean War and disbanded in 1856. The United States Sanitary Commission was organized by public-spirited private citizens. It was supported by millions of dollars sent in by generous patriots. Its members worked by the side of the Army Medical Corps on the battlefield, on troop transports, on troop trains, and in hospitals. Who can measure the contribution of the dedicated male and female nurses of this commission in tending the "many with awful wounds festering and swarming with maggots . . . and again and again catching for mother or wife the last faint whispers of the dying"? Outstanding workers for the Sanitary Commission were Clara Barton, who later founded the American Red Cross, and Dorothea Dix, famous for her work among the mentally ill (page 273).

**How the Union Government Boosted the Business Boom.** Most businessmen during the war sold the Government merchandise of good, not inferior, quality. Many of them

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<sup>1</sup> Until this time, in the United States and almost everywhere else, army nurses had been males. In fact, even in this war, most nurses were males. But as a result of the work of women nurses in this war, nursing became a respected profession for American women.

<sup>2</sup> Much was done by this commission to keep up morale. Six thousand of its members, serving without pay, delivered to army camps Bibles, patriotic songbooks, magazines, food, and medicine.

made fortunes, not dishonestly but because their prices were unusually high and because the market was unusually large. Furthermore, the Congress had passed certain laws favorable to the industrial Northeast, as well as to the agricultural Northwest. The Congress was thus implementing the Republican platform of 1860 (page 365).

*Up Goes the Tariff: Up, Too, Go New Factories.* Higher and higher went the tariff, beginning with the *Morrill Tariff Act* of 1861. By 1864, tariff rates in general were higher than they had ever been. The higher tariff encouraged greater American production by cutting down on the competition from lower-priced foreign products. It was hoped that by thus protecting American manufacturers, the Government in its war effort would not have to depend upon foreign imports. With this protection, old factories expanded and new factories sprang up. Defenders of the high tariff argued that the higher rates on goods that *were* imported would give the Government needed revenue. Rates continued to climb long after the war was over.

*The Congress Grants a Generous Charter for the Construction of a Transcontinental Railroad.* Before the war, many had dreamed of the construction of a transcontinental railroad. But the South had wanted a Southern route and the North a Northern route. With Southern congressmen out of the Congress, Northern congressmen voted for a route running through Union territory from Omaha, Nebraska, to Sacramento, California.<sup>1</sup> The Congress granted the right to build the transcontinental railroad to the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific companies. Millions of acres of Government land and huge loans were granted these companies to encourage construction.

It was hoped that a transcontinental railroad would encourage business in many ways. The manufactured goods of the Northeast and the farm products of the Old Northwest could then be more easily exchanged for

the wheat and meat of Kansas and Nebraska, for the minerals of the Far West, and even for the tea and silks of China. It was also hoped that such a railroad would build national unity by bringing such far-off areas as California closer to the rest of the Union. In 1869, such a railroad line was opened to business (page 445).

*The Congress Strikes a Bargain with Would-be Bankers: The National Banking System.* If today thousands of private and state banks—some of them dishonest—were each issuing their own paper money, it would be terribly confusing. How would people know the value of one paper money in terms of the many others? Such had been the situation in the United States before the war. To correct this situation by creating a uniform currency throughout the country was one of the aims of the *National Banking Act* of 1863. Another aim was to create a market for the sale of Government bonds to get money to carry on the war.

In effect, in the *National Banking System*<sup>1</sup> created by the Act of 1863, the Government made a bargain with would-be bankers. Those who met certain conditions would be given by the Congress a charter to establish a bank called a *national bank*. They had to invest a certain amount of money in the bank. Part of this money had to be used to buy Government bonds. On these, the banks received interest. Using these bonds as backing, the national banks were permitted to issue paper money, called *national bank notes*. The would-be bankers could make money on these bank notes by lending them to the bank's customers and charging them interest.

By 1865, these national bank notes, all backed by Government bonds, were well on their way to becoming the uniform currency of the country. In that year, the Congress placed a tax of ten per cent on the paper money of state banks, thus driving the paper money of state banks out of circulation.

<sup>1</sup> Lines from the East to Omaha had been constructed earlier.

<sup>1</sup> Half a century later, in 1913, the National Banking System was to be replaced by another banking system, the Federal Reserve System (page 615).

Before the war, many Northern bankers and businessmen—but not the agricultural interests of the South—had dreamed of such a centralized banking system. With Southern congressmen out of the Congress, the dream came true.

*The Congress Strikes a Bargain with Would-be Western Farmers: The Homestead Act.* Would you like 160 acres of Federal land practically free? It's all yours—if you are a natural-born citizen or promise to become a naturalized citizen, have never fought against the United States, and will live on this practically free land for five years. This is the gist of what the Congress said in the *Homestead Act* of 1862. The Homestead Act seemed like a long-time dream come true to Western farmers, to land speculators, to immigrants from Europe, and to some Eastern workers.

To some poor farm families, the Homestead Act proved a blessing. To others, it was a cruel disappointment. Great stretches of the Great Plains seldom got enough rain. This many a hard-working homesteader found it hard to make a living. Discouraged, many went back east or moved farther west.

In still other ways, the Homestead Act did not always work out as planned. Some unmarried women got around the requirement that a homesteader be a head of a family by renting a neighbor's child on the day they filed for a homestead. Some homesteaders got around the requirement that a house be built on the 160 acres by renting a movable cabin. Who knows how many homesteaders used the same movable cabin to trick the Government!

Many shady speculators bribed puppet homesteaders to file for homestead land, which they then took over. This trick was especially common in areas that were most fertile, most forested, or most mineral-rich. No wonder millions of homestead acres wound up in the hands of frauds!

Furthermore, millions of acres of public land were not open to homesteaders. This land had been granted by the Government to railroads or bought up by big speculators.

Thus many a settler had to obtain his land from a railroad or a speculator.

*The Congress Strikes a Bargain with the States: The Morrill Land Grant Act.* Farmers would be more prosperous—and so would the country—if farmers knew more about scientific farming. Reasoning this way, and under pressure from Western farmers, the Congress, in 1862, passed the *Morrill Land Grant Act*. Establish colleges that will train students in agriculture, as well as in engineering and military science, and the national Government will grant your state huge tracts of Federal lands. This was the essence of the bargain struck by the national Government with the states in the Morrill Act. As a result, more than seventy state universities were to be established.

*Some Reasons for the Bad Times in the Confederacy.* As the North enjoyed boom times during the war, the South suffered bad times. For too long, the South had cultivated too much cotton and constructed too few factories. As the Northern blockade made it more and more difficult for the South to ship cotton abroad, Southerners shifted to cultivating food crops. But getting the food to the armies and to civilian customers also became more and more difficult as the war went on. For the railroad system in the South, never too strong, collapsed almost entirely. With railroad parts almost impossible to import from Europe, damage done to the system by Northern armies could not easily be repaired.

As the war wore on, the South began building the factories it so desperately needed. But this effort at self-sufficiency was not too successful. The South had had too few factories for a large supply of skilled laborers to be available. It also lacked enough machinery and enough capital. By the war's end, as we have seen, prices had soared so high that it was almost impossible to buy even the barest necessities. Some Southern cities even experienced bread riots.

Some dishonest Southerners, disloyal to the Confederacy, took advantage of the bad times to fill their own pockets. Some block

ade runners, including Northerners, made fortunes by bringing in French champagnes and Paris fashions, instead of the needed machinery, medicine, and ammunition. Some speculators, in violation of the law, created monopolies in certain goods and charged sky-high prices for them.

But selfish profiteers were few compared with the overwhelming number of self-sacrificing Southerners. Outstanding among this number were Southern women. They cared for the wounded and, in the words of Jefferson Davis' wife, "deprived themselves of every wonted luxury to give it to the soldiers." They also ran plantations and farms in place of their absent soldier husbands.

### **Britain and France Almost Force the Union to Fight More Than One War at a Time**

Suppose the Confederacy had won Britain and France as allies in the war. How long could the Union have maintained its blockade against their powerful fleets? And would not the Confederacy have been strengthened enormously by the products of their factories? Yet it looked at first as though these countries actually would become allies of the Confederacy. Why did they consider doing so?

*In this British cartoon entitled "Over the Way," Mr. Bull remarks: "Oh! If you two like fighting better than business, I shall deal at the other shop." Explain.*



Most British aristocrats disliked slavery. Nevertheless, they felt they had close ties to the aristocratic planters of the South. On the other hand, they felt they had little in common with Northern factory owners, shopkeepers, and workers, whom they considered crude, uncultured, and common. Such aristocrats, like aristocrats in most European countries, hoped that the split in the Union would be permanent. They wanted to see America's great experiment in democracy fail, so that democracy would seem less appealing to peoples elsewhere.

Many British factory owners and shippers felt that with a Confederate victory they would have less to fear from Northern competitors. A Confederate victory would also mean a bigger market for British goods. Since the South had few factories, it would probably feel no need for a protective tariff to cut down on foreign imports. Their dependence on cotton made many textile manufacturers particularly sympathetic to the South, which had been for so long their cotton supplier. Some of them agreed with the British economist who had written:

Should any dire calamity befall the land of cotton, a thousand of our merchant ships would rot idly in dock; ten thousand mills must stop their busy looms; two million mouths would starve for lack of food to feed them.

All other things aside, an independent Confederacy would mean that neither the Union nor any other Government in the Western Hemisphere would be strong enough to check British expansion there.

France had ambitions in the Western Hemisphere, too. For some time, Emperor Napoleon III of France had dreamed of annexing Mexico as the nucleus for an empire in the New World. But the American warning contained in the Monroe Doctrine loomed as a very large obstacle. Napoleon's ambitions help to explain why many Southerners thought that he would side with the Confederacy to destroy the strength of the Union. Napoleon also hoped for a Confed-

erate victory because the textile mills of France were in need of Southern cotton.

**Why Neither Britain Nor France Became an Ally of the Confederacy.** When the war broke out, British warehouses were so bulging with cotton that there was no immediate need to import more from the South. Later, when more was needed, a substantial amount was imported from India, Egypt, Brazil, and China. In any case, at this time, Britain believed it needed wheat from the Union more than cotton from the Confederacy. Moreover, many British manufacturers were making millions selling war materials to the Union. And many British liberals favored the Union anyway. One, John Bright, explained why he wanted the United States to remain united thus:

There is no other country in which men have been so free and so prosperous, and . . . there is no other political constitution now in existence in the preservation of which the human race is so deeply interested.

British workers in general also favored the Union, in spite of British editorials and cartoons propagandizing in favor of the Confederacy. Such workers and middle-class liberals in general favored the Union because they wanted to see an end to slavery. To the free workers of Britain, the end of slavery would mean victory for free labor.

Against this background, what convinced the Governments of Britain and France that it would not be wise to ally themselves with the Confederacy? Neither wanted to become so tied up in a war in the New World that the other would get the upper hand in the Old World. Britain hesitated to challenge the Union blockade because the blockade had long been a favorite British military weapon. In a future war, Britain's use of the blockade might likewise be challenged. Finally, the Union started winning important battles, such as Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga.

But although Britain and France did not declare war on the United States, they came

close to doing so on several occasions, as we shall now see.

**Britain Accuses the United States of Violating International Law.** James Mason and John Slidell, Confederate commissioners, were on a British ship, the *Trent*, headed for Britain in 1861. A Union warship, commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes, forced the *Trent* to stop by firing a shot across its bow. Mason and Slidell were removed from the British vessel and taken to jail in the North.

The *Trent* affair caused Northerners to bubble with joy and the British to burn with fury. War fever ran so high that thousands of British troops were ordered to Canada. The British Government accused the United States of violating international law. It demanded the surrender of the prisoners and an immediate apology. Saddened by all this, the British scientist Charles Darwin wrote to the American scientist Asa Gray (page 257).

When you receive this, we may be at war, and we two be bound as good patriots, to hate each other. How curious it is to see two countries, just like two angry and silly men, taking so opposite a view of the same transaction!

Although Lincoln said that it was "a bitter pill to swallow," he decided to free the prisoners. For one thing, he recognized the justice of the British position. A cause of the War of 1812 had been the forcible removal of men from American ships on the high seas by British officers. Lincoln reasoned that Wilkes' action had similarly interfered with the principle of freedom of the seas. In any case, the practical Lincoln explained, ". . . we had one big war on hand and we didn't want two at the same time."

**The United States Accuses Britain of Violating International Law.** Before the *Alabama* went to the bottom in a naval duel with the Union warship *Kearsarge* in 1864, it had captured more than sixty Union merchant ships. The *Alabama* was just one among many Confederate commerce destroyers built in

a trial by jury. Throughout the Union, Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus. According to a Supreme Court decision in 1861, he had no right—even in the war emergency—to take such action without the consent of the Congress. But Lincoln continued the suspension. Moreover, his generals held military trials, even in areas where there were civilian courts and where no fighting was going on. (After the war was over, in 1866, the Supreme Court decided that these court-martials, under such circumstances, had been illegal and a threat to liberty.) Telegrams and mail, on Lincoln's orders, were examined to check spying. At the beginning of the war, before the Congress had met, Lincoln had enlarged the army and appropriated money to finance the war. This again he had no constitutional right to do without the consent of the Congress.

**Actually, Lincoln Was No Dictator.** For such actions, Lincoln was called a dictator. Actually, at heart, he was far from being one. But he was faced with a most difficult wartime situation. Many in the Union had friends and relatives in the Confederacy. Thus, spying was a lot easier than it would have been in a war with a foreign foe. Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, faced a similar situation. He, too, suspended the writ of habeas corpus and, at times, interfered with civil liberties.

Few Presidents in American history have been so savagely attacked in newspaper editorials and from public platforms as Lincoln. Yet no person's freedom of expression was interfered with merely because they indulged in such personal attacks. In fact, most newspapers were permitted to print what they pleased—even when they attacked the conduct of the war. Furthermore, many a political prisoner was released upon promising that he would no longer be hostile to the war effort. Modern dictators usually hold farcical elections or none at all, make puppets of their legislatures, and set up one-party governments. Lincoln did none of these things.

Even today, there are those who think that Lincoln stretched his powers as Chief Executive and as Commander in Chief of the armed forces dangerously far. However, as a result of his actions, it came to be generally recognized that if an emergency such as a war develops, the President may have to stretch his power temporarily.

**Lincoln's Leadership Faces a Severe Test on the Slavery Question.** Lincoln hated slavery. Yet he had said over and over again that the preservation of the Union, and not the freeing of the slaves, was the reason for waging war. In fact, for the Union to declare that the war was also being fought to free the slaves might, in Lincoln's view, actually prevent the preservation of the Union. Why? Because the border states, in which slavery existed, might react by seceding. Furthermore, many Northern soldiers were fighting the war only to preserve the Union. To declare the slaves free could, Lincoln contended, lead to "a mutiny in the army."

But soon Lincoln began to fear that if the slaves were *not* freed, it would be impossible to preserve the Union. Why? To win the war required unity throughout the Union. But when the slaves were not declared free, abolitionist attacks upon Lincoln's conduct of the war increased to fever pitch. Because Lincoln seemed lukewarm about freeing the slaves, certain individuals in his own party in the Congress gave him only lukewarm support. Such individuals were called *Radical Republicans*. They hated slaveowners. They wanted the war to become an all-out crusade against slavery.

Lincoln also recognized that among the middle-class liberals and working people of Europe, there was strong hatred of slavery. For this reason, he was convinced that no European Government would intervene on the side of the Confederacy were the Union to declare the slaves free.

**Lincoln Decides to Act on the Slavery Question.** How can we start freeing slaves without hurting the war effort? Specifically, how can we avoid antagonizing antislavery

groups and also the border states in which slavery exists? Pondering thus, Lincoln suggested to the Congress a plan for freeing the slaves in the border states by compensating their owners. To the slaveowners in the border states, this plan went too far. To the Radical Republicans in the Congress and to abolitionists in general, it didn't go far enough. Only in the District of Columbia was compensated emancipation accepted by slaveowners.

The attacks of abolitionists and Radical Republicans on Lincoln became more heated than ever. He realized then that a more drastic step had to be taken to preserve unity. But, not wishing to antagonize moderate Northerners and slaveowners in the border states, he issued this statement first.

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union.

**The Emancipation Proclamation Frees No Slaves Immediately, But Wins Applause Both at Home and Abroad.** Lincoln interpreted the Battle of Antietam as a victory for the Union. Now the time was ripe, he felt, to issue a bold statement on freeing the slaves. If he had issued it earlier, while the Union was suffering defeats, both he and it would have been laughed at. This explains why, a few days after Antietam, in September, 1862, Lincoln issued his *Emancipation Proclamation*. Acting under his authority as Commander in Chief of the armed forces, he proclaimed all slaves free as of January 1, 1863, in areas still in rebellion against the United States.

When issued, the Proclamation did not immediately free a single slave. It did not apply to the slaves in loyal border states because they were not in rebellion. And ob-

viously, it would not free any slaves in states where the Confederacy was in control. Nor would it apply to Southern areas under control of Union troops that were no longer in rebellion on January 1, 1863. In other words, where Lincoln *could* free the slaves, he didn't. And where he *could not* free them, he ordered them freed. However, after January 1, 1863, as Union forces conquered Confederate territory, slaves there were freed in line with the Emancipation Proclamation.

Many abolitionists and Radical Republicans were disappointed by the Emancipation Proclamation. On the other hand, many moderates in the North and slaveowners in the border states were bitter, feeling that the war had now become a crusade against slavery, as well as one to preserve the Union.

However, many in the Union and in Europe rejoiced at what they considered a milestone in mankind's struggle for freedom throughout the ages. To them, the Proclamation seemed a guarantee that if the Union should win the war, slavery would be abolished throughout the United States. The guarantee was made good when the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified in 1865, shortly after the war ended.

**The Election of 1864: The Voters Decide Not to 'Swap Horses When Crossing a Stream.'** "The world is a solidarity, and the cause of America is the cause of liberty.

But should liberty become eclipsed in the New World, it would become night in Europe." This statement of a French professor was quoted in an 1864 campaign pamphlet put out by Lincoln's party. If Lincoln lost, liberty would "become eclipsed," the party suggested—and European liberals feared.

In this election, the supporters of Lincoln called themselves the *Union Party*. They included not only Republicans but those Democrats who supported the Union's effort to win the war. To balance the ticket, they even nominated a Democrat from Tennessee, Andrew Johnson. Although Johnson believed in states' rights and had owned



## Some Highlights of The War Between the States

- Confederacy created • Fort Sumter bombarded • First income tax adopted to finance war • Four border slave states decide to remain in Union • Southern ports blockaded • United States Sanitary Commission created • First Battle of Bull Run • Lincoln suspends habeas corpus • Trent affair

- Union forces capture Forts Henry and Donelson • *Monitor* v. *Merrimack* • Battle of Shiloh • Farragut takes New Orleans • Peninsular Campaign • Second Battle of Bull Run • Battle of Antietam • Fredericksburg fiasco • Greenbacks issued • Machine gun perfected by Gatling

- Emancipation Proclamation declared in effect • National Banking System created • First National Conscription Act • 'Stonewall' Jackson fatally wounded at Chancellorsville • French Army occupies Mexico • West Virginia enters Union • Battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg • Antidraft riots in New York • Battle of Chickamauga • Gettysburg Address • Battle of Chotonooga

1864



- Grant named head of Union armies • Wilderness Campaign • Kearsarge sinks Confederate cruiser *Alabama* • Lincoln re-elected • Sherman captures Atlanta and Savannah

1865

- Lee named head of Confederate army • Union army enters Richmond • Lee surrenders to Grant • Lincoln assassinated

slaves, he also believed that secession had been wrong. He was the only senator to remain in the Congress after his own state seceded. This once "poor white," whose wife had taught him how to write, hated Southern planter aristocrats.

The Democratic Party that opposed Lincoln included many ardent Copperheads. It nominated McClellan, who had been removed by Lincoln as a general. The Democratic platform stated that nearly four years of fighting had accomplished nothing. It called, therefore, for an immediate end to the war. This, of course, really meant recognition of the Confederacy as an independent nation.

The Democrats thought they had a good chance of winning. They knew that the voters had grown war-weary in the face of the heavy casualties suffered during the dark summer of 1864 (page 388). They knew that the Radical Republicans were so dissatisfied with Lincoln that they had tried to

nominate Chase or Frémont instead. Such Radical Republicans felt that Lincoln, in waging the war, was not ruthless enough toward the Confederacy.

Yet the voters came to the conclusion that, in Lincoln's own words, "it was not best to swap horses when crossing a stream." Many Democrats were confused because McClellan, although he had accepted the nomination, could not bring himself to accept the Copperhead peace-at-any-price platform. Many Radical Republicans voted for Lincoln—not for love of Lincoln but because they considered McClellan a traitor for accepting nomination by Copperheads. Moreover, it was slowly dawning on many voters that a great man was in the White House. Sherman's victory at Atlanta, Sheridan's devastation of the Shenandoah Valley, and Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay all helped to clinch Lincoln's victory.<sup>1</sup> So did the boom times, which almost always help the party in power.

**Booth's Bullet, in Killing Lincoln, Strikes a Mighty Blow at the American Dream.** Five days after Lee's surrender, Lincoln went to watch a play at Ford's Theater in Washington. The date was April 14, 1865. An actor out of a job stole into the President's box and shot a bullet into Lincoln's brain. The assassin, John Wilkes Booth, was a Confederate sympathizer who believed that slavery was a blessing.

The act of this mentally sick fanatic was a tragedy for the South as well as for the North—and even for the world. Many years afterward, Jefferson Davis was to say:

Next to the destruction of the Confederate, the death of Abraham Lincoln was the darkest day the South has known

Throughout the world, millions mourned this martyred man. For uppermost in Lincoln's thinking had been those ideals which we understand as the American Dream. It

had been Lincoln's dream that if the American Dream was realized, peoples elsewhere would be inspired by it and build similar dreams of their own.

A few months after the Battle of Gettysburg, Lincoln had delivered his famous *Gettysburg Address* there. He had reminded the people that the American experiment in democracy was different from the autocratic governments of the past. He had spoken of the United States as "a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." In praising the men who gave their lives at Gettysburg, he made no distinction between Northerners and Southerners. All Americans honor them best, he indicated, when they dedicate themselves so that

this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

In his Second Inaugural Address, Lincoln had pleaded with Northerners not to adopt a vengeful attitude toward Southerners. Instead, he urged them to act "with malice toward none, with charity for all."

In this spirit, he called upon all Americans "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

On the very day he was assassinated, Lincoln said, "I hope there will be no persecutions, no bloody work after the war is over."

But after Lincoln's death, a heritage of bitterness lingered on.<sup>1</sup> This bitterness has sometimes kept the United States from being more united. Greater unity might have speeded up the progress Americans have made toward realizing the American Dream.

<sup>1</sup> His electoral vote was 212 to McClellan's 21, and he won fifty-five per cent of the popular vote.

<sup>1</sup> There is, of course, no absolute certainty that even if Lincoln had lived, he would have been able to put his ideals into practice. For the spirit of revenge was very strong among many Northerners, who went so far as to blame the entire South for Lincoln's death.

# STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 16

## ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Robert E. Lee	Battle of	the <i>Monitor</i> and	Homestead Act
Thomas J. Jackson	Gettysburg	the <i>Merrimack</i>	Morrill Land Grant
First Battle	George G. Meade	Appomattox	Act
of Bull Run	Ulysses S. Grant	Courthouse	<i>Trent</i> affair
Anaconda policy	Battle of Shiloh	Conscription Act	the <i>Alabama</i>
George B. McClellan	David G. Farragut	draft riots	Edwin M. Stanton
Peninsular Campaign	Vicksburg	bounty-jumpers	Salmon P. Chase
John Pope	campaign	bounty-brokers	Copperheads
Second Battle	Battle of	greenbacks	Radical
of Bull Run	Chattanooga	profiteers	Republicans
Battle of Antietam	William T. Sherman	United States	Emancipation
Ambrose Burnside	John B. Hood	Sanitary	Proclamation
Battle of	George H. Thomas	Commission	Union Party
Fredericksburg	march through	Christian	Andrew Johnson
"Fighting Joe"	Georgia	Commission	John Wilkes Booth
Hooker	Battle of Cold	Clara Barton	Gettysburg Address
Battle of	Harbor	Morrill Tariff	Lincoln's Second
Chancellorsville	"Jeb" Stuart	National Banking	Inaugural Address
Pickett's charge	Phil Sheridan	Act	

## ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. In what ways were the resources of the Union much greater than those of the Confederacy?
2. In what ways was its greater industrialization a major advantage to the Union?
3. List the advantages that the Confederacy had over the Union.
4. Point out similarities in the views of Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson.
5. Prove that there were lessons for both (a) the Union and (b) the Confederacy in the First Battle of Bull Run.
6. Describe the over-all military strategy of the Union.
7. Show specifically why President Lincoln was disappointed with Generals (a) McClellan, (b) Pope, (c) Burnside, and (d) Hooker.
8. Associate with the Battle of Gettysburg (a) Cemetery Ridge, (b) Pickett, (c) Lee, (d) Meade, (e) Vicksburg, (f) its effect on the Union, and (g) its effect on the Confederacy.
9. Describe the steps by which the Union brought about an east-west split in the Confederacy.
10. Show how (a) the Battle of Chattanooga and (b) Sherman's march through Georgia brought about a north-south split in the Confederacy.
11. The name Sherman stirs bitter memories in the minds of many Southerners. For what reasons?
12. Give reasons why 1864 was a dark year for both sides in the war.
13. What was (a) dramatic and (b) significant about the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack*?

14. Explain specifically the connection between the Conscription Act and (a) the draft riots and (b) the bounty-jumpers.
  15. With respect to the raising of the Confederate army, (a) what methods were used and (b) what problems were faced?
  16. By what means did (a) the Union and (b) the Confederacy raise money to fight the war?
  17. Give reasons why it was possible for some to benefit from the wartime business boom and for some not to.
  18. Prove that there were (a) profiteers and (b) patriots on the home front during the war.
  19. For what reasons did the Union Government (a) raise tariff rates, (b) encourage the building of a transcontinental railroad, and (c) establish the National Banking System?
  20. What were the (a) provisions of and (b) flaws in the operation of the Homestead Act?
  21. What conditions in the Confederacy prevented it from enjoying a wartime boom?
  22. Which groups in Britain hoped for a Confederate victory? Give reasons why in each case.
  23. For what reasons did Napoleon III hope for a Confederate victory?
  24. Both (a) practical and (b) idealistic reasons explain why Britain did not declare war on the Union. Prove.
  25. Show specifically how (a) the *Trent* affair and (b) such ships as the *Alabama* aggravated relations between Britain and the Union.
  26. Show that Russia had practical reasons for showing sympathy toward the Union.
  27. Describe the attitude of Lincoln's Cabinet members toward him and his attitude toward them.
  28. Prove that there were many varieties of so-called Copperheads.
  29. For what reasons did some call President Lincoln a dictator? What evidence is there that he was not?
  30. For what reasons did Lincoln (a) at first hesitate to free the slaves and (b) finally decide to do so?
  31. For what reasons did the Emancipation Proclamation (a) disappoint many abolitionists, (b) infuriate many slaveowners in the border states, and (c) please many in the Union and Europe?
  32. In the election of 1864, (a) why did Lincoln's chances seem poor and (b) for what reasons did he win anyway?
  33. How did Lincoln show his greatness in (a) the Gettysburg Address and (b) the Second Inaugural Address?
- ★ **Questions for Thought and Discussion**
1. No war has captured the interest of so many Americans as the War Between the States. What reasons might explain this?
  2. The Confederacy had no chance of winning, considering the resources of the Union. Explain whether or not you agree and for what reasons.
  3. Inventors like McCormick were worth many regiments to the Union. Explain.
  4. The attitude of many of those who went off to fight in or to watch the First Battle of Bull Run is a clue to why peace movements through the ages have not been stronger. Explain.
  5. Geography dictated Union strategy. Prove.
  6. Give your views of Lincoln's response to Hooker's belief that the Government needed a dictator.
  7. Few battles in American history stir the emotions as much as does the Battle of Gettysburg. For what reasons?
  8. What factors might explain why Grant, who had such a generally undistinguished record before the war, had such a distinguished record in the war?
  9. What do you think was most responsible for bringing about (a) the east-west split and (b) the north-south split in the Confederacy?
  10. What are your opinions of Sherman's

## CHAPTER

# 17

### *The Reconstruction Period: The Road to Reunion Is a Rocky One*

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#### **Radical Republicans Insist on a Tough Reconstruction Program**

• Lincoln's and Johnson's Reconstruction Programs Are Milder • Some Reasons for the Tough Radical Republican Reconstruction Program • Radical Republicans Condemn Black Codes, Create Freedmen's Bureau, Put Through Civil Rights Bill, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and Military Rule in the South, and Impeach President Johnson

#### **The Post-War South Faces Some Serious Problems**

• The South Is Physically Hard Hit by the War • Freed Slaves Find Freedom Full of Problems • The Influence of Carpetbaggers and Scalawags • The Ku Klux Klan Tries to Frighten Off Carpetbaggers, Scalawags, and Negroes • Control of the South Is Won Back from Radical Republicans by Southern Democrats • Southern States Take Steps to Keep the South Solidly Democratic

#### **Some Significant Results of the War and Reconstruction**

• Believers in Democracy Gain New Hope • Nationalism Wins Out Over Sectionalism • A Trend Develops Toward Increase in Presidential Powers During Emergencies and Greater Influence for Northern Industrialists • Republicans Remain Many Years in Control After the War • Strong Influence of Lincoln and Lee Legends • States' Righters Continue to Speak Out for Sectionalism • Important Changes in the Lives of Former Slaves

#### **Views Differ as to How to Deal with the Hard-Hit South**

##### **The Sad Picture of the South After the War.**

"A city of ruins, of desolation, of vacant houses, of widowed women, of rotting wharves, of deserted warehouses, of weed-wild gardens, of miles of grass-grown streets,

of acres of pitiful and voiceful barrenness—that is Charleston. . . ." This description, written by a Northern visitor in 1865, would have fitted about as well many of the other cities and towns of the post-war South. Throughout the region, roads, railroads, and bridges had been destroyed, and many homes, schools, and churches wrecked. In

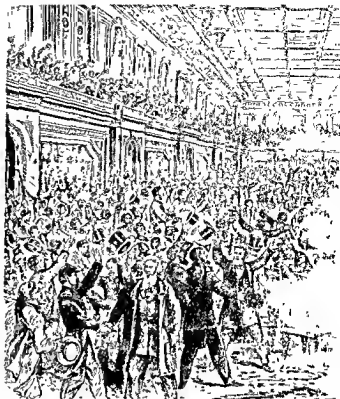
some areas, where police officers and courts had stopped operating, bandits roamed freely.

Banks were bankrupt. The life's savings of most Southerners had gone into Confederate currency, which was now so worthless that many were lighting fires with it. Lacking capital, with its traditional slave labor system suddenly outlawed and its fields devastated, the South was economically crippled. Things were so bad that one formerly wealthy planter did the family wash and another went from door to door selling pies. Some women, as well as men, lacking beasts of burden, yoked themselves like oxen to plows. To make the post-war South's sad picture even sadder, about one out of every three Southern men had been killed in the war. This loss of some of the South's best human resources was to delay its recovery for a long time.

#### **The South's Four Million Slaves, Freed Suddenly, Find Freedom Full of Problems.**

To adjust oneself to change is always difficult. It was natural that former slaves would be bewildered by their suddenly granted freedom. How especially difficult it must have been to adjust to freedom after one's people had spent years, perhaps centuries, in slavery! No wonder crooked characters, both white and Negro, were able to cheat many freed slaves out of their few possessions. They sold them poisonous whiskey and worthless patent medicines. They issued illegal marriage certificates and illegal divorce papers. They deceived some Negroes by spreading the rumor that the Government had passed a law giving every freed man "forty acres and a mule." Then these cruel cheats sold them the wooden pegs with which to mark off the land they were never destined to get.

Many of the freed slaves, fearful of change, or devoted to their old masters, remained on their old plantations. Many who left feared that if they were to remain, they might be re-enslaved. Some thought that now that they were free, life was going to be one long spree, without work. Many died



*The scene in the House of Representatives upon passage of the Thirteenth Amendment. From your study thus far, which individuals or groups would you say played the most important roles in bringing this event about?*

of starvation. Aimlessly, many roamed about the countryside or hung around Union army posts. Some settled down in special Government camps created for them. In these overcrowded camps, it was not long before thousands had died of disease or violence. Many wanted jobs. But the hard-hit planters could not afford to hire them. Many longed for their own land to cultivate. But they could not afford to buy it.

**A 'Tragic Era' in American History: The Reconstruction Period (1865-1877).** How can we most quickly—and with least friction—repair the damage in the war-torn South? How can we best—and with least friction—promote the welfare of both the poverty-stricken whites and the bewildered Negroes there? These are questions we would expect

Government officials to have concentrated on in 1865. But Americans in 1865 had just finished fighting the bloodiest war in history. This explains why passions flared and bitter feuds developed over such questions as:

Should the seceded states and their leaders be punished severely before being allowed to return to the Union? Who should have the right to make the rules regarding their return: the President or the Congress? How many of the rights and privileges of white citizens should be granted to the freed slaves? What should be done to make sure that the rights granted to freed slaves are not taken from them later? Who should decide the political, social, and economic status of the freed slaves in the South: the national Congress or state legislatures controlled by whites?

The problems of rebuilding the South, of adjusting relations between the races there, and of restoring the Southern states to the Union highlighted the period from 1865 to 1877. These years embraced what is called the *Reconstruction period*. Another important characteristic of the Reconstruction period in the South was its slow shift from a mainly agricultural society to one in which industry played a somewhat more important role.

The group that favored harsh punishment for the seceded states won out. Thus, to the fires of wartime hatreds between North and South was added more fuel. Technically, the Reconstruction period ended in 1877. Yet the hatreds aroused during it did not die. Because of the acts of violence and corruption that occurred, and because of the hatreds that resulted, some have called the Reconstruction period the "tragic era" in American history. In a sense, the Reconstruction period is still with us. For race relations are still far from adjusted. And the shift to greater industrialization to solve the South's difficult economic problems continues.

**Reunion Without Revenge: Lincoln's and Johnson's Plans for Reconstruction.** According to the Constitution, the Congress has the power to admit states. According to the

Constitution, the President has the power to grant pardons to those guilty of committing Federal offenses. To Lincoln, no state could legally secede from the Union, because the Union was indestructible. To him, certain rebellious citizens within the states had been guilty of causing the break that had led to war. To Lincoln, then, the Reconstruction problem was one of pardoning individuals, rather than one of readmitting states. Consequently, Reconstruction, he believed, was a problem of the President, rather than a problem of the Congress.

In any case, Lincoln's primary goal was to get the seceded states back into the Union as soon as possible and with as little friction as possible. Only thus, he felt, could the United States fulfill its destiny of demonstrating to the world that democracy could work. He felt that there would be less friction if the Federal Government used no force to compel Southern whites to grant rights and privileges to freedmen. He thought that in time, through persuasion, Southern whites would recognize Negro rights and privileges.

Here are the highlights of Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction: All Confederates, except high government and military officials, could obtain pardons from the President. All they had to do was to take an oath of allegiance to the Union and agree to obey the Constitution and the laws made under it. As soon as ten per cent of those who had voted in 1860 in a given state had taken such an oath, they would have the legal right to form a state government. Such a state government would also be required to agree to abolish slavery. Then it could send its senators and representatives to the Congress. Lincoln thus hoped to restore speedily the states of the Confederacy to their "proper practical relation with the Union." He hoped, too, that by this mild plan for Reconstruction, free from the spirit of revenge, the South's former loyalty to the Union would be won back.

Andrew Johnson (page 401), as Vice-President, became President on Lincoln's

assassination. Like Lincoln, he believed that Reconstruction was a problem of the President. In fact, his Reconstruction program was much like Lincoln's.<sup>1</sup> By December, 1865, all the former Confederate states, except Texas, had met the requirements of the Lincoln-Johnson plan. They had canceled their acts of secession and had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery. They had organized state governments and sent senators and representatives to the Congress. But the Radical Republicans (page 400) in control of the Congress had refused to admit them to the Congress. And in the Congress, angry Radical Republicans made fiery speeches attacking Johnson for his mild Reconstruction policy.

The Radical Republicans were also furious with Johnson because they believed that Reconstruction was the Congress' power, not the President's. Moderate Republicans shared this belief. Both felt that the President had exercised so much power during the war that it was now time for the Congress to reclaim power and regain prestige. To them, the Southern states had left the Union, and only the Congress had the constitutional right to readmit them.

**Same Reasons Why the Radical Republicans Insisted on a Tough Reconstruction Program.** Politics played an important part in determining the tough policy of the Radical Republicans. We shall now see why.

**Radical Republicans Fear Loss of Control to Democrats.** The Radical Republicans feared that the Democrats might gain control of the Congress. The Thirteenth Amendment had canceled the three-fifths compromise. Now that all Negroes would be counted for purposes of representation, the South, made up mainly of Democrats, would have more representatives in the House of

Representatives than before the war. Furthermore, many of the men elected to the Congress in line with the Lincoln-Johnson Reconstruction program, had been leaders of the Confederacy. One, Alexander H. Stephens, had even been its vice-president. The Radical Republicans were furious at this turn of events. Some asked: Who won the war anyway?

The Radical Republicans were also afraid that the former Confederates would forever keep the Negro from voting. They pictured these Southern Democrats forming an alliance with Northern Democrats to control the Congress. This would mean the end, they feared, of such Republican legislation as the high protective tariff, the National Banking System, the subsidies to railroads, and the Homestead Act. To many Radical Republicans, who represented Northern industrialists and Western farmers, this possibility was terrifying.

To keep their party in power for a long time, Republican leaders decided to prevent as many former Confederate leaders as possible from voting and to get the vote for all Negro freedmen.<sup>1</sup> In gratitude, Negroes, they hoped, would vote Republican.

**Some Radical Republicans Are Mainly Interested in the Interests of Freed Slaves.** Some Radical Republicans argued that if the South was reconstructed by the Congress, it could be made more democratic and standards of living there could be raised. Some of them suspected former slaveowners of plotting to re-enslave freed slaves. Only a tough Reconstruction policy, they maintained, would thwart such efforts. They demanded that the plantations of former slaveowners be divided up and turned over to former slaves. They demanded that former slaveowners be denied the right to vote and hold office and that freed slaves, for their own protection, be granted these and other rights.

<sup>1</sup> Yet when Lincoln had urged gentle treatment for Confederate leaders, Johnson had called them traitors who should be severely punished. But once he had the responsibility of the Presidency, Johnson's attitude softened considerably. This change of heart surprised and angered Radical Republicans.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that at this time when Radical Republicans were insisting that Negro freedmen in the South be given the right to vote, some states in the North barred Negroes from voting



As one white supporter of Negro rights, Wendell Phillips, had put it earlier: "Give the Negro a vote . . . and there is not a politician . . . who would not do him honor."

**Senator Sumner and Representative Stevens Represent the Extreme Radical Point of View on Reconstruction.** To Senator Charles Sumner, those states that had seceded had committed political suicide. Therefore, to him, these states should have nothing to say, and the Congress everything to say, about how they should be treated. Sumner was the long-time abolitionist who had been badly beaten up by Brooks in the Senate (page 359). Sumner's leading ally in the House, Thaddeus Stevens, was in his seventies and in poor health. He wanted the seceded states to be treated as "conquered provinces." He seemed to love Negroes as much as he hated slaveowners. He showed his hatred for the latter when he said:

Strip a proud nobility [plantation owners] of their bloated estates; . . . send them forth to labor and teach their children to enter the workshops or handle a plow, and you will thus humble the proud traitors.

Freed slaves, Sumner and Stevens insisted, must be given land, the right to vote, and free schooling. If this was not done, they argued, the War would have been fought in vain.

## Some Policies of the Radical Republicans

**Radical Republicans Condemn the Black Codes as Schemes to Re-enslave Freed Slaves.** Sumner and Stevens and many other Northerners boiled with anger when they learned of certain laws being passed by Southern states in 1865. These laws were called the *Black Codes*. In some states, the Black Codes declared that Negroes out of jobs could be brought to court and accused of vagrancy. If convicted, they were fined. If they couldn't pay the fine, they were

turned over to a white employer to work it out. If a Negro ran away before his fine was paid, he could be captured by any white man and brought back to do the required work. Black Codes also made it illegal for Negroes to vote, to hold office, to serve on juries, or to show any disrespect to a white man.<sup>1</sup>

Many Southerners were convinced that the Black Codes were a benefit to the Negro as well as to the white. They asked, in effect: What is wrong with helping these bewildered, wandering, illiterate, and poverty-stricken ex-slaves to settle down to a job? With the South's shortage of labor and its fields overgrown with weeds, why not put them back at the farm work they are used to doing?

Southerners pointed out that these Black Codes allowed the Negro privileges he hadn't had before the war. Now he could sue in the courts, own and inherit personal property, be a witness when one party in a case was a Negro, and get an education.

**Radical Republicans in the Congress Take Over and Toughen the Reconstruction Program.** The Black Codes played right into the hands of the Radical Republicans. They aroused so much bitterness in the North that even many moderate Republicans in the Congress began to vote with the Radical Republicans. In 1866, several bills were introduced by Republicans to protect the freed slaves and outlaw the Black Codes. Then began a long-drawn-out battle between President Johnson and the Congress. The President would veto the bills and the Congress would pass them over his veto. In his veto messages, Johnson usually argued that these bills were unconstitutional. He maintained that in passing them, the Congress was interfering with either the rights of the states or the powers of the President. He also stated that the Congress had no right to pass laws concerning the Southern states

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<sup>1</sup> The Black Codes were most severe in such states as Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina, where Negroes outnumbered whites.

until Southern senators and representatives had been readmitted to the Congress.

**The Civil Rights Bill: To Blot Out the Black Codes.** One of the measures put through by the Congress to protect the freed slave was the *Civil Rights Bill*. This law stated that the freed slave was a citizen and entitled to all the rights and privileges of a white citizen. It provided severe punishment for any who, under state laws such as the Black Codes, discriminated against freed slaves.

**The Freedmen's Bureau: To Help the Freed Slaves Learn to Live as Free Men.** In 1866, the Congress also put through a law extending the life of the *Freedmen's Bureau*. This agency had been organized the previous year to guide freed slaves until they had the experience to make their own way as free men. Many of the agents sent down to administer this Federal relief program were conscientious and kind men. They distributed food, clothing, and abandoned land among needy Negroes. They also aided white war refugees. They opened scores of hospitals, more than 4,000 Negro schools, and special courts to protect Negro rights. They tried to see to it that unscrupulous employers did not cheat the freed slaves in making and enforcing contracts. Some of the Freedmen's Bureau agents, on the other hand, were far from idealistic. Some used the bureau's funds to enrich themselves. And some brought pressure on Negroes to vote Republican.

**The Fourteenth Amendment: To Give the Negro a Better Guarantee of Civil Rights and to Punish the South.** Some Radical Republicans suspected that states' righters were right in calling the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional. They feared that another Congress might repeal it or that the Supreme Court might cancel it. But if a guarantee of civil rights for Negroes was written into the Constitution, it would be harder to get rid of. Meanwhile, a Congressional committee investigating conditions in the South reported that Southerners expressed "no regret [over seceding] except that they had no

longer power to continue the desperate struggle." All this helps to explain why the Congress, in 1866, proposed the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Fourteenth Amendment made all American Negroes citizens of the United States and of their states. It did so by declaring that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens. It gave further protection to the rights of citizens—Negro as well as white—by stating that no state might interfere with the "privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." It also declared that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," nor "deny to any person . . . the equal protection of the laws."

The Fourteenth Amendment did not give the Negro the right to vote. But it warned all states that it would not be wise to deny the right to vote to their adult male citizens (except those who had participated in rebellion or other crime). A state that did so deny the vote would be punished by having its representation in the House of Representatives reduced.<sup>1</sup>

Certain ex-Confederates were barred by the Fourteenth Amendment from holding office in the Federal Government or the state governments. These were men who had once held office in the Union and taken an oath to support the Constitution, but who had switched their loyalty to the Confederacy. Such men could hold office again only if two-thirds of the Congress consented.

The Fourteenth Amendment also punished the South by declaring that no part of the debt of the Confederacy was to be paid by the United States or by any state. Nor could Confederates make "any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave." (However, the amendment guaranteed the payment of the Union's debt.)

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<sup>1</sup> This would mean, of course, that the state's number of electoral votes would also be reduced proportionately. However, no state has ever been punished by having its representation thus reduced.

All the former Confederate states, except Tennessee, refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. This refusal enraged Radical Republicans.

*The Reconstruction Acts of 1867: Radical Republicans Set Up Military Rule in the South.* Under the Johnson state governments, mild toward ex-Confederates, Democrats were sure to be in control of the Southern states. To rid the South of the Johnson governments, and to make sure that Republicans would gain control there, the Congress passed a series of *Reconstruction Acts* in 1867. In doing so, the Congress overrode Johnson's vetoes. So harsh were these acts considered that one was described as "written with a steel pen made out of a bayonet."

Ten Southern states, condemned by Radical Republicans as "the sinful ten" because they had refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, were divided into five military districts. This was in line with Thaddeus Stevens' "conquered province" policy. In charge of each district was placed a general and thousands of Federal troops. Each general was given power to conduct trials of civilians under martial law.

How, according to the Reconstruction Acts, could the ten states rid themselves of this military rule and be readmitted to the Union? They had to set up new state governments based on new state constitutions. Negroes had to be guaranteed the right to vote for delegates to draw up the constitutions. The new constitutions had to guarantee Negroes the right to vote and to run for office. Whites had to be guaranteed similar rights, except for Confederates who had taken part in the war. The new state constitutions had to be approved by the Congress. The new state legislatures elected under the new state constitutions had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Finally, when the Fourteenth Amendment had become part of the Constitution of the United States, military rule would end and the Southern states would be readmitted to the Union.

*Why Certain Former Confederate States Voted Republican in 1868.* By 1868, seven

of the ten states had accepted these terms. In the same year, the Fourteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution and the seven<sup>1</sup> again became part of the Union. In the election of 1868, most of the votes of five of these states went to the Republican candidate. Why? Negroes, who had been given the vote by Republicans, voted Republican. And in most of these states, the majority of voters were Negroes. Thousands of Southern whites, normally Democrats, were barred from voting. And Federal troops stood by to supervise the voting.

*Why Radical Republicans Introduced the Fifteenth Amendment.* But two of the seven states did not vote for the Republican candidate. To Radical Republicans, this meant that Negroes in these two states were still being barred from voting. What, they asked, was to stop many Southern states in the future from changing their state constitutions to take the vote away from Negroes? Moved by this argument, the Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment. The amendment, designed to insure the Negro's right to vote, stated that neither the United States nor any state could deprive any citizen of this right "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

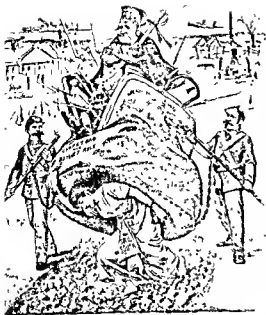
In 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution. By 1870, all ten states that had been under military rule were back in the Union. For Virginia, Texas, and Mississippi had at last accepted the Congress' terms of Reconstruction, and Georgia had been readmitted for the second time. Federal troops remained in certain Southern states, however, until 1877 (page 529).

## The Character of the 'Carpetbagger' Governments

After a four-year term at an annual salary of \$8,000, a governor saved half a million

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<sup>1</sup> Georgia was one of those readmitted in 1865. However, military rule was restored there when Negroes were ousted from the state legislature. Georgia achieved permanent readmission in 1870.



*Explain whether you agree with this 1877 cartoon interpretation of carpetbagger government*

dollars! When criticized, he answered: "Corruption is the fashion. I do not pretend to be honest." This governor was not the only dishonest politician in the Southern state governments set up as a result of the Reconstruction Acts.

**Who Were the 'Carpetbaggers' and 'Scalwags'?** When the war had ended, many Northerners had flocked to the South, where they saw an excellent opportunity to make fortunes. These Northerners, most of whom were adventurers, were contemptuously called *carpetbaggers* because, it was said, all their worldly possessions fitted into the carpetbags they carried. Certain Southern whites, usually of the "poor white" class, often co-operated with carpetbaggers to profit from the chaotic conditions in the South. Such native Southerners were supporters of Republican rule in the South. They hated aristocratic planters, who contemptuously called them *scalwags*.

**Carpetbaggers Gain Great Political Influence.** Before long, carpetbaggers had monopolized most of the highest political

offices in the former Confederate states. Many had been elected to the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Generally, less important offices went to scalwags and Negroes. A large number of Negroes were elected to all the Southern state legislatures. A considerable number were elected to the United States House of Representatives, and a few to the Senate. Many carpetbaggers and scalwags got themselves elected by taking advantage of the illiteracy and political inexperience of Negro voters, so recently freed from slavery. Getting elected was also made easy by the fact that most experienced and educated Southern whites had been barred from voting.

**Some Examples of Corruption and Waste in the Carpetbagger Governments.** Champagne, perfumes, cigars, hams, mushrooms—all imported—and gold watches and feather beds were supplied free to members of some carpetbagger-dominated state legislatures. Millions of dollars were voted to pay for railroad lines that were never built. The legislators cared little about what happened to the money as long as they got their split from the railroad companies. And these same legislators voted themselves fat salaries.

All this corruption and waste helped to force taxes sky-high. Many a Southern white who had been barred from voting bitterly resented being taxed to support such a government. And when he couldn't pay, the state got the money by selling his plantation or farm.

**Some Attempts at Some Carpetbagger Governments to Do Good.** Corruption and waste do not alone account for the heavy debts incurred by these state legislatures. Great sums were spent to repair the devastation caused by the war, to provide relief for the hungry, and to build and support public schools. Also increasing state debts were the heavy interest rates Northerners charged these governments on loans.

Not all carpetbaggers were scheming, penniless adventurers. Some had gone south to invest their savings in business. Some were sincerely interested in helping the Negro to

adjust to the life of a free man. Not all scalawags were greedy men plotting to take advantage of their fellow Southerners. Some of them sincerely loved the Union. Some wanted to build a new South in which their people, mainly "poor whites," would have greater opportunities than they had had before the war. And not all the Negro legislators were puppets of scheming carpetbaggers and scalawags. Some of them were educated men who wanted to do all they could for Negroes and whites alike, and for their state and nation.

Because there were such people, some of the carpetbagger governments did some good. Tax systems were set up that did not favor the rich over the poor, as tax systems had before the war. Imprisonment for debt and property qualifications for officeholding were abolished. There was less discrimination against women in property holding. Foundations were laid for free public education for both whites and Negroes. However, many a reform that was put on paper was not put into practice.

In spite of these achievements, the period of carpetbagger governments was a most disgraceful period in American history. Indeed, as we shall see, there was, during this same period, plenty of disgraceful waste and corruption in the national Government and in Northern states as well.

**The Ku Klux Klan Tries to Frighten Off Carpetbaggers, Scalawags, and Negroes.** Conservative white Southerners were wild with fury. To think that their former slaves, "poor whites," and Northerners who had been in the South for only a year or so were governing them and they themselves were paying the bill! The bitterness thus aroused explains why many secret societies were organized in the South during the Reconstruction period. The best known of these was the *Ku Klux Klan* (KKK). By terrorizing Negroes so they wouldn't dare vote, and by frightening carpetbaggers out of the region, the KKK sought to restore conservative white supremacy to the South.

In the still of the night, disguised in white

hoods and white robes, and mounted on horses similarly disguised, bands of Klansmen would ride to homes of Negroes and carpetbaggers and issue them stern warnings not to meddle in politics. Ignored warnings were sometimes followed up by violence.

The KKK was able to frighten many Negroes away from the polls and many carpetbaggers out of the South. By 1869, however, many of the South's most respected citizens wanted the Klan to disband. They feared that as its activities grew more violent, there would be a general breakdown in law and order. They were alarmed, too, because some of the most criminal elements in the community had joined up. Such characters used the Klan's cloak of secrecy to steal and even murder for personal reasons.

By 1871, the Klan was practically out of business. Opposition of the South's solid citizens and the use of Federal troops against Klansmen contributed significantly to its decline.

## **Johnson Is Impeached by the House, But Is Saved from Conviction By One Vote in the Senate**

How can we remove Johnson as President? This was the prime topic of discussion among many Radical Republicans. Radical Republicans hated Johnson because, by vetoes and by speeches, he had opposed their Reconstruction policies.

**Some Reasons Given for Johnson's Impeachment.** In 1868, the House of Representatives impeached Johnson. One reason of many given was that he had made vulgar, insulting, and scandalous remarks about the Congress in public speeches. It is true that Johnson was tactless, hot-tempered, and stubborn. Frequently, he would lose control of himself and engage in heated arguments with hecklers in his audiences.

But Johnson was also a patriotic man of great courage, industry, and intelligence. Although he considered many of the laws passed by the Congress over his vetoes un-

constitutional, he did his duty as Chief Executive and enforced them. In any case, a President's criticism of the Congress is not constitutional grounds for impeachment. Only for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors" may a President be constitutionally impeached.

Some months before his impeachment, the Congress had passed over Johnson's veto a law called the *Tenure of Office Act*. This act prohibited a President from removing from office, without the Senate's consent, any Federal official whose appointment had required the Senate's consent. It took away from the President a power that every President since Washington's time had held. Much later the Supreme Court was to declare the *Tenure of Office Act* unconstitutional.

Secretary of War Stanton was a carry-over from Lincoln's Cabinet. In Johnson's Cabinet, he had been acting almost as a spy for the Radical Republicans. Johnson knew this. The Radical Republicans knew that sooner or later he was bound to dismiss Stanton. Johnson finally did. This gave the Radical Republicans the opportunity they had been waiting for. They accused Johnson of violating the *Tenure of Office Act*. In doing so, Johnson, the House charged in its impeachment proceedings, had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor. This was the main reason given for impeaching Johnson.

**Propaganda and Pressures of All Kinds Fail to Bring About Johnson's Conviction.** For two months in the spring of 1868, the eyes of America were fixed on the United States Senate, where the dramatic trial of Johnson on impeachment charges was being held. Chief Justice Chase of the Supreme Court presided. Radical Republican leaders had spread false propaganda that Johnson was immoral, insane, illiterate, ignorant, and a habitual drunkard, and that he had been involved in Lincoln's assassination. They hoped thus to stir up the country against him.

The Radical Republicans knew that six Republicans, fully aware that the charges against Johnson were ridiculous, would vote



*Thaddeus Stevens, who was by this time a helpless cripple, insisted upon being carried to the Senate corridor to hear the verdict in the impeachment trial of President Johnson. According to a witness, when Stevens heard the verdict, his face turned "black with rage and disappointment. He shouted: "The country is going to the devil!"*

for acquittal. The Radical Republicans knew, too, that another Republican, Edmund G. Ross, hadn't as yet made up his mind how to vote. Every form of pressure was used to frighten Ross into voting for conviction. He was warned that the party would never run him for office again. Threats to assassinate him came in his mail. Ross knew what it would cost him to vote for Johnson's acquittal. Afterward, he said:

*I almost literally looked down into my open grave. Friendships, position, fortune, everything that makes life desirable to an ambitious man were about to be swept away by the breath of my mouth, perhaps forever.*

In spite of the cost, Ross and the other six Republicans voted with the Democrats for Johnson's acquittal.<sup>1</sup> If any one of them had voted for conviction, the Radical Republicans would have had the two-thirds vote necessary to find Johnson guilty and remove him from the Presidency. Not one of the seven was ever again elected to the Senate.

All Americans today owe these seven heroes a great debt. In spite of propaganda, prejudice, and pressure from their political party, they obeyed their consciences and the Constitution.

**Separation of Powers and Division of Powers Are Threatened by the Radical Republicans.** Suppose that Johnson had been convicted. Our system of separation of powers would have been threatened. How sure would any later President be that he wouldn't be removed any time a majority of the House and two-thirds of the Senate were strongly opposed to him? In order to avoid being removed, a President might allow the Congress to dictate to him what he could or could not do as Chief Executive.

The Radical Republicans were bent on strengthening the Congress' power over the judiciary, as well as over the President. They so threatened the Supreme Court that it decided certain important Reconstruction cases as they wanted. And, as we have seen, the Radical Republicans, in passing the Reconstruction Acts, greatly increased the power of the Congress over the former Confederate states. Thus our system of division of powers between nation and states was also threatened.

## Political Reconstruction Formally Ends

Carpetbaggers, plus scalawags, plus freed Negroes, plus Federal troops added up to Radical Republican control of the South

shortly after 1865. Taking away the right to hold office from some Southern whites and the right to vote from many Southern whites had also helped the Republicans to gain control there. Yet, by 1877, not a single carpetbagger government was left in the South. Conservative Southern Democrats had regained from the Radical Republicans control of every one of the states that had seceded. How had this happened?

**Radical Republican Rule in the South Loses the Support of Many Negroes and Scalawags.** Some Negroes quit the combination of carpetbaggers, scalawags, and Federal troops. They had become disgusted. Why? They felt that many carpetbaggers were using the support of Negroes to enrich themselves and were giving the Negroes very little in return. Many of the "poor white" scalawags quit the combination, too. Some joined the conservative white Democratic Party. They feared that the combination would in time make Negroes too strong in relation to whites. And many Negroes and scalawags were warned by planters or businessmen that if they wanted to rent land or to keep their jobs, they should not vote Republican. Such warnings were especially common after the Freedmen's Bureau was abolished. Furthermore, few Negroes or scalawags dared to vote when threatened by the Ku Klux Klan.

**Radical Republican Rule in the South Loses the Support of Many Northerners.** Actually, the North played an important part in enabling conservative Southern Democrats to regain control of the South. By the 1870's, some of the most bitter Radical Republicans, such as Stevens, had died. In the hearts of many Northerners, the old-time hatreds were slowly dying out. New peacetime problems were holding their attention. Many Northern businessmen wanted to do more business with the South, especially since business wasn't so good after a severe panic in 1873. However, they felt that so long as there was a tough Reconstruction policy, disorder would prevail in the South and business would suffer.

<sup>1</sup> A few other Republicans might have switched to a vote of acquittal if they had felt that their votes were needed. But they did not want to commit political suicide unless it was absolutely necessary.

Northerners had heard much about the evils of carpetbagger governments. It was wrong, such Northerners felt, for Radical Republicans to use Federal troops to influence elections so as to maintain Republican control of the South. The feeling soon spread that the whole country would be better off if conservative Southern whites were permitted to regain control of the South. Why not, the argument ran, let these Southern Democrats handle their relations with Negroes in their own way?

Many moderate Republicans joined with Democrats in 1872 to form a new political party—the Liberal Republican Party (page 527). A major reason was their common opposition to the harsh Reconstruction policies of the Radical Republicans.

**Federal Government Policies Weaken Radical Republican Rule in the South.** The many criticisms of Radical Republican Reconstruction policy help to explain changes in the Federal Government's policy toward the South. Southern whites were given greater opportunity to run things their way with the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872. Also in 1872, the Congress passed a law making almost all former Confederates once more eligible to hold office in the Federal Government or the state governments. Thus, this *Amnesty Act*, as it was called, in effect canceled a clause in the Fourteenth Amendment that had prevented many Southerners from holding office.

In 1877, the Reconstruction period formally came to an end. In that year, the newly elected President, Rutherford B. Hayes, recalled the last of the Federal troops from the South (page 529). Thus ended the Radical Republican effort to make the South permanently, solidly Republican. And thereafter, almost without exception, the South was to vote solidly Democratic.

**Policies of Southern States Weaken Radical Republican Rule in the South.** Often, after 1877, the votes of Southern Negroes were just not counted. By the 1890's, certain laws had been passed by Southern states to keep Negroes from voting. One such law re-

quired would-be voters to read and explain a given passage. Since most Negroes had received little or no education, many of them were barred from voting by this so-called *literacy test*. Another law required all would-be voters to pay a special tax, called a *poll tax*. Since many whites, as well as Negroes, were illiterate and poor, many of them were also barred from voting by these laws.

Therefore, beginning in 1898, certain Southern states put through laws enabling such illiterate and poor whites to vote, even if they could not pass the literacy test or pay the poll tax. Such laws stated that only those men could vote who had been eligible to vote before 1867, or who were sons or grandsons of men eligible to vote then. Obviously, Southern Negroes could not satisfy such requirements. In 1915, the Supreme Court declared that this *grandfather clause*, as it was called, was unconstitutional. The court stated that the grandfather clause was an obvious attempt to get around the Fifteenth Amendment.

## Some Significant Results Of the War and Reconstruction

The War Between the States, the "first modern war," saw the use of railroads, the telegraph, ironclad ships, balloons, torpedoes, repeating rifles, and an early machine gun (the *Gatling gun*). More Americans—600,000—were killed in this war than in World War I, World War II, and several other wars combined. In monetary terms, the War cost proportionately more than even the terribly costly World War II.<sup>1</sup> And, as we know, another cost was the heritage of bitterness that has not yet entirely disappeared. What changes came about as a result of these staggering costs?

**Believers in Democracy Gain New Hope.**

<sup>1</sup> The dollar was worth more in the 1860's and the wealth of the country was much less than in the 1940's, when World War II was waged.



## The Road to Reunion: The Reconstruction Period

1865

- Freedmen's Bureau founded
- Andrew Johnson inaugurated President
- Johnson adapts Lincoln's mild Reconstruction plan
- First of Black Codes enacted
- Thirteenth Amendment ratified
- Stevens and Sumner advocate tough Reconstruction policy

1866

- Ku Klux Klan created
- First past of Grand Army of the Republic established
- Civil Rights Act enacted over Johnson's veto

1867

- Congressional Reconstruction Acts passed over Johnson's veto
- Tenure of Office Act passed
- Carpetbaggers and scalawags begin to dominate Southern state governments

1868

- Seven states granted representation in Congress after complying with Reconstruction Acts
- Senate acquits Johnson of impeachment charges
- Fourteenth Amendment adopted
- Grant elected President

1870

- First of Force Acts passed to enforce recognition of Negroes' civil and political rights
- Fifteenth Amendment ratified

1872



- Liberal Republican Party created
- Alabama claims submitted to arbitration
- Amnesty Act restores political rights to practically all former Confederates
- Freedmen's Bureau abolished
- Grant re-elected

1876

- Disputed Hayes-Tilden election

1877

- President Hayes withdraws last Federal troops from South

Slavery was abolished. The Union victory proved that "this government of the people, by the people, and for the people" was to live on. Thereby were believers in democracy everywhere inspired.

**Nationalism Wins Out Over Sectionalism.** Never again was a state to claim that it had the right to secede from the Union. For the supporters of nationalism had triumphed over the supporters of sectionalism and of states' rights. The powers of the national legislature, the Congress, had increased greatly during the war and also during the Reconstruction period. Before, the national Government had had almost nothing to say on such questions as who is a citizen and who has the right to vote. But in the Fourteenth Amendment, the national Government defined citizenship, and in the Fifteenth, forbade the states to fix certain requirements for voting.

**A Precedent Is Set for an Increase in Presidential Powers During Emergencies.** The powers of the national Executive, the President, had increased even more during

the war than those of the national legislature. No President before Lincoln had, for example, dared to suspend the writ of habeas corpus without the consent of the Congress. But during World Wars I and II, the Presidents, like Lincoln, were to assume great powers. For the duration of such emergencies, too, the Congress was to grant still other powers to Presidents.

**Northern Industrialists Gain Great Influence and Northern Industrialization Booms.** Perhaps as significant a change as the victory of nationalism over sectionalism was the victory of Northern industrial capitalists over Southern aristocratic planters. Before the war, great industrial growth had taken place in the North. During the war, Northern industrial capitalists had made large profits and gained considerable influence in the Government. They were greatly strengthened by the support they got from the representatives of Western farmers in the Congress. Western farmers also had enjoyed substantial prosperity during the war, because of the heavy demand for their products. Like Northern industrialists, to make up for the shortage of labor they, too, became accustomed to using more and more machinery. The wartime alliance between Western farmers and Northern industrialists in the Congress had won for the farmers the Homestead Act and the Morrill Land Grant Act. For Northern industrialists, this alliance had won such laws as higher tariffs and the National Banking System.

After the war, the Industrial Revolution continued at breakneck speed. The wealth of many industrialists grew even greater. So did their influence in the Congress. They continued to benefit by still higher tariffs and Government subsidies to telegraph and railroad companies. In the past, aristocratic planters had acted as a brake upon their demands in the Congress. But after the war, the planters no longer had the power to do so. For a time during the Reconstruction period, as we know, most of their leaders were barred by law from holding any office in the national Government.

Industrialization made some progress in the South after the war, but far less than in the North. A good portion of this industrialization was both Northern-financed and Northern-controlled, especially after the late 1880's. The increased industrialization, plus diversification of agriculture, plus the development of such natural resources as forests and mines added up to what came to be called the "New South" (page 447).

**Protests Arise Over the Great Power of 'Big Business.'** So powerful did some industrialists become, and so rapidly did their operations expand, that a cry arose for Government regulation of *big business*. Behind this demand lay a fear that leaders of industry might attain such influence as to be able to dictate to the Government—and thus threaten democracy itself. Farmers who felt that big business was taking advantage of them began to organize into groups. Such groups tried to bring pressure on the Congress to get laws passed for their protection. Laborers formed nation-wide unions to be able to bargain more effectively with big business. These unions also tried to get laws passed favorable to their members. In time, some people began to view big farm groups and big labor groups as potential threats to democracy, too. However, more recently, many have come to feel that "bigness" is inevitable.

**The Republican Party Remains Many Years in Control After the War.** Along with the triumph of nationalism over sectionalism and the triumph of Northern capitalists over Southern planters, there was the triumph of the Republican Party over the Democratic Party. So firmly entrenched did the Republican Party become that until 1912, only one Democrat was elected President. The Republicans won many votes by making the most of the post-war nationalistic feeling. They stressed that their party had preserved the Union. Some aroused prejudice against Southern Democrats by repeating over and over again that Southerners were rebels who had tried to destroy the Union. They condemned them as responsible for the death or

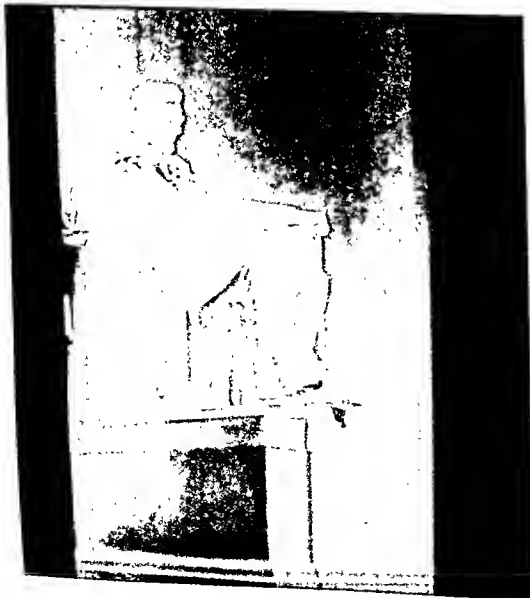
crippling of thousands of loved ones in the war. This type of election propaganda was called *waving the bloody shirt*.

Industrial capitalists tended to support the Republican Party and the Republican Party tended to support industrial capitalists by passing legislation favorable to them. So powerful did the Republican Party become by the late 1870's that it felt it no longer needed political control of the South to retain such legislation. This helps to explain why Hayes recalled the Federal troops from the South in 1877.

**The Lincoln Legend Inspires a Strong Spirit of Nationalism.** Helping to build the strong spirit of nationalism was the memory of the martyred President. Monuments and memorials to him and poems and plays about him helped to create what has been called the *Lincoln legend*. Lincoln's importance as a symbol of nationalism is summed up on the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., thus:

In this temple, as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever.

*The Lincoln Memorial. What insights into Lincoln did the sculptor Daniel Chester French try to express in this statue?*



**States' Righters Continue to Speak Out For Sectionalism.** In spite of the victory of nationalism over sectionalism, sectionalism and the heated defense of states' rights did not die. The hardships suffered during the war and Reconstruction tended to unite many Southerners. They felt more than ever that the South was different from other sections of the country. Their sectionalistic tendencies were intensified by their common hatred of the Northern-dominated Republican Party. They blamed the Republicans for the war itself and for the terrible devastation of the South during the war.

Many such Southerners were especially united in their bitterness toward the Radical Republicans for their tough Reconstruction policy. They felt that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments had been forced upon them at the point of a bayonet. They felt that they knew much better than the rest of the nation how to handle their relations with Negroes. They angrily protested that Republicans from the North were trying to turn their section of white supremacy into one of Negro supremacy.

Southerners accused the Republican Congress of passing laws that promoted the prosperity of other sections of the country at the South's expense. This, they said, along with the damage caused by the war and the carpetbaggers, had promoted widespread poverty in the South.

This catalog of Southern grievances explains why, with few exceptions, the South has voted solidly Democratic ever since. Once a candidate has been nominated by the Democrats, he is almost certain of election. Because of this virtual monopoly by Democrats, the South politically has been called the *Solid South*.

**The Lee Legend Helps to Build a Spirit of Unity Among Many Southerners.** The man who loved the Union but refused to fight against his section and his state, Robert E. Lee, has become a legend in the South. Lee is so beloved by many Southerners that he might have been a member of their families. To Lee, duty was "the sublimest word in our



*Robert E. Lee. What do you consider the most important factor contributing to the preservation of the Lee legend? Explain.*

language." After the war, he considered it his most important duty to promote good feeling between North and South. He urged all Southerners to follow his lead and "bury contention with the war."

In the spirit of these words, Southerners, like Americans from other sections, pledge their first allegiance to the nation—proof that nationalism and sectionalism can live together.

**Significant Changes in the Lives of the Former Slaves Result from the War.** After the war, free public education was made available to Southern Negroes. Scores of schools for Negroes were built throughout the South. Thousands of Negroes seized the opportunity to learn how to read and write. Many became skilled craftsmen. Some went on to higher education and entered the professions. Many of these studied at such newly founded Negro universities as Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard. However, many Negroes protested bitterly that the guarantees in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were not being respected.

**A Decrease in Morality and an Increase in Vulgarity Result from the War.** During such a long-drawn-out war, the practice of brutality and violence became such a habit with some persons that they found it difficult to break when the fighting was over. At the same time, the war, like many wars, had given an opportunity to many not in the armed forces to get rich quickly. Some had resorted to shady deals and unscrupulous speculation to do so. Such power-hungry and money-mad men continued their ruthless drive for more power and more money after the war. Their coarse displays were shocking to the majority of Americans, who remained decent and industrious.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 17

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Reconstruction period	Fourteenth Amendment
Lincoln-Johnson plan for Reconstruction	Reconstruction Acts of 1867
Thaddeus Stevens	Fifteenth Amendment
Black Codes	carpetbaggers
Civil Rights Bill	scalawags
Freedmen's Bureau	Ku Klux Klan
	Tenure of Office Act

Edmund C. Ross	Lincoln legend
Amnesty Act	Solid South
literacy test	Lee legend
poll tax	
grandfather clause	
Gatling gun	
big business	
"waving the bloody shirt"	

## ☆ Questions to Check

### Basic Information

1. Prove by examples that the South was hard hit (a) physically, (b) economically, (c) socially, and (d) politically after the war.
2. Sum up the problems facing the freed slaves immediately after the war.
3. What controversial questions were involved in the problems of Reconstruction?
4. Prove that Reconstruction had its (a) social, (b) economic, and (c) political aspects.
5. Concerning Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction, tell (a) why he considered Reconstruction a presidential, rather than a Congressional, function, (b) his aims, and (c) its provisions.
6. Give specific reasons why the Radical Republicans bitterly opposed the mild Lincoln-Johnson plan of Reconstruction.
7. Prove that the Radical Republican program of Reconstruction had specific (a) political, (b) social, and (c) economic goals.
8. What (a) fears and (b) aims did such Radical Republicans as Stevens and Sumner have for the freed slaves?
9. Give specific reasons for the attitude of (a) the Radical Republicans and (b) many Southerners toward the Black Codes.
10. What reasons did President Johnson give for vetoing many of the bills passed by the Radical Republicans?
11. Describe (a) the purpose, (b) some achievements, and (c) some weaknesses of the Freedmen's Bureau.
12. With respect to the Fourteenth Amendment, describe (a) why it was proposed, (b) its definition of citizenship, (c) its guarantees to citizens, (d) a warning in it, (e) its provisions for punishing ex-Confederates and the former Confederacy, and (f) Southern reaction to it.
13. Associate the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 with (a) Radical Republican aims, (b) "the sinful ten," (c) the "conquered province" policy, (d) martial law, (e) rights for Negroes, and (f) the Fourteenth Amendment.
14. What were the (a) purposes and (b) main provision of the Fifteenth Amendment?
15. Outline (a) some evils and (b) some accomplishments of the carpetbagger governments.
16. Describe the (a) purposes, (b) methods, and (c) reasons for the decline of the Ku Klux Klan.
17. Concerning Johnson's impeachment, tell (a) some reasons given for it, (b) how sound these reasons were, (c) what pressures were exerted to obtain conviction, and (d) how significant Ross' stand was.
18. Connect Johnson's impeachment trial with the principles of (a) separation of powers and (b) division of powers.
19. Describe in detail reasons why political Reconstruction came to an end, with control of the South won back by Southern Democrats.
20. Show the influence of the war on (a) relations between North and South, (b) democracy, (c) nationalism, (d) presidential powers, (e) industry, (f) agriculture, (g) unionization, and (h) the influence of the Republican Party.
21. How was nationalism promoted after the war by (a) the Lincoln legend and (b) Lee's recommendation on burying "contention"?
22. What factors continued to promote sectionalism in the South after the war?

## ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Explain fully whether you agree or disagree that it was inevitable that there would have been bitter controversy over Reconstruction policies even if Lincoln had lived.
2. If you had been President, what Reconstruction program would you have outlined for (a) the seceded states and their

- leaders, (b) the freed slaves, and (c) rebuilding the South? Justify each of the points in your program.
- What do you think was the primary goal of the Radical Republican Reconstruction program? Support your belief.
  - What are your views of (a) Sumner's and Stevens' views on Reconstruction, (b) the Black Codes, and (c) the Freedmen's Bureau? Justify your views.
  - Do you agree or disagree that the ideas in the Fourteenth Amendment are in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights? Explain fully.
  - Define "vindictive." Explain, with reasons, whether or not you agree that the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 were vindictive.
  - Explain whether you agree or disagree with the statement that the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments would have had relatively little meaning without the Fifteenth.
  - A significant and dramatic television script might be written about a typical carpetbagger government. Tell why.
  - Would a legal ban on the Ku Klux Klan by a state have been a violation of civil liberties? Explain.
  - What seems to you to be the most significant aspect of Johnson's impeachment and trial? Give reasons why.
  - Arrange the reasons given for the formal end of political Reconstruction in the South in what you consider the order of their importance. Give reasons for your first two choices.
  - Prove by examples from recent history that sectionalism and the heated defense of states' rights have not died.
  - What do you consider the most significant (a) political, (b) economic, and (c) social result of the war and the Reconstruction period? Justify your choices.
  - The development of (a) a Lincoln legend and (b) a Lee legend was inevitable. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.

## ★ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

- Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities that a President should possess, check President Johnson. Use as many sources of information as possible.
- Write an imaginary page in the diary of a Union or Confederate war veteran on his return home after four years of fighting.
- Write a dialogue such as might have taken place between (a) a plantation owner and his former slave, (b) President Johnson and Thaddeus Stevens, (c) a carpetbagger and a member of the Ku Klux Klan.
- Using as many sources as possible on the Reconstruction period, find out to what extent there is agreement on (a) Johnson's role, (b) the role of the Radical Republicans, (c) the evils of carpetbagger governments, and (d) the reasons for the end of Reconstruction (See, among other sources, *American Past. Conflicting Interpretations of the Great Issues*, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown.)
- In committee, collect as many significant quotations as possible from as many individuals mentioned in this chapter as possible. Use these as material for a short play on Reconstruction to be presented before the class.
- Write a newspaper editorial or draw a cartoon on any one of the following: (a) the Black Codes, (b) the Freedmen's Bureau, (c) a carpetbagger government, (d) the Ku Klux Klan, or (e) the poll tax.
- In committee, after careful research, dramatize the Johnson impeachment trial.
- In committee, prepare a chart, listing in Column I any acts or policies mentioned in this chapter that you consider beneficial to the nation and in Column II those you consider harmful to the nation.

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- Hough, E., *The Covered Wagon* (Dutton; Pocket Books PB). A novel of the hardships faced on the trip to the Far West in 1848.
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- Korngold, R., *Thaddeus Stevens* (Harcourt, Brace & World). Pro-Stevens.
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- Lader, L., *The Bold Brahmins: New England's War Against Slavery 1831-1863* (Dutton).
- Leech, M., *Reveille in Washington* (Harper; Universal Library PB). The panorama of the Union capital during the war.
- Lomask, M., *Andrew Johnson: President on Trial* (Farrar, Straus). Tends to be pro-Johnson.
- Lord, W., *A Time to Stand* (Harper & Row). About the Alamo, by a popularizer of exciting historical events.
- , ed., *The Fremont Diary: The South at War* (Capricorn PB). An account by one who was there.
- Lorant, S., *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Mentor PB).
- Luthin, R. H., *The Real Abraham Lincoln: A Complete One-Volume History of His Life and Times* (Prentice-Hall). One of the finest accounts, simply written.
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- , *Robert E. Lee* (Vintage PB).
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Rothe, B., *The Daniel Webster Reader* (Oceana PB).

Sandburg, C., *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years* (Harcourt, Brace & World, Dell PB). The six-volume edition abridged in one hard-cover volume or three paperback volumes

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White, S. E., *The Forty-Niners* (Yale University Press).

Whitridge, A., *No Compromise. The Story of the Fanatics Who Paved the Way to the Civil War* (Farrar, Straus).

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# UNIT FOUR

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## THE GREAT EXPERIMENT IS GREATLY AFFECTED BY GREAT ECONOMIC EXPANSION

**18**

Big Business Develops  
As the Nation Undergoes  
A Second Industrial Revolution

**19**

The Frontier Slowly Fades Away  
As the 'Last West' Is Settled

**20**

Farmers Protest That They Are Not Getting  
A Fair Share of America's Prosperity

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Are Greatly Influenced by the Growth  
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## CHAPTER

# 18

### *Big Business Develops As the Nation Undergoes A Second Industrial Revolution*

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#### **Captains of Industry Promote Tremendous Industrial Expansion**

• Carnegie Builds a Big Business in Steel • Big Business Raises Big Sums Through the Corporation • Big Business Forms Certain Types of Combinations • Many Conclude That the Benefits of Big Business Outweigh Its Disadvantages • Rockefeller Builds an Oil Empire • Electricity Brings Lightning Changes in Many Fields • Vanderbilt, Harriman, Hill, and Others Revolutionize the Railroad Industry • Certain Captains of Industry Use Much of Their Wealth for the Public Good

#### **Industrialization Plays a Big Part in Building a New South**

• Reasons for the Drive to Industrialize the South • Northern Investors Are Attracted to Southern Industry • Oil Plays a Big Role in the New South • How the Sharecropper System Developed • Some Problems of Sharecropping • National Industrialization Promotes the New South's Agricultural Diversification

#### **Some Significant Effects of the Second Industrial Revolution**

• Prosperity Is Sometimes Interrupted by Depressions • Captains of Finance Come to Exert Great Power • The Government in Time Practices *Less Laissez Faire* • Industrialization Makes the Farmer and the Nation Less Isolated and Increases the Responsibilities of Cities • The Effects of Industrialization on Family Life and Recreation

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#### **Some Insights into the Development of Big Business**

The Enterprising Carnegie Builds a Big Business in Steel. In some ways, the career of Andrew Carnegie makes a significant case

study in the early history of big business. Let us see why.

*How Carnegie's Early Life Paved the Way for His Later Success.* In 1848, at the age of twelve, Carnegie was working in a Pennsylvania textile mill twelve hours a day,

six days a week, at twenty cents a day. Yet by 1900, this Scottish immigrant had become the biggest steel manufacturer in the world, with an income of more than \$24 million a year.

Throughout his life, the enterprising Carnegie always used the position he held as a springboard to a better one. In the few leisure hours he had from his factory job, he practiced penmanship and arithmetic. This was his springboard to a clerical job in the factory. Then, to help support his hard-working mother and his younger brother, he took a job as a telegraph messenger boy for \$3 a week. In his spare time, he learned how to receive and send telegraph messages. This was his springboard for the job of telegraph operator at \$6 a week. His proficiency at telegraphy won him a better position with the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Carnegie's railroad contacts proved to be his most valuable springboard. His industry, intelligence, personal charm, and stubborn persistence helped him to rise high in the ranks of the Pennsylvania. He earned a fortune for the railroad by persuading it to make the first use of the newly invented sleeping car. He made money for himself by investing in the sleeping car with borrowed money. When railroads started replacing wooden bridges with iron bridges, he went into the business of building iron bridges. When railroads started replacing iron rails with steel rails, he went into the steel business. By 1900, the Carnegie Steel Company was producing more than twenty-five per cent of the nation's steel.

*Carnegie's Methods in Building His Steel Company.* The hardheaded Carnegie was no steel expert. But he was an expert at picking the best steelmakers in the business. He was among the first to hire scientists to find ways of making good-quality steel. One steel mill he named after the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, figuring that this would bring him business. It did. If an employee showed executive ability, Carnegie rewarded him handsomely. Charles M. Schwab, who began working for Carnegie at

\$1 a day, wound up as president of the company. No matter what records his executives broke, Carnegie constantly prodded them on to further efforts, using a mixture of praise, sarcasm, and pay raises. "We broke all records for making steel last week," a manager informed him. "Congratulations!" replied Carnegie. "Why not do it every week?"

With the help of his partners and managers, Carnegie produced steel more profitably than his competitors. He paid common laborers low wages, had them work long hours, and crushed their efforts to form unions. He placed spies in the factories of competitors. He made secret agreements with competing steel companies for all to keep prices high. But when he had a chance to get a big order, he broke his agreement and undersold his competitors. Underselling his competitors was made easier by the special freight rates railroads secretly gave him. Part of the money he paid to railroads for transporting his steel would be returned to him. This returned money was called a *rebate*. Rebates were sometimes obtained by bribing railroad officials.

Unable to compete with Carnegie, many steel companies sold out to him. Such a combination of companies making the same product, whether it is steel or any other single commodity, is called a *horizontal combination*. The Carnegie Company also bought out and combined companies supplying raw materials needed to produce and sell the finished product. Such a combination is called a *vertical combination* and the Carnegie Company was the first of this type. It owned iron, coke, and coal fields, as well as ships and railroads to transport these raw materials and the finished steel.

*Carnegie Steel Sells Out to a Bigger Combination: United States Steel.* Big as Carnegie's combination was, a still bigger combination of steel companies, called the *United States Steel Corporation*, was organized in 1901. The group of Wall Street bankers, headed by J. Pierpont Morgan, that organized this combination bought out the

Carnegie Steel Company for nearly \$500 million. It was the first billion-dollar combination.

*Carnegie Uses Much of His Wealth for the Public Good.* The Carnegie success story did not end with Carnegie's retirement in 1901, or even with his death in 1919. Even today, his great wealth is being used for the building of public libraries, for paying pensions to college professors, for encouraging research in education and science, and for promoting peace and the arts. To Carnegie, great wealth was "a sacred trust to be administered for the highest good of the people." In line with this thought, he said: "The man who dies rich dies disgraced."

*Captains of Industry Like Carnegie Help to Give the Nation Its Second Industrial Revolution.* Big business combinations were built between 1865 and 1900 by other great industrial leaders besides Carnegie. Such industrial leaders were called *captains of industry*. Captains of industry played such an important part in this period of American history that it is called the *Era of Big Business* or the *Age of Enterprise*.

*Some Common Characteristics of Captains of Industry.* Each captain of industry, in building his big business combination, planned his campaign and fought off competitors, or captured them by buying them out. During this period, these industrial giants introduced new sources of power, such as oil and electricity. They combined factories into huge industrial plants, which hired scientists to perfect products and even to create new ones. Tremendous changes took place in methods of manufacturing, transportation, and communication. No wonder this economic revolution has been called America's *Second Industrial Revolution*.<sup>1</sup> Recreation and education, home life and political life, and practically every other phase of life were greatly changed by it.

Many of the captains of industry who wound up as multimillionaires had started

out as poor boys. All were ambitious and aggressive, hardheaded and hard-working. All had the vision to see what great opportunities there were in an America whose rich resources were still largely undeveloped. All had ears delicately attuned to the constantly increasing demands of the constantly increasing American population. Some of them sometimes used ruthless methods. By 1900, many writers were bitterly attacking such captains of industry (page 595). They warned that if big business was not regulated by the Government, big business would be soon running the Government.

*How Captains of Industry and Their Defenders Answered Their Critics.* Captains of industry called such critics unfair and lacking in understanding. Their own methods, they said, were entirely natural. To prove this, they quoted a book by an Englishman, Charles Darwin, published in 1859. This book, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, argues that there is a constant struggle for existence going on in all forms of life and that nature selects only the strongest and fittest to survive. Captains of industry and their defenders asserted that this "survival-of-the-fittest" argument applied to the growth of a business as well as to the growth of a plant, an animal, or a human being.

For a long time, it was the fashion for writers to stress the abuses of big business and ignore its concrete benefits (page 438). Many recent writers, however, have pointed out that it is unfair to criticize the captains of industry severely without considering the times in which they lived. The late nineteenth century was a period in which making money seemed to be the be-all and end-all of existence for Americans in general. These modern writers stress how much big business has contributed to giving Americans the highest standard of living in the world. How, such writers ask, could the United States have won its recent wars without the industrial might of big business? In any case, the America of 1900 was very different from the America of 1860. Big business in particular,

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 13 on America's First Industrial Revolution.

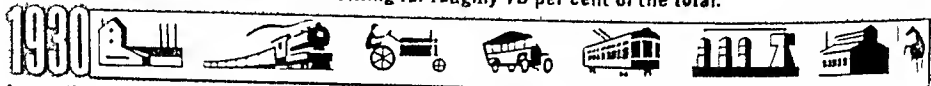
## IN 100 YEARS, MACHINES HAVE TAKEN OVER MOST OF OUR HEAVY WORK



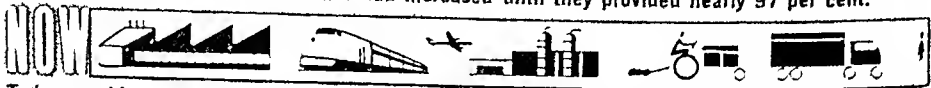
In 1850, machines did about 35 per cent of heavy work in the U.S. Men and animals did the rest.



Fifty years later, machines were accounting for roughly 73 per cent of the total.



In another 30 years, use of machines had increased until they provided nearly 97 per cent.



Today, machines—many fueled and virtually all lubricated by oil—do about 99 per cent of our work.

and the speed-up of the Industrial Revolution in general, were most influential in making it so.

The United States, from 1860 to 1900, Moves from Fourth to First Place Among the World's Industrial Nations. From little factories producing goods almost entirely for local markets to big factories producing goods mainly for national, and even world-wide, markets—this was one major economic change that took place in the United States between 1860 and 1900. Here are some other highlights in the contrasting picture of the republic in 1860 and in 1900:

In 1860, the United States was mainly an agricultural nation, with most Americans living on farms or in small villages and towns. In 1900, the United States was the world's most highly industrialized nation, with ever-increasing numbers living in cities.<sup>1</sup>

In 1860, very few Americans were very

rich or very poor. In 1900, many had become millionaires; more had become well-to-do; but many more were living in shocking poverty.

In 1860, the South was concentrating on the cultivation of cotton. In 1900, it was growing a wide variety of products.

In 1860, railroads linked Eastern cities, but transportation in the West was still by means of covered wagon, stagecoach, and Pony Express. In 1900, networks of transcontinental railroads tied together the entire nation.

In 1860, factories were widespread only in New England and in the Middle Atlantic states. In 1900, factories dotted the landscape in many sections of the nation.

Before 1860, the Patent Office had issued a total of fewer than 40,000 patents for inventions. By 1900, it had issued about 500,000.

In 1860, except where there were telegraph lines, communication was slow. In 1900, many were engaging in business transactions and social conversations by telephone.

By 1860, the United States had expanded only within its continental limits. By 1900,

<sup>1</sup> In 1860, the total value of American industrial products was roughly the same as that of agricultural products—about \$2 billion. By 1900, the value of agricultural products had increased to about \$5 billion, but the value of industrial products had increased to more than \$12 billion.

it had expanded outside these limits into the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

In 1860, labor unions were weak. By 1900, there was a big nation-wide union, just as there were big combinations in business.

In 1860, the United States imported more than it exported. By 1900, it was well on its way to exporting more than it imported.

In 1860, the average business was owned and operated by a single individual, who took the risks and made the profits, if any. By 1900, many a business was owned by thousands of individuals under a form of business organization called the corporation (page 436).

In 1860, the Government allowed a businessman to run his business pretty much as he pleased. By 1900, the Government had passed laws regulating certain practices of big business corporations (page 459)

In 1860, there was very little pressure being brought on the Government by groups of farmers, laborers, or consumers to pass laws benefiting their particular group. By 1900, there was strong pressure from such groups demanding protection from the Government against the power of big business.

In 1860, scarcely a dent had been made in the rich natural resources of the nation. By 1900, so much of these resources had been wasted, or used up by the many factories, that a cry arose for the introduction of a Government conservation program.

In 1860, there was no overwhelming flood of immigrants to the United States. By 1900, many millions had flocked here and taken jobs in the increasing number of factories. Labor unions, fearful that their members would lose jobs to immigrants, demanded that the Government cut down on immigration.

In 1860, it seldom happened that a businessman got so much control over a commodity that he could fix its price. By 1900, there were monopolies, or near-monopolies in steel, oil, copper, iron, lead, coal, sugar, meat packing, and other industries.

**Helping Hands from Many Lands Contribute to the Building of Big Business in**

**America.** The captains of industry owed many "thank you's." For the perfected steam engine they owed a "thank you" to the Scotsman James Watt, to the Frenchman Denis Papin, to the Englishman Thomas Newcomen, and to the American Oliver Evans. "Thank you's" were also due to the many other men of many nationalities who influenced America's earlier Industrial Revolution, before the War Between the States. Captains of industry were deeply indebted, too, to the American Eli Whitney for his principles of standardization and interchangeability of parts; to the Englishman Henry Bessemer (and the American William Kelly) for a cheap method of producing large quantities of steel, called the Bessemer process, and to several Europeans for a method of making better steel, the open-hearth process<sup>1</sup>

Capital for the captains of industry poured in by the billions from Europeans after the War Between the States. They expected to get rich quickly from America's expanding factories, booming railroad projects, and newly opened mines. This capital, plus the gold and silver from the mines of the Far West and the wartime profits made by many Americans, enabled the captains of industry to expand their business projects.

Labor poured in from Europe by the millions. This immigration, plus the natural increase in America's population, created such a large supply of labor that employers could pay workers low wages and require them to work long hours.

**The Nation's Rich Natural Resources and Government Policies Aid Big Business.** Added to the abundant capital and cheap labor were America's rich natural resources. How big could the nation's business have grown without its great supplies of iron, oil, coal, copper, timber, and fertile land? Much

<sup>1</sup> Until about 1900, much of the steel produced was used for making rails for railroad tracks. Steel produced by the Bessemer process served this purpose well. But for the skyscrapers and automobiles of the twentieth century, the finer-quality open-hearth steel was to be used.

of these natural resources were on Federally owned or state-owned land. The Federal Government and state governments often sold such land to captains of industry practically at giveaway prices.

For many reasons, the captains of industry owed a special "thank you" to the Congress. The Congress, during the war, put through a high tariff, and continued raising the tariff for many years after the war. Thus foreign producers were prevented from underselling American producers in the American market. The Congress, and state governments, too, helped railroad expansion by granting railroad companies big subsidies and other favors during the war and after. Railroads encouraged the settlement and development of the West. This helped industry greatly, since the miners, farmers, and cattle ranchers who settled there needed machinery and other manufactured goods. The Homestead Act, which the Congress also passed during the war, also helped to populate and develop the West. Many of the homesteaders not only became good customers for factory-made products but produced raw materials for the factories.

A huge domestic market was thus created by the opening up of the West, by immigration, and by the natural increase in population. Furthermore, there were no tariffs at state borders. The consequent free flow of goods from state to state was a further stimulus to the domestic market. For this, the captains of industry owed gratitude to the framers of the Constitution, who gave the Congress, not the states, the power to levy tariffs.

**The American Belief in Capitalism and the American Spirit of Optimism Aid Big Business, Too.** Certain attitudes of Americans were also a boon to big business. One of these attitudes was—and still is—a strong belief in the economic system called *capitalism*. Under a capitalist economic system, a man may own private property, have *freedom of enterprise* (the right to go into practically any business), and compete with other businessmen to make profits. Most

Americans were convinced then, as now, that capitalism was best for business and best for the country as a whole.

Especially in the late nineteenth century, most Americans were also convinced that capitalism would grow ever stronger if the Government kept its hands off business. This *laissez-faire* (page 258) attitude, while strong among many Democrats, was especially strong among many Republicans. And from 1860 to 1912, as we know, the Republicans elected every President but one. So strong was the spirit of *laissez faire* that Federal courts in the late nineteenth century usually declared laws regulating business unconstitutional.

Another typical American attitude of the time was the spirit of optimism. The average American, unlike the average European, did not feel that his place in life was fixed. He felt instead that no matter how poor his parents were, there was always a chance that he might become rich. Americans, unlike European aristocrats, felt that there was no shame in doing hard work. Many an American, after he had made his first million, immediately planned on how to make his second. Many Europeans, on the other hand, after becoming rich, spent their time and money on trying to win a place in aristocratic society.

**Big Business Raises Big Sums Through the Corporation, a Form of Business Organization.** Obviously, to build a big business requires big sums of money. Obviously, a business owned and operated by one man (called a *proprietorship*) would find it difficult to raise such sums. Even a business owned by two or more men (called a *partnership*) would find it difficult.

This difficulty of raising funds explains why many businesses after 1865 were organized not as proprietorships or partnerships but as *corporations*. A corporation is a form of business organization that may have hundreds of thousands of owners. Any time a person buys even one share of stock in a corporation, he becomes one of its many owners. Thus a corporation can raise millions by

combining the savings of many thousands of people.<sup>1</sup>

Stockholders in a corporation receive profits (called *dividends*) in proportion to the number of shares they own. In some years, stockholders may receive no dividends. The corporation may have made no profits in such years, or it may have reinvested the profits to expand the business.

Sometimes a businessman and his family form a corporation and own all the stock themselves. Why do they do so, if they do not wish to sell stock to the public? One reason is that no stockholder in a corporation can legally lose more than the amount he has invested, if the corporation should fail. Suppose, for example, a stockholder owns \$1,000 worth of stock and has \$5,000 in the savings bank. If the corporation should fail, creditors would have no claim on the \$5,000.

Another advantage of the corporation is that if things go wrong, only the corporation, and not the stockholder as an individual, may be sued. Furthermore, if one or more of the stockholders die, the corporation is still considered legally alive. The person or persons who inherit the stock of the deceased then become owners in the corporation. Proprietorships and partnerships have none of these advantages of the corporation.

**The Role of the Board of Directors in a Corporation.** A corporation is run by a small group called the *board of directors*, who are elected by the stockholders. Thousands of stockholders, each of whom may own only a small number of shares in a big corporation, never bother to vote in such elections. Frequently, the members of the board of directors, who manage a big corporation, may own a small percentage of its total stock themselves. Such relatively small numbers of men on boards of directors tend to become more powerful as corporations tend to become bigger.

**Big Business Corporations Try to Cut Down on Competition by Farming Certain Types of Combinations.** Isn't it unwise for us to practice cutthroat competition against one another? Such fierce competition forces us to cut prices so low that we may all be forced out of business in time. Wouldn't it be wiser for us to stop competing and co-operate in keeping prices up? Many such questions were asked by corporation executives of one another in the frenzied fight for business after 1865.

**Pools and Gentlemen's Agreements Tend to Give Way to Trusts.** One solution to the problem of competition took the form of *agreements made by executives of competing corporations*. They would sometimes agree to fix prices, sometimes to fix the territory in which each corporation could have the exclusive right to sell, sometimes to fix the amount of the product that each corporation could manufacture, sometimes to pool all the profits made by the parties to the agreement and then divide them according to a fixed plan. Such agreements were called *pools* or *gentlemen's agreements*.

Often, however, when a pool member saw a chance to seize a big contract in another pool member's territory, he did so. Since pools were illegal, the other members of the pool could not sue the offender in court. This explains why the practice of pooling tended to decline rapidly. To replace the weak pools, a much stronger business combination was created, called the *trust*.

**The Structure and Power of Trusts.** The trust was a clever way of preventing any of the member corporations from breaking away from the combination. Stockholders in corporations joining the trust were required to turn over their stock to a single group, called a *board of trustees*. In exchange, they all received uniform *trust certificates* in proportion to the amount of stock they had surrendered. As the trust made profits, the board of trustees distributed dividends in proportion to the number of trust certificates held, just as a corporation distributed dividends to its stockholders.

<sup>1</sup> There had been some corporations before the War Between the States. But most businesses were so small then that great sums were not needed to run them. This explains why most businesses then were proprietorships or partnerships.



In the 1880's especially, many trusts were created in such industries as oil, lead, sugar, flour, beef, and even tombstones. Some of these trusts combined so many companies in a given industry that they had a virtual monopoly of that industry. Soon people began to call any type of monopoly a trust, although many monopolies were not trusts. Of one monopolistic trust, the Sugar Trust, a judge said:

It can close every refinery at will, . . . limit the purchases of raw material, artificially limit the production of refined sugar, enhance the price to enrich themselves . . . at the public expense, and depress the price when necessary to crush out . . . a rival.

"Trust" soon became one of the most hated words in the nation's vocabulary. First state legislatures, then the Congress, attacked the power of trusts (page 488).

**Trusts Tend to Give Way to Holding Companies.** To replace the much-attacked trusts, declared illegal by the Sherman Antitrust Act (page 489), a new type of big business combination, called the *holding company*, was created in the 1890's. A holding company is a corporation that holds or owns enough voting shares in different companies to dictate common policies for all. If the holding company's hold on these companies is strong enough, it may eliminate competition, or even create a monopoly. A holding company sometimes needs only a small percentage of the shares of a company to gain control of it. This is because many stockholders may not hold voting stock, and many who do don't bother to vote.

In the twentieth century, some super holding companies were to be organized. Such companies held or owned enough shares in other holding companies to dictate common policies for all of them.

**Interlocking Directorates Are Another Means of Lessening Competition.** Some of the same persons are members of the boards of directors of many companies. Such companies are said to have *interlocking directorates*. It is possible for an interlocking di-

rectorate to fix prices and the volume of production, and establish other common policies for many seemingly competing companies.

**Many Conclude That the Benefits of Big Business Outweigh Its Disadvantages.** As time went on, many people became convinced that on the whole, big business was an asset to the nation. For what reasons were they so convinced?

**Some Early Abuses of Big Business.** Many small businessmen were driven out of business. Consumers were often forced to pay high prices for poor products. Some producers of raw materials were compelled to accept low prices for their goods or find themselves with no market for them at all. Laborers were often required to work long hours at low pay, and attempts to form unions were crushed. Stockholders were sometimes cheated with stock that was practically worthless. Some lawmakers and judges were bribed to grant special favors. Railroads were often coerced into granting special rates. These were some of the practices of some big businesses in the late nineteenth century.

In reaction to such practices, the once-friendly popular attitude toward the growth of big business became one of open hostility. The public in general began to look upon every big business as a dangerous monopoly. Public indignation led the Government, beginning in 1887, to pass laws regulating big business.<sup>1</sup> Yet big business has continued to grow bigger and bigger. Why?

**Some Benefits of Big Business.** The Government has come to realize that just because a business is big, it is not necessarily bad. The false notion that every big business is a monopoly has also been corrected. Government regulation today is therefore based upon the idea that monopolies in general are bad, but that big business itself is often good.

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<sup>1</sup> Such as the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 (page 488) and the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 (page 489).

With an ever-growing population needing ever-increasing quantities of goods, big business seems inevitable. Automobiles, planes, and trains, telegraph, telephones, and television are just a few of the conveniences made possible by big business. In producing these and countless other products, big business has many advantages over small business. Big business can use very expensive machinery and mass-production methods in gigantic industrial plants to turn out millions, even billions, of units of a particular commodity. It can afford to hire scientists to improve old methods and to create new products. It can afford to pay high salaries to skilled managers. It can buy raw materials in large quantities at lower prices. It can borrow millions quickly and attract millions of customers through spending millions on advertising. It can turn its huge quantities of waste products into by-products. A famous wit, Finley Peter Dunne, put his impression of the latter process in the Irish-American brogue of his literary creation, Mr Dooley, thus:

A cow goes lowin' softly into Armour's an' comes out glue, gelatin, fertylizer, celoloid, joolry, sofy cushions, hair restorer, washin' sody, soap, lithrachoer, an' bed springs so quick that while aft she's still cow, for'ard she may be anything fr'm buttons to pannyma hats.

Big business benefits the public in many ways. It may make for lower prices and better products. It provides jobs for many millions. Millions of stockholders benefit, through dividends, from big business efficiency. Moreover, many a big business has helped to create many small businesses. The thousands of gasoline stations, for example, were created by the growth of the automobile and oil industries.

There is no doubt, however, that small businessmen have many problems. Each year many thousands of them go bankrupt. As we shall see, the Federal Government and the states have tried to answer their cries for help.

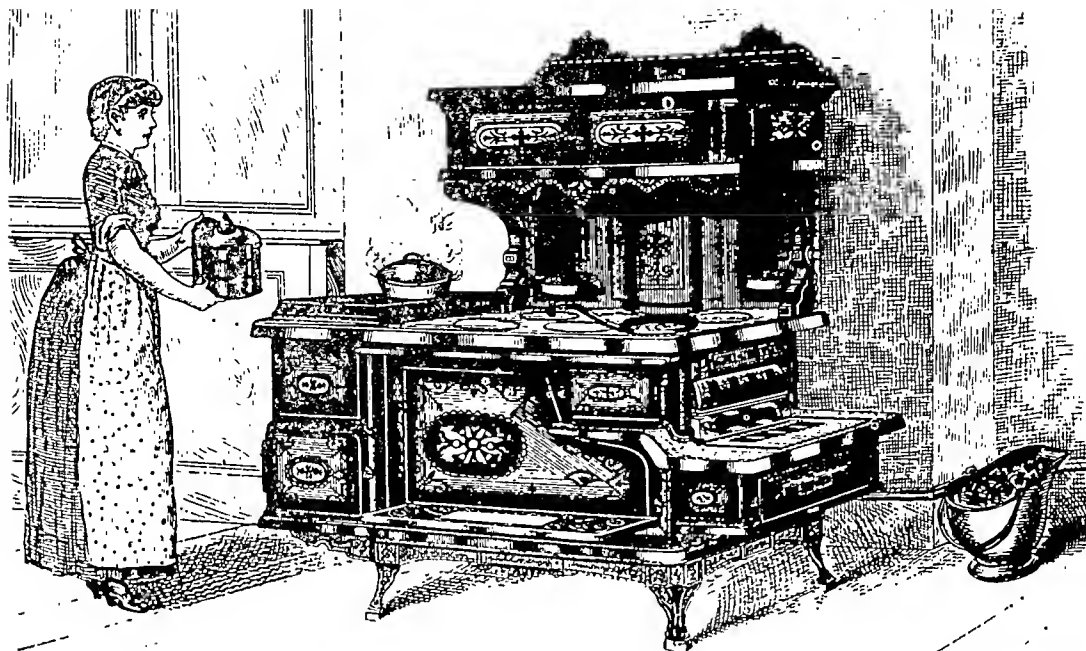
Every now and then, some abuses still crop up in big business. But the old "public-be-damned" attitude of certain big business organizations has disappeared. Government regulation makes acting in line with such an attitude practically impossible. And most big business executives today have a much higher sense of public responsibility than most of the old captains of industry. They realize, too, that "damning" the public would be damaging for business.

## **Big Business Capitalizes On New Sources of Power: Oil and Electricity**

**A Professor Helps to Create a Revolution.**  
In a Yale University laboratory, in 1855, Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., made a discovery that caused a revolution. He found that from petroleum (crude oil) could be extracted kerosene and such by-products as naphtha and wax. What was so revolutionary about this?

Up to this time, most people had looked upon oil as a nuisance. When it seeped through the ground, it often spoiled their water supply. Some peddlers had bottled it and sold it as a cure for "cholera, liver complaint, bronchitis, and consumption," among other ailments. Up to this time, too, most people obtained their light at night from tallow candles or whale-oil lamps. Silliman's discovery meant that kerosene, cheap and abundant, could replace the expensive and rare whale oil for illumination.

**Edwin Drake Starts a 'Black Gold' Rush.**  
To capitalize on Silliman's discovery, Edwin Drake began drilling for oil in western Pennsylvania. There, in 1859, he brought in the first oil well in the United States. Then began the "black gold" (oil) rush of '59 to Pennsylvania, which resembled the yellow gold rush of '49 to California. Oil derricks soon dotted the countryside. Boom towns sprang up overnight. Men murdered other men to get the best oil fields. Many a poor Pennsylvania farmer made a fortune from



*Big, cumbersome stoves, like the one shown here, began to give way to kerosene stoves after the discovery of oil at Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859. Just as there were problems in using these coal stoves, there were problems in using kerosene stoves. What problems in each case?*

the oil discovered on his land. However, the cutthroat competition caused wild ups and downs in the price of oil.

**Oil Smooths the Way to the Rockefeller Fortune, and to Other Fortunes, Too.** If order could be brought out of all this chaos, a fortune could be made, thought John D. Rockefeller. Order could be brought out of it, he was convinced, if a person could gain a monopoly of the oil-refining business. The monopolist could then dictate the price of crude oil to the producers and the price of refined oil to the retailers.

During the War Between the States, Rockefeller, as a partner in a business selling hay, wheat, and meat to the Government, had made a tidy sum. This he invested in the oil-refining business. In 1870, he and his partners formed the Standard Oil Company. In 1882, it was organized as a trust. This first great monopoly was run by nine trustees, headed by Rockefeller. It controlled forty

oil refineries, nine-tenths of the oil business of the nation, and three-quarters of the oil business of the world. The Standard Oil trust invested not only in oil but in banks, railroads, steamship lines, iron mines, gas and electric companies, and in J. Pierpont Morgan's United States Steel trust.

The Ohio Supreme Court ordered the Standard Oil trust to dissolve in 1892. Then, in 1899, it was reorganized as a holding company, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. In 1911, this holding company was ordered dissolved by the United States Supreme Court. As a result, there are today many Standard Oil companies. Essentially, however, they are still members of the same mother company and have essentially the same policies.

**Methods of Rockefeller in Building an Oil Empire.** By cutting costs, Rockefeller and his partners were able to buy out or force out rival refineries. Cutting costs en-

abled Standard Oil to cut the price of oil so low that rivals could not compete. It could afford to undersell them because it eliminated middlemen. It cut costs, for example, by even manufacturing its own barrels for shipping oil, and owning its own pipelines and storage tanks. It further cut costs by getting railroads to grant it rebates on the oil it shipped. By threatening to take its business away from a railroad, Standard Oil would even get rebates on and records of the oil its rivals shipped. This enabled the company to make money on its rivals' efforts and also to keep track of how much they were shipping and to what customers. Standard Oil's sales managers in each district were ordered to "sell all the oil that is sold in your district." Those who did were richly rewarded. Those who failed to were fired.

**Rockefeller's Resourcefulness, Too, Helps to Explain His Success.** Rockefeller was an organizing genius who brought order into the chaotic, fiercely competitive, and highly speculative oil business. He persisted when others were too willing to give up. For example, his associates did not want to deal in an oil found in Ohio and Indiana that smelled so bad it was called "skunk juice." But Rockefeller called in chemists who soon made it more fragrant and a source of rich revenue to Standard Oil. Through large-scale production, efficiency, and ruthless elimination of waste, Rockefeller was able to produce oil of good quality and sell it at a fair price.

**Much of the Rockefeller Fortune Goes to Benefit Mankind.** Rockefeller died in 1937 at the age of ninety-eight. From the huge fortune this thrifty captain of industry accumulated, more has been contributed to the welfare of mankind than from any other private fortune in history. Religious organizations, educational institutions, the arts and sciences, and medical research have all been beneficiaries.

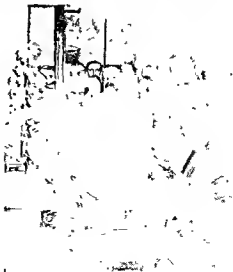
**Oil Increases in Importance in the Twentieth Century.** The Rockefellers and others were to make many millions from the oil industry in the twentieth century. For the

twentieth century was to be the century of the automobile and the airplane, which consume gasoline in enormous quantities. When Professor Sillman, back in 1855, had been carrying on his experiments with crude oil, he had discovered gasoline as a by-product. But, ironically, it had seemed to him at that time to be no more than a useless waste product.

**Electricity Brings Lightning Changes in Communication, Illumination, Transportation, Industrialization, and Recreation.** Imagine our world without electricity! Let us look at how this remarkable source of power has been used to revolutionize life.

**Communication: Telegraph, Cable, and Telephone Put Electricity to Its First Practical Use.** "The latest American humbug" was what the *Times* of London called the telephone on learning of its invention in 1876. Its inventor, the Scottish immigrant Alexander Graham Bell, at first had difficulty interesting Americans in it, too. To make a living, and to make people familiar

*Alexander Graham Bell at the opening of the New York-Chicago line in 1892. These men would probably have been astounded if they knew of the other uses to which telephone lines are put today besides carrying voices. Find out what other uses.*



with it, he demonstrated his invention on the stage of many theaters. The telephone soon caught on and Bell sold his patents at a good profit.

Bell had called the telephone his "talking telegraph." A practical telegraph had been invented by Samuel Morse in 1844 (page 313). The first underwater telegraph, the Atlantic cable, was laid by Cyrus Field in 1866 (page 313). Thus it was the field of communication that, through the telegraph, cable, and telephone, first made use of electricity.

The company to which the Bell patents were sold soon joined with other companies to form, in 1900, the *American Telephone and Telegraph Company* (AT & T). This huge combination thus gained control of the telephone and telegraph services of the nation. As the new century began, it cost almost \$250 to have a telephone installed. Today, thousands of telephone and telegraph messages are sent daily by big businessmen to their branches, suppliers, salesmen, and customers throughout the nation and even throughout the world. How big could big business be without these speedy means of communication? And the ever-increasing need for telephone and telegraph services has made AT & T itself one of the biggest of big businesses, with more than two million stockholders.

Sending messages by means of electric currents without wires was made possible by later inventions. A German, Heinrich Hertz, had made some important discoveries concerning electromagnetic waves. Using this knowledge, an Italian, Guglielmo Marconi, in the late 1890's, developed the wireless telegraph. Building on the work of Hertz and Marconi, the American Lee De Forest and others discovered how to transmit the voice without wires, by means of radio. In the late 1920's, these discoveries led to an even more remarkable discovery: television. An important pioneer in this field was the Russian immigrant V. K. Zworykin. Television transmits electrically, without wires, images in action.

**Illumination: Edison's Perfection of the Incandescent Electric Light Brightens the World.** "Genius is two per cent inspiration and ninety-eight per cent perspiration." So said Thomas Alva Edison. Edison himself was not a genius in developing scientific theories. But he *was* a genius in making practical application of the scientific principles developed by others. And true to his motto, he shed much perspiration in long hours of work in his laboratories in New Jersey. There, he and the experts he employed produced and perfected hundreds of inventions. There, the incandescent electric light bulb was perfected in 1879. Within a few months, Edison's factory was turning out thousands of such bulbs. Not until the twentieth century, however, were most homes and factories electrically wired to make use of them. Edison also perfected a practical dynamo, which enabled him to set up in New York City, in 1882, the first central electric power station to supply cheap electricity to some nearby buildings.

**Alternating Current Proves More Practical Than Direct Current.** Edison's power station operated only on direct current. To send direct current over long distances is costly. Alternating current can be sent over long distances at low cost. As a result of the experiments of George Westinghouse, William Stanley, and a Serbian immigrant, Nikola Tesla, the use of alternating current became practical in the 1880's. The Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, one of America's big businesses, was started by Westinghouse and Stanley. This company proved that lighting systems using alternating current could be scientifically practical and financially rewarding.

The Westinghouse Company was also the first to prove that hydroelectric power could be a huge commercial success. Another big company, the General Electric Company, founded in 1892, almost immediately set up scientific laboratories for further research in electricity. One genius employed in this laboratory was a German immigrant, Charles P. Steinmetz. Among his many achievements

was a practical method of measuring alternating current.

**Transportation in Cities: Harsecars, Steam Railroads, Electric Trolley Cars, Subways, Elevateds, and Elevators.** The slowness of transportation in cities in the 1880's was most annoying. Streetcars, drawn by horses or mules, traveled no faster than six miles an hour. Some cities reacted to this annoyance by building elevated railroads, resting on pillars, with cars drawn by steam engines. Although these could run fairly fast, they were annoying, too. They were noisy and sooty and they shut out light.

All this explains why, by the 1890's, many electric trolley lines had been built. After 1900, several speedy electric underground (subway) lines were constructed and existing elevated lines were electrified. City dwellers were able to travel faster vertically as well as horizontally upon the introduction of electric elevators, also about 1900.<sup>1</sup> Billions of dollars were invested by bankers in electrified means of transportation. This, then, was another way big business capitalized on the new source of power.

**Electricity Speeds Up Industrialization.** Practically all the machines in American industry today are powered by electricity. This new source of power, along with another, gasoline from crude oil, has helped make the automobile and aircraft industries the gigantic enterprises they are. Electricity has created new industries, which have made possible a more comfortable life for the housewife. Vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, washing machines—all electric—are just a few of the products of these new industries.

**Electricity Helps to Create Many Industries in the Field of Recreation.** Radio and television have brought more fun to more people. So have the electric phonograph and the motion picture—both inventions per-

fectured by Edison.<sup>2</sup> Thus electricity has revolutionized recreation as well. And industries capitalizing on such forms of recreation are among the biggest in the nation (page 725).

**Gibbs, a Great Theoretical Scientist, Lays the Foundation for Much Practical Science.** Modest, kindly Professor Josiah Willard Gibbs of Yale was a remarkable late-nineteenth-century mathematician and physicist. He laid the basis for the development of physical chemistry and chemical engineering. Albert Einstein's theory of relativity was in part made possible by Gibbs' research. Applications of Gibbs' theories have helped to explain the electrolysis action of storage batteries, and even changes that occur in the bloodstream.

*Thomas A. Edison after seventy-two hours of continuous work on his improved wax cylinder phonograph, June 16, 1888. "As a cure for worrying, work is better than whiskey," observed Edison.*



<sup>1</sup> Obviously, skyscrapers without elevators would be impractical.

<sup>2</sup> George Eastman of camera fame also played a part in developing the motion picture.

## **Railroads, After 1865, Become The Ribs of the Nation and The Backbone of Big Business**

**Small Lines Consolidated; Comfort and Safety Increased.** Cornelius Vanderbilt, nicknamed "Commodore," had a bright idea in the early 1860's, when he was in his late sixties. He noted that the nation's 30,000 miles of track were carrying nearly seventy per cent of its transportation business. This convinced him that America's transportation future was not in stagecoaches, covered wagons, rafts, flatboats, or even in steamboats. So even though running steamboats had made him the richest man in the nation before the War Between the States, he went out of this business and into the railroad business during the war.

Such was the background of Vanderbilt's bright idea. Here was the idea itself: He would combine the many small railroad lines in the Northeast into large trunk lines, make them safer and more comfortable, and make himself a fabulous fortune. This was a sound idea. For in those days, if a traveler wanted to go from New York to Chicago, he would have to change seventeen times from one small line to another. In those days, too, railroad travelers were taking their lives in their hands; for accidents and fires were frequent (page 310).

**Some Results of Vanderbilt's Bright Idea.** Vanderbilt carried out his bright idea. By 1873, a traveler could go straight through from New York to Chicago, without any changes, on Vanderbilt's New York Central Railroad. Vanderbilt had created the New York Central by consolidating many small independent lines. He had cut the running time for this nearly 1,000-mile trip from fifty hours to twenty-four. He ran the railroad so efficiently that even in depression years, stockholders received big dividends. Under him and his son William, many steps were taken to make travel on the Central safe. Sturdier cars and sturdier rails were used, and sturdier bridges built. The Central's lines were double-tracked. Doubled, too, by son

William was the fabulous fortune of \$100 million that Cornelius left on his death.

**Though Faster, Train Travel Becomes More Comfortable and Safer, Too.** Soon other railroad captains of industry were also combining small independent lines into a few large trunk lines.<sup>1</sup> Soon, too, other railroads were making their lines safer and more comfortable. Steel rails replaced iron rails. Steel cars replaced wooden cars. And concrete bridges replaced wooden bridges. In 1869, George Westinghouse patented his automatic air brake. Now trains could go much faster and still stop suddenly more safely.

After the War Between the States, too, steam heat replaced wood-burning stoves on trains, and gaslight replaced kerosene lamps. Also adding to the comfort of passengers were Pullman's sleeping cars, dining cars, and ornate parlor cars. In the 1930's, railroad travel was to be further improved by the use of streamlined high-speed trains and all-steel diesel-motored trains.

**In Spite of Railroad Progress, Abuses Abound.** "Law? What do I care about law? Hain't I got the power?" So shouted Vanderbilt one day when someone reminded him that he was breaking the law. Vanderbilt's contempt for the law was more than matched by certain other big railroad operators and speculators of the time.

**The Battle for the Erie.** The story of the battle for control of the Erie Railroad is a classic example of the ruthlessness practiced by some such railroad men. The Erie was a competitor of Vanderbilt's New York Central. It was controlled by fat, diamond-bedecked Jim Fisk, thin, gloomy Daniel Drew, and small, cold Jay Gould. To this unscrupulous trio, any action seemed permissible, if it netted them profits.

To get control of the Erie, Vanderbilt began buying up its stock. Although he tried to keep this quiet, the trio outwitted him. They deliberately printed tremendous quantities

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<sup>1</sup> By 1875, also running from the Atlantic seaboard to Chicago were such big trunk lines as the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the Baltimore and Ohio.

of illegal Erie stock and unloaded it on the stock market. (Such stock, issued in excess of the real value of a company's property, is called *watered stock*.) Gleefully, Fisk said: "If this printing press don't break down, I'll give the old hog [Vanderbilt] all he wants of Erie!"

Vanderbilt, although he had issued plenty of watered New York Central stock himself, did not at first realize that he was buying watered Erie stock. He finally caught on. In the ensuing struggle for control of the Erie, both sides bribed New York judges and lawmakers. Vanderbilt lost out. Drew lost out, too, for Gould and Fisk soon bankrupted him and forced him out of the Erie. And Erie stockholders lost out: Not for fifty years was the railroad able to pay a dividend. The trio had looted the company of millions.

**Summing Up Some Common Railroad Abuses.** Watering stock,<sup>1</sup> manipulating the price of stock to force it to go up or down in order to make quick profits, and bribery were not the only abuses practiced by certain railroad executives. Railroads discriminated against small shippers by giving rebates to big shippers who were their competitors. Sometimes a shipper was charged more for a short haul than for a long haul. The cheaper rate was charged in areas where there were competing railroad lines, and the higher rate in areas where there was no competition.

To kill off their competitors, railroads would sometimes charge a shipper less than what it cost to carry the freight. But once the competing railroads were killed off or bought out by a big combination, rates would shoot up. Sometimes, to avoid cut-throat competition, railroads would agree secretly on fixing rates and pooling and dividing the profits. Beginning in 1887, the Federal Government was to pass certain laws in an effort to check such evil practices (page 488).

<sup>1</sup> Since the holders of watered stock must also be given dividends, this waters down the dividends paid to other stockholders.



*An early Union Pacific dining car. With the information in this picture as a nucleus, one could almost write a chapter in American history. What information?*

**'The Wedding of the Rails':** The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific Unite East and West. The two locomotives, one coming from the East and the other from the West, moved slowly toward each other and touched at Promontory Point, Utah. With a silver hammer, a golden spike was driven into the wooden railroad tie. The telegraph picked up the sound of the blows. Thus did Americans get the news that the first transcontinental railroad in the United States, the *Union Pacific*, had been completed, on May 10, 1869.

Two railroad companies had been chartered by the Congress to construct this transcontinental railroad. One, the Union Pacific, was to build its line westward from Omaha, Nebraska. The other, the Central Pacific, was to build eastward from Sacramento,



California. To promote the project, the Congress had granted these two companies huge blocks of land on either side of the right of way,<sup>1</sup> huge loans, cash subsidies, and the advice of army engineers.

*The Shame and the Glory in the Building of the Union Pacific.* An interlocking directorate (page 438) governed both the Union Pacific and the construction company that built it. This construction company, called the *Crédit Mobilier*, received from the Union Pacific about \$75 million for work worth about \$50 million. Besides thus defrauding stockholders of the Union Pacific, the interlocking directorate even bribed some congressmen to try to prevent an investigation of its activities.

To complete the railroad, such obstacles as hostile Indians, desert heat, and the snow-packed Sierra Nevada Mountains had to be overcome. In overcoming such obstacles, the Irish immigrant labor gangs from the East coast and the pigtailed Chinese coolie gangs, imported from China for the purpose, worked with great energy and courage. Unfortunately, the hard-earned wages of many were squandered in saloons, gambling dens, and dance halls. These were usually tents set up at night at the spot where work had stopped. Their proprietors were usually shady characters of the type that always seems to know how to make others part with their money. So evil were the goings-on in such tents that they were nicknamed "hell on wheels."

On its completion, the entire transcontinental railroad was called the *Union Pacific*. Its construction was one of the engineering marvels of world history. By 1893, four other transcontinental railroads, the Northern Pacific, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, the Southern Pacific, and the Great Northern, had also been constructed. All these transcontinental railroads were so called because, coming from the West, they

met, in the Middle West, railroad trunk lines from the East. Thus a traveler could go by railroad from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and vice versa.

**The Great Vision of Hill in Building the Great Northern.** The *Great Northern*, the last of the great transcontinental railroads to be completed, was built by the Canadian-born James J. Hill without a Government land grant and with almost no other Government aid. It ran from Duluth, Minnesota, to Seattle, Washington. It was so soundly built and so soundly run that it prospered when other railroads went bankrupt in periods of depression. Moreover, there were no scandals connected with its construction.

Hill realized that his railroad would not prosper unless farmers settled in the area and prospered. His agents gave demonstrations to farmers to teach them how to farm scientifically. He sought out markets for their products not only in America but in Europe and Asia. Because Hill did so much to promote the settlement of the New Northwest, he is often called an "empire builder."

**How the Railroads Helped to Make the Nation What It Is Today.** "The true history of the United States is the history of transportation . . . in which the names of railroad presidents are more significant than those of Presidents of the United States." This statement of the British historian Philip Guedalla is an exaggeration. But it has some solid foundation, especially in the period from 1865 to 1900. This was a period of business boom interrupted by a few depressions. And the boom in all businesses was based to a great extent upon the boom in railroad building at this time.<sup>1</sup> By 1900, the nation had more than 200,000 miles of railroads, more than one-third of the world's total.

**Railroads Spur the Prosperity of Other Industries.** The coal, iron, lumber, and steel industries did booming business supplying

<sup>1</sup> Once the railroad was completed, the companies could and did make millions selling this land to settlers.

<sup>1</sup> In the past fifty years, however, there has been almost no new railroad building. Automobiles and airplanes are today playing the starring roles the railroads—and the canals—played earlier.

the hundreds of railroads under construction and in operation. The shoe, textile, and meat industries did booming business supplying the huge armies of railroad workers, who otherwise might have been in the army of the unemployed. Cattle raising and meat packing prospered, especially after the perfection of the refrigerator car about 1875. Much-needed capital poured into the United States from Europeans eager to invest in railroad construction and in the mines and ranches of the West. Indeed, much credit for speeding up the settlement of the West also belongs to the railroads (page 460).

***Railroads Affect the Life and Death of Many a Town.*** Towns and cities, too, boomed as a result of railroad expansion. But many a town too far from the railroad decayed and died. Railroads made it less necessary for people to try to be self-sufficient. People knew that they could get by railroad the many articles that they formerly produced themselves on farms. Consequently, many flocked to the cities and specialized in a particular line of work.

***Transcontinental Railroads Enlarge Markets and Strengthen Nationalism.*** Transcontinental railroads were especially an asset to the nation. They promoted the economic boom by opening up not only the West but markets in the Orient as well. They also promoted a strong spirit of nationalism by tying the nation together with bands of steel. They enabled Americans in every section of the land to exchange ideas, as well as goods, with other Americans.

### **Industrialization Plays a Big Part in Building a 'New South'**

One day in 1886, a Southern editor, Henry W. Grady, spoke before a group of Northern bankers and big businessmen in New York. Grady, dedicated to the South's welfare, tried to convince his audience that it would be good business to invest capital in Southern factories, forests, and mines. Proudly, he described the industrial progress

that had been made since 1865 in what he called the *New South*.<sup>1</sup>

***Some Reasons for the Drive to Industrialize the South.*** Grady was just one of many enthusiastic, educated Southerners, who, from the day the War Between the States ended, were inspired by certain goals. These included the industrialization of the South, the cultivation of many crops there, rather than the concentration on a few basic crops, such as cotton and tobacco, and the development of mines and forests.

Grady and his fellow enthusiasts reasoned this way on Southern industrialization:

We want to make our beloved South industrially as strong as, or stronger than, any other section of the nation. We have an industrial foundation to build on. Before the war destroyed many of our factories, the South turned out nearly ten per cent of the nation's manufactured goods. Since the war, our own local communities have financed considerable industrialization. We have almost everything needed to become highly industrialized. We have great supplies of coal, iron ore, limestone, timber, and water power. Our labor is cheap and plentiful and so is land for factory sites. Taxes are low. And our political leaders are doing everything in their power to pass laws favoring businessmen. Lack of enough capital, more than anything else, is preventing us from speeding up the industrialization of the New South even more. That's why it's important to get Northerners to invest in Southern industry.

***Northern Investors Are Attracted to Southern Industry.*** Once convinced by economic statistics submitted by Grady and others that their profits might be great, Northern capitalists poured millions into the South's factories, mines, and railroads. In fact, by 1900, although most of Southern industry was Southern-owned, a good portion of it was

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<sup>1</sup> The South's industrial progress after the War Between the States was far less than after World War I and less still than after World War II (page 880).

## Some Highlights in the Early Development of Big Business

1858	• Silliman, Jr., discovers the many possibilities in oil
1857	• Business panic begins
1859	• Drake brings in first oil well in United States
1861	• Morrill Tariff adopted
1862	• Morrill Land Grant Act promotes industrial and agricultural education • McKay's improved shoe machine patented • Vanderbilt begins building his railroad empire
1863	• National Banking Act
1864	• Contract Labor Law allows employers to import European workers under contract • First Pullman sleeping car
1866	• Field succeeds in laying transatlantic cable • Open-hearth process of steelmaking introduced
1867	• Sholes patents typewriter
1868	• A refrigerator car patented
1869	• Westinghouse patents air brake • Completion of first transcontinental railroad
1870	• Rockefeller and others organize Standard Oil Company
1873	• Panic begins five-year depression • Carnegie goes into the steel industry

1876	• Bell patents telephone • Philadelphia Centennial Exposition displays industrial America
1877	• Edison invents phonograph • Swift creates meat-packing corporation in Chicago
1879	• Edison perfects incandescent light bulb • Ritty invents cash register
1884	• Mergenthaler's linotype patented
1887	• Interstate Commerce Act for regulation of railroads
1888	• Eastman perfects Kodak camera
1890	• Duke combines five companies in the American Tobacco Company • Sherman Antitrust Act passed • Frontier declared ended • High McKinley Tariff adopted • Hill combines his railroad companies into the Great Northern
1891	• Burroughs' adding machine developed
1893	• Duryea brothers develop practical gasoline automobile • Panic begins three-year depression • Chicago Columbian Exposition exhibits American progress • Edison's kinoscope paves way for movies
1894	• Wilson-Garmon Tariff disappoints supporters of law rates

1895	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Supreme Court declares 1894 income tax law unconstitutional</li> <li>• National Association of Manufacturers founded</li> </ul>
1897	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dingley Tariff: a new high in rates</li> </ul>
1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Standard Oil Company of New Jersey organized as a holding company</li> </ul>
1900	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• American Telephone and Telegraph Company created</li> </ul>
1901	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Giant United States Steel Corporation created by J. P. Morgan as a holding company</li> <li>• Spindletop begins producing huge supplies of oil</li> </ul>

**Interrupted by Depressions?** The United States was the wealthiest of all nations by 1900. By and large, its people had the highest standard of living in the world. The main reason why was the huge volume and wide variety of goods produced at low costs by the many new machines in giant factories.

But this mass production sometimes led to overproduction. What this really means is that there were not enough people with money to buy the huge volume of goods produced. This lack of customers sometimes led to factory failures. Such failures increased the number of unemployed. Thus there were still fewer customers who could afford to buy the goods of other factories. More factory failures followed. Factories that had formerly supplied goods to these bankrupt factories would then lose their business and,

perhaps, fail, too. Thus overproduction is often given as a major cause of nation-wide depressions. If industries in the United States are dependent upon other countries for raw materials and markets, and such American industries fail, a nation-wide depression may become world-wide. Similarly, depressions in other countries may help to cause or intensify depressions in America.

As a depression continues, a time is reached when not enough goods are produced to meet the needs of customers. Then businessmen who are still in business may expand their production, and other businessmen may go back into business. If this condition continues, the nation is said to be on the road to recovery. The swing of the ups and downs in business from prosperity to panic to depression to recovery and back to prosperity is called the *business cycle*. Obviously, the more highly industrialized a nation is the bigger are its booms and the more severe its depressions.

Of course, there had been depressions throughout the world even before the First and Second Industrial Revolutions, but none as serious as those thereafter. Outside the United States, serious depressions occurred in such industrialized nations as Britain, Germany, France, and Japan. Before the Industrial Revolutions, depressions were not so serious because most families then were fairly self-sufficient. They raised their own food and made their own clothing. A craftsman produced goods only on order. Thus there was no danger of his producing more than he could find customers for.

Some place part of the blame for depressions on machines. They point to the fact that sometimes the invention of new machines throws laborers out of work. However, this displacement of laborers by machines (called *technological unemployment*) has often been only temporary. Until fairly recently, machines have created far more jobs than they have eliminated (page 884).

**How Did Captains of Finance Come to Exert More Power Than Many Captains of Industry?** "Steel kings," "merchant princes,"

"railroad barons"—these were some of the names bestowed on certain captains of industry. And, as we have seen, these "kings," "princes," and "barons" did build great industrial or commercial empires. But about 1900, captains of finance, such as J. Pierpont Morgan, began to surpass, or even replace, many captains of industry in economic power. This was because many big corporations were expanding so fast that they were constantly in need of money. To obtain funds that it would be difficult for them to get otherwise, they issued new stocks and bonds. These they turned over to a type of bank, called an *investment bank*, to be sold. Investment bankers, such as Morgan, bought some of these stocks and bonds themselves and sold others to their clients. In time, investment banks, even those owning only a small percentage of the stock, began to take over the control of many corporations.

**For What Reasons Did the Government in Time Practice Less *Laissez Faire*?** Captains of industry were generally strong supporters of the Government's *laissez-faire* policy. They argued that if the Government kept its hands off business, businessmen would have an incentive to start new industries and to expand old ones. They also maintained that competition among capitalists and the natural law of supply and demand would result in better products and lower prices. However, many captains of industry asked for high protective tariffs, railroad subsidies, and other Government aid. In this respect, they were not favoring *laissez-faire* principles.

In general, the Government, in the nineteenth century, *did* follow a *laissez-faire* policy. And, in general, business prospered. Some captains of industry, however, made it necessary for the Government to step in in order to protect freedom of enterprise. When certain railroads, for example, discriminated against small shippers, the Government, beginning in 1887, passed laws to protect their right to exist. And when some combinations became monopolies, the Government declared certain practices of such

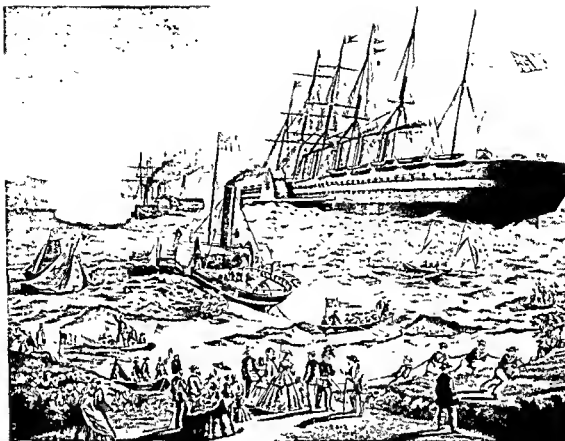
monopolies illegal in order to preserve competition and protect the small businessman's freedom of enterprise. In time, as we shall see, the Government was to practice still less *laissez faire* in order to protect the interests of consumers, farmers, wage earners, and investors.

**How Did Industrialization Make the Farmer and the Nation Less Isolated?** The railroad and the telegraph helped to break down the farmer's isolation and make the frontier disappear. In time, so did the telephone. And later, when many farms became electrified, and farmers installed radio and television and bought automobiles, farm life became much more like city life.

The Industrial Revolution also helped to break down the nation's isolation from the rest of the world. As American factories grew bigger and bigger and produced more and more goods, there was need for more raw materials and more markets in other parts of the world. One reason why the United States expanded overseas was to help gain these raw materials and markets (Chapter 26). Inventions such as the transatlantic cable, the transoceanic telephone, and the wireless also helped to break down isolation.

**How Did Industrialization Steadily Increase the Responsibilities of Cities?** In 1860, there had been only 141 towns and cities in the United States with a population of 8,000 or more (page 561). In 1900, there were 547 such cities. In these cities lived more than twenty-five million people. In 1860, only about five million had lived in towns and cities. The growth of factories was a main reason for the growth of city populations. Millions from rural districts and millions of immigrants sought factory jobs in the cities.

The growth of cities speeded up the progress of education. Civic pride promoted the building of schools, libraries, and museums. Moreover, many businessmen demanded that the schools teach commercial and industrial subjects to train people for work in the business office and the factory. The huge size of many cities multiplied such city problems



*The arrival of Cyrus Field's Atlantic cable at Newfoundland in 1866. This lithograph has great dramatic appeal. For what reasons?*

as sanitation, water supply, transportation, slums, police and fire protection, and crime prevention (page 562).

**What Were Some Effects of Industrialization on Family Life and Recreation?** The typewriter<sup>1</sup> and the telephone, among other inventions, wooed many a woman from her traditional place in the home into the business office. As women made money, they became more independent and demanded more rights (pages 270, 583, and 708). But careers

for women often meant marriage later in life, families with fewer children, and less time for working mothers to spend with their children.

More people had more time for more fun as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The many new machines made a shorter working day possible. By the 1880's, many Americans were devoting a good deal of their increased spare time to sports—both as spectators and participants (page 577).

All in all, few forces have rivaled industrialization in its impact on the American people. So significant has it been that most of the history that follows could well be organized around the theme of our ever-increasing industrialization.

<sup>1</sup> In 1867, Christopher L. Sholes perfected the typewriter. Then were invented a practical adding machine by William S. Burroughs, the dictaphone and mimeograph machine by Edison, and the cash register by James Ritty.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 13

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Andrew Carnegie	corporation	John D. Rockefeller	Jay Gould
rebate	dividends	Alexander Graham Bell	watered stock
horizontal combination	board of directors	AT & T	"the wedding of the rails"
vertical combination	gentlemen's agreements or pools	Lee De Forest	Crédit Mobilier
J. Pierpont Morgan	trust	Thomas A. Edison	James J. Hill
captains of industry	board of trustees	George Westinghouse	Henry W. Grady
<i>On the Origin of Species</i>	trust certificates	Charles P. Steinmetz	New South
capitalism	holding company	George Eastman	Spindletop
proprietorship	interlocking directorates	Josiah W. Gibbs	sharecropper
partnership	Finley Peter Dunne	Albert Einstein	business cycle
	Benjamin Silliman, Jr.	Cornelius Vanderbilt	technological unemployment
	Edwin Drake	Jim Fisk	investment bank
		Daniel Drew	

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Connect with the Carnegie success story (a) his early preparation, (b) his business methods, and (c) his philanthropy.
2. Show that in (a) character traits and (b) business methods many captains of industry were much alike.
3. Mention some of the changes occurring between 1860 and 1900 in (a) industry and commerce, (b) agriculture and conservation, (c) transportation and communication, (d) labor and immigration, and (e) any other categories.
4. Show how the growth of big business in the United States was promoted by (a) aid from abroad, (b) nature's gifts, (c) Government aid, and (d) certain American attitudes toward business.
5. What are the advantages of forming a corporation, rather than a proprietorship or partnership?
6. Give the reasons for the development of such combinations as (a) pools, (b) trusts, (c) holding companies, and (d) interlocking directorates.
7. Which practices of big business in the late nineteenth century lost it many former friends?
8. Concerning big business, tell (a) its advantages and (b) how these advantages may help the public in general.
9. Point out how (a) Benjamin Silliman, Jr., and (b) Edwin Drake figure in the Rockefeller success story.
10. Connect with the Rockefeller success story (a) his personality, (b) his business methods, and (c) his philanthropy.
11. Mention one specific way in which electricity changed (a) communication, (b) illumination, (c) transportation, (d) industrialization, and (e) recreation.
12. Prove that no one country can claim full credit for developments in the practical application of electricity.
13. Give examples to prove that (a) Edison was a practical scientist and (b) Gibbs was a theoretical scientist.
14. How did electricity add to the comfort of (a) travelers within cities and (b) housewives?
15. Indicate specific ways by which Corne-

- lius and William Vanderbilt improved travel by train
- 16 Sum up the (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) results of the battle for the Erie.
  17. Prove that competing railroads were sometimes unethical in their treatment of (a) stockholders, (b) small shippers, and (c) one another
  18. Connect with the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad (a) Omaha, (b) Sacramento, (c) Crédit Mobilier, (d) Indians, (e) geography and climate, (f) immigrants, (g) "hell on wheels," and (h) Promontory Point.
  19. Tell specifically what there is to commend in Hill as a railroad builder.
  - 20 Show specifically how railroads affected (a) other industries, (b) the settlement of the West, (c) the settlement of cities, (d) international trade, and (e) nationalism
  21. In building a New South, what were the goals of Grady and others?
  22. What foundations for industrialization did the South possess, according to Grady and others?
  23. Connect with the New South (a) cotton textiles, (b) chemistry, (c) the "Pittsburgh of the South," (d) cigarettes, and (e) "black gold"
  24. With respect to sharecropping, point out (a) its origins, (b) why some see some good in it, and (c) why it has been criticized severely
  - 25 Show a connection between the nation's industrialization and the New South's agricultural diversification.
  26. Describe some factors that are alleged to lead (a) to depressions and (b) to recovery from depressions.
  27. How did investment banks gain control over many corporations?
  28. What changes have taken place in the attitude toward *laissez faire*? For what reasons?
  29. How did industrialization make for less isolation among the (a) people of the nation and (b) the nations of the world?
  30. How did industrialization tend to make

farm life somewhat more like city life?

- 31 In what ways has industrialization affected (a) city life and (b) family life?

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. List five adjectives that you think best describe (a) Carnegie or (b) Rockefeller. Justify your choices.
2. Which of Carnegie's methods in building his steel empire do you (a) admire and (b) object to? Explain why in each case.
- 3 Give your views of Carnegie's statement that great wealth is "a sacred trust to be administered for the highest good of the people"
- 4 To what extent do you think the survival-of-the-fittest argument, as used by captains of industry, was a fitting argument?
5. In the comparison of the United States in 1860 and 1900 select the three points you consider most significant and tell why
- 6 Big business would be impossible without the corporation as a form of business organization. For what reasons?
7. The formation of trusts and holding companies seemed almost inevitable as business grew bigger. Tell why.
- 8 Few today would recommend abolition of big business. Give reasons why.
- 9 Compare the careers of Carnegie and Rockefeller.
10. Explain five ways in which your life might be different if there were no electricity
11. A basically theoretical scientist such as Josiah Willard Gibbs is of far less value to society than a practical inventor such as Thomas A. Edison. Explain fully whether you agree or disagree.
- 12 Describe what you consider (a) most significant and (b) most dramatic in the story of the railroad builders. Include your reasons.
- 13 The speed-up in industrialization of the New South, as well as its agricultural diversification, should have been of great



interest to Northerners, as well as Southerners. For what reasons?

14. Suppose that the advice of Henry W. Grady and others concerning the New South had been ignored. How might (a) the South and (b) the North have been affected?
15. Explain whether you agree or disagree that the sharecropping system violates the American tradition of freedom of enterprise.
16. Of the questions raised by the Second Industrial Revolution, which two do you consider most significant? Explain why.

★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Ask several adults whether they think it would be possible today to carve out a career such as Carnegie or Rockefeller did in the late nineteenth century. On the basis of their answers write your conclusions.
2. Carry on research on any industrialist, railroad magnate, or other captain of industry of the late nineteenth century. Report on (a) his aims, (b) the obstacles he faced, (c) how he faced up to these obstacles, (d) quotations from him, (e) significant anecdotes about him, and (f) his impact on American life.
3. Compare the two conflicting interpretations of the American businessman discussed in *American Past*, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown. Write your conclusions.
4. Read "The Coming and Disciplining of Industrialism," in *Gentlemen, Scholars, and Seoundrels*, edited by K. Knowles. Indicate in your report how industrialism has improved living standards, thereby thwarting radicalism.
5. Investigate and report on the activities of the Carnegie, Rockefeller, or Ford Foundation, or any other similar foundation.
6. In committee, carry on research on American inventors and engineers of the late nineteenth century. Among these include Washington A. Roebling, James B. Eads, George Westinghouse, George M. Pullman, and George Eastman. In a committee-made, illustrated chart for the bulletin board, include the major contributions of as many as possible.
7. In *Readings in American History*, edited by O. Handlin, read section 236 on "Recent Economic Changes" and 237 on "How to Succeed." Select the three most significant points made in each and tell why you consider them significant.
8. Write a magazine article entitled (a) "I Went to Pennsylvania in the Black-Gold Rush," (b) "I Worked for the Wizard of Menlo Park," (c) "I Was a Student of Professor Josiah Willard Gibbs," (d) "I Built a Factory in the New South," or (e) "I Worked on the Construction of the Union Pacific." Cite your sources.
9. Investigate the Centennial Fair of 1876 in Philadelphia. Describe how it summed up a century of American progress. For ideas see, among other sources, *American Science and Invention* by M. Wilson.
10. Write a series of newspaper headlines highlighting events in this chapter.
11. Write an imaginary conversation on big business in the late nineteenth century in which (a) a captain of industry, (b) a small businessman, (c) a consumer, and (d) a factory worker in a big business take part.
12. Write a few lines in verse indicating your reaction to any famous American invention of the late nineteenth century.
13. Make a collection of pamphlets put out by big business corporations publicizing their work. In committee, select interesting materials from these for a bulletin board exhibit, adding the committee's comments.
14. On an outline map of the United States, locate the major railroad lines by 1900. Also indicate the areas having the heaviest concentration of railroads. Use atlases

in American history as your sources of information.

15. Write a short story or play that has (a) the battle for the Erie or (b) the life of a sharecropper as its theme.
16. Using an economics textbook as a source, write a report (a) showing that both big business and small business have their advantages or (b) describing efforts to combat depressions.
17. After a study of present-day newspaper

and magazine articles, write an article telling how this study throws light on the material in this chapter.

18. Using the comparison of the United States in 1860 and 1900, draw a before-and-after cartoon on some aspect of it.
19. Make a diagram showing what you would include in a museum exhibit on nineteenth-century science and industry. Get your ideas from this chapter, Chapter 13, and further reading.

## CHAPTER

# 19

### *The Frontier Slowly Fades Away As the 'Last West' Is Settled*

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#### **How the Settlement of the 'Last West' Was Speeded Up**

- Transcontinental Railroads, the Homestead Act, the Discovery of Gold, Silver, and Other Minerals, and the Removal of Indians Are Factors in Settling the 'Last West' • Changes in Government Policy Toward Indians • Some Problems of Today's Indians • Some Ways in Which Indians Have Helped Whites

#### **The Mining, Cattle, and Farm Frontiers of the 'Last West'**

- 'Fifty-niners' Go on a Gold Rush to Pike's Peak and on a Silver Rush to the Comstock Lode • Later Mineral Rushes Follow • What Mining Towns Were Like • Reasons for and Hardships on the 'Long Drive' • The Rise of, Conflicts in, and the Collapse of the Cattle Kingdom • Why Millions Migrated to the Farm Frontier, in Spite of Many Obstacles • Why Many Plains Farmers Quit • 'Eighty-niners' Go on a Land Rush to the Oklahoma Territory

#### **Summing Up the Significance of the Frontier**

- How Typically American Was the Frontier? • The Frontier Tends to Promote Nationalism and Democracy • Disappearance of the Frontier Stimulates Conservation and Overseas Expansion, and Troubles Farmers and Factory Workers • The 'Safety-Valve' Theory of the Frontier Evaluated • What Are America's Frontiers Today?
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Prairie dogs and jack rabbits scampering through the sagebrush; coyotes and wolves howling in the night; buffaloes and wild horses shaking the earth as they pounded across the plains; and, now and then, flocks of pigeons or swarms of grasshoppers darkening the skies—these were some of the

sights and sounds of America's "Last West." So were these: the war whoops of Comanches and Apaches, of Shoshones and Cheyennes, of Sioux and Crows; the thunder of steers stampeding; the sizzle of the cowboy's branding iron; the bark of the six-shooter; the boisterous noises of the saloon and the

dance hall, the hoofbeats of the horses of the sheriff and his posse on the hunt for the Sundance Kid or Kid Curry or some other outlaw. In short, the "Last West" was the Wild West, so popular a subject in song and story, in movies and on television.

## How the Settlement of the 'Last West' Was Speeded Up


The 'Last West' Is Not the Far West. In general, the "Last West" was sandwiched in between the tier of states just west of the Mississippi<sup>1</sup> and the tier of states along the Pacific coast. Much of this "Last West" was made up of vast plains, known as the *Great Plains*. The Black Hills of the Dakotas and the Rocky and Sierra Nevada Mountains were also part of the "Last West." The "Last West" did not include the states of California and Oregon in the Far West. California's gold and the fertile valleys of both California and Oregon had attracted frontiersmen and settlers before the War Between the States.

Why the 'Last West' Did Not Attract Settlers Earlier. To would-be settlers in the "Last West," it was as though all nature cried out, "Stay out!" In winter, bone-chilling blizzards swept across the plains. In summer, there was no escape on the treeless plains from the blistering heat. For years, long dry spells, lack of enough timber to build homes with, hailstorms, and prairie fires frightened off all but the hardiest. No wonder for three centuries people called this virtual wilderness the "Great American Desert!"

Until the 1860's, a hunter, trapper, fur trader, or gold seeker might travel across the plains for days before meeting another white man. The only white settlement of any size in the entire area was that of the about 25,000 Mormons in what is now Utah.

<sup>1</sup> The tier of states just west of the Mississippi was made up of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas. Neither these nor eastern Texas nor western Kansas were part of the "Last West." Nor was Utah, which had been settled by Mormons in the 1840's.

# MILLIONS OF ACRES



## IOWA-NEBRASKA LANDS

FOR SALE ON 10 YEARS CREDIT

AT 6 PER CT. INTEREST AND LOW PRICES

Only One-Seventh of Principal Due Annually beginning Four Years after purchase

**LAND EXPLORING TICKETS SOLD**

and Cash advanced in First Instalment paid on Land bought in 30 days from date of ticket

Advance of \$1000 pays for 1000 acres of land. The whole balance may be paid in 10 years.

All the above is at 6 PER CT. INTEREST AND LOW PRICES. The whole balance may be paid in 10 years.

ADDRESS: GEO. S. HARRIS, LAND COMMISSIONER, ST. LOUIS, MO.

or F. M. LEAVITT, Agent, Burlington, Iowa.

SEEK 200,000 Indians to Scatter themselves over the land of the West and the East.

*A Burlington and Missouri Railroad Company land circular of 1873. Keeping in mind the aims of the railroads and the dreams of many would-be Western settlers, how would you have worded this advertisement?*

About 200,000 Indians were scattered in the solitude of these great open spaces.

**The Wild West Is Tamed by 1890.** By 1890, the picture had changed remarkably. Indian resistance had been crushed. Many an outlaw had been placed in jail or hanged by order of judges and juries. The trains of five transcontinental railroads were racing through the gray sagebrush and the clusters of yellow sunflowers, where once the stagecoach and Conestoga covered wagon had run. And where once the buffalo had roamed stood farms and many towns. The many churches and schools also helped to prove that the former Wild West was no longer a wilderness. And most of this former wilderness had been carved up into states. All this

helps to explain why the Federal Government announced in 1890 that the United States no longer had a frontier (page 47).

**Transcontinental Railroads Encourage Would-be Settlers.** "Go west if you want to make a fortune!" . . . "Go west if you want to find a husband!" . . . "Go west where the healthful climate will restore your health, no matter what ails you!" Such were some of the advertising appeals made by railroads to attract settlers to the "Last West." Here and abroad, in the 1870's and 1880's, representatives of railroads promised prospective settlers free transportation and even homes temporarily rent-free. The railroads' campaign was inspired by their eagerness to sell their huge blocks of Government land grants at a good profit (page 394). They also realized that the more settlers in the West, the more passengers and freight they would gain.<sup>1</sup> And, of course, more would-be settlers went west as a result of the building of the transcontinental railroads. Now they could transport their families west faster and in far greater comfort than had been possible by covered wagon or stagecoach. Now, also, they felt secure in settling because they could depend upon the railroad to bring in the goods they needed and to carry their farm products to market.

**The Homestead Act and the Discovery of Gold and Silver Draw Easterners and Immigrants.** Perhaps almost as important as the railroad in speeding up the settlement of the "Last West" was the Homestead Act (page 395). One hundred and sixty acres of land granted practically free was a big attraction to some Eastern factory workers, to tens of thousands of American farmers, and to even more land-hungry European immigrants.

Also speeding up the settlement of the "Last West" was the discovery of gold and silver in the hills and mountains on the western fringe of the Great Plains. The dis-

covery that great portions of the Great Plains could be made fertile was no less important. Before long, settlers there, instead of just hoping for rain, were using man-made means of getting water (page 471). As we shall soon see, this water, plus new farming methods, plus farm machines were helping them to raise rich crops. Thus the old idea that the Great Plains was just a "Great American Desert" was proved false.

**The Removal of the Indians Speeds Up Settlement of the 'Last West.'** The "Last West" was the last hunting ground of the American Indian. During the 1870's and 1880's, many of the Indians who had not been shut up in reservations had been killed off. With more of the Indians out of the way, more of the white men were less fearful of settling. With more Indians pushed into the poor land of the reservations, more of the better land was available to white men.

## Some of the Heartaches Involved In Indian Problems and Policies

**The Attitude of Some Whites Toward Indians.** A band of Cheyenne Indians was encamped at Sand Creek, Colorado, under their chief, Black Kettle, in the fall of 1864. They had come to sign a peace treaty with the United States Army. Then, suddenly, one day at daybreak, a force of soldiers under the command of Colonel J. M. Chivington fell upon the Indian camp. Men, women, and children were tortured, massacred, and scalped.

This *Sand Creek massacre* was only one in a series of horror stories in the warfare between Indians and white men for control of the "Last West." In this warfare, Indians and white men alike committed atrocities.

Why were men like Chivington so savage in their treatment of the Indians? Many Westerners looked upon Indians as treacherous and cruel savages, as "game to be shot, or vermin to be destroyed." It is true that some Indians were savage murderers and robbers. Such Westerners came to the con-

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<sup>1</sup> Steamship lines, Western states, and real estate agencies were among the other parties carrying on advertising campaigns to attract settlers to the "Last West."

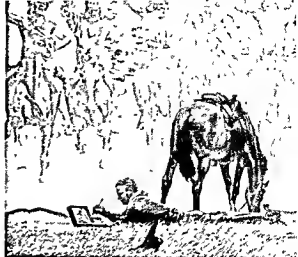
clusion, mistakenly, that all Indians were like that.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, they chose to ignore the fact that some white people were no better. In any case, many were convinced that only by removing the Indians could the "Last West" be settled and developed.

This hostile attitude of many whites helps to explain why many Indians went on the warpath and massacred many whites. Moreover, many Indians felt that the United States Government and white men in general had repeatedly cheated and double-crossed them. Why did they feel this way?

#### **Indians Resent the Loss of Their Lands.**

Until about 1850, the United States still considered the Great Plains a wasteland. Many Indian tribes living on valuable lands in the East had been removed west into the Great Plains (page 250). They had been promised that their new home in the West would be a permanent one. This policy antagonized the Plains Indians, who had been living on the Great Plains for centuries and did not want the competition of newcomers in their hunting grounds.

Then, in the 1850's, gold and silver were discovered on the western fringe of the Great Plains. People began dreaming of building transcontinental railroads across the Plains' vast expanses. A few began to think that this area, which most thought sterile, could be made fertile. Such possibilities for the Great Plains induced the United States Government to change its mind about keeping the entire Great Plains as one great permanent home for American Indians. Instead, it required various Indian chiefs to sign treaties agreeing that their tribes would live permanently on specific reservations assigned to them in the Great Plains. Indians, whose hunting grounds had formerly extended over hundreds of miles, bitterly resented being shut up on such reservations. Some branches of some tribes protested that according to



*An artist's conception of Frederic Remington, famous painter of Western scenes, at work. Investigate Remington's contribution to the writing of American history in pictures.*

Indian tradition, their chief had had no right to sign away their land. It was when the United States Government tried to enforce the Indian treaties that warfare broke out.

Even the specific reservation assigned to a given Indian tribe was seldom permanent. If it was learned that there were gold and silver mines or very fertile soil on some specific reservation, whites would often demand that the Government remove the tribe to a reservation farther west. When the Government did so, Indians denounced such treaty-breaking and often resisted violently.

**Indians Are Bitter at Certain Federal Agents, as Well as at Certain Traders.** Some of the Federal agents sent by the Government to look out for the Indians on reservations cheated them. Food, clothing, and other necessities had been promised the reservation Indians in the treaties signed by their chiefs. Some Federal agents furnished the Indians with no supplies at all, or with only the shoddiest of blankets and the rotteness of food. Some merchandise they sold illegally at exorbitant prices. Some such agents and some crooked traders illegally sold whiskey and guns to hungry and cold Indians when what they needed was food

<sup>1</sup> Actually, even today, the many Indian tribes living in various parts of the country differ from one another greatly in language and general way of life.

and clothing. It is not surprising that such Indians, desperate from hunger, inflamed with alcohol, and made overconfident by their new guns, often broke out from reservations and went on the warpath.

### **White Hunters Deprive the Plains Indian of His Main Source of Livelihood, the Buffalo.**

After the War Between the States, there was wholesale destruction of buffalo by white men on the Great Plains. This embittered the Plains Indian, to whom the buffalo was a matter of life or death.<sup>1</sup> From its flesh, he got his meat; from its hairy pelt, he made his blankets; from its hair, he braided cord and belts; from its horns, he made utensils and ornaments; and from its hide, he got leather to make clothing, the cover for his tepee and his canoe, harness for his horse, and strings for his bow. The buffalo was featured in Indian religious beliefs and as a symbol in Indian dances. Imagine the outrage of an Indian when he saw white men shooting buffalo for sport from the windows of railroad trains speeding across the Great Plains! Buffalo hunting became such a popular pastime that Europeans, as well as Easterners, went west to engage in it. Coyotes and vultures would feast on the thousands of buffalo carcasses left as the trains sped by. Some carcasses just rotted away in the hot sun. Many more thousands of buffalo were slaughtered by hunters hired by railroads to provide meat for railroad workers and to prevent stampeding buffalo herds from overturning trains.

One such hunter, "Buffalo Bill" Cody, earned his nickname by killing more than 4,000 buffalo in a year and a half. Buffalo robes became the fashion in the East. Thousands more buffalo were slaughtered to reap profits from this fashion. In the 1860's, there had been about fifteen million buffalo roaming the Great Plains. Yet by the 1880's, only

a few hundred were left of the great herds that used to darken the horizon.

**Colonel Custer Miscalculates.** Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Rain-in-the-Face—who would have expected these Indian chiefs and their braves to defeat in battle Colonel George A. Custer and his well-equipped troopers? It happened one June day in 1876, when the impetuous Custer led his cavalry in a reckless maneuver against Sitting Bull and his fellow chiefs. Up from the ravine near the Little Big Horn River, where they had been hidden from view, sprang hundreds of Indians on horseback. Around Custer and his small force they circled in overwhelming numbers, shooting away, while screaming bloodcurdling war whoops. Not one in Custer's band survived *Custer's Last Stand*.

**Some Reasons Why the Indians Ceased to Resist.** It took hundreds of bloody battles from about 1862 to about 1886 for the United States cavalry to crush the Indians and herd them into reservations. Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé Indians<sup>1</sup> gave this as his explanation for giving up the struggle against the white man:

I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are all killed. . . . The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away into the hills and have no blankets, no food. . . . My heart is sick and sad. . . . From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more, forever.

Actually, the Plains Indians didn't have a chance, thanks to the white man's whiskey, diseases caught from the white man, and the white man's destruction of buffalo. Furthermore, railroads kept pouring more and more white soldiers and settlers into the Great Plains.

**Some Whites Are Saddened by the Treatment of Indians.** "The Indians were the orig-

<sup>1</sup> Indian chiefs, such as King Philip (page 111) and Tecumseh (page 202), had earlier been embittered when whites killed off or frightened off the deer, bear, and other animals on which Indians farther east had in large part depended for food.

<sup>1</sup> The Nez Percé Indians were pushed off their lands in Idaho and Oregon by white prospectors seeking gold. The peace-loving Nez Percé were proud that for many years not a single member of their tribe had killed a white man, until they were so shabbily treated by prospectors.



*The surrender of Chief Joseph in 1877. Find out why the retreat of Chief Joseph and his Nez Percé tribe was one of the most heroic, yet tragic, events in American history.*

inal occupants of the land we now possess. They have been driven from place to place . . . In many instances, when they had settled down upon lands assigned to them by compact and begun to support themselves by their own labor, they were rudely jostled off and thrust into the wilderness again. Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part." Thus, in 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes condemned American policy toward Indians. Four years later, *A Century of Dishonor*, written by Helen Hunt Jackson, attacked the policy of the United States toward Indians as unjust, dishonest, and cruel. But there was no immediate improvement. Impatient and angry, Mrs. Jackson, in 1884, wrote a highly sentimental and emotional novel, called *Ramona*, on the sufferings of Indians at the hands of white men. Thousands throughout the nation were brought to tears on reading this tender and tragic tale.

**The Dawes Act Aims to Integrate Indians into the American Nation.** Statements like Hayes', books like Mrs. Jackson's, and reports of investigators aroused public opinion

All this helps to explain why the Government, in 1887, passed the *Dawes Act*, changing its policy toward Indians.

The main aim of the Dawes Act was to absorb the Indians into the American nation and have them live like white Americans. The act therefore encouraged the Indians to live not in tribes on reservations but as individual families off the reservations. Heads of Indian families were given 160 acres of reservation land to work as their own. However, Indians did not get full title, with the right to sell the land, or full rights of citizenship, until they had lived on the land for a twenty-five-year probationary period. This precaution was taken to prevent the Indians from being swindled out of their land. Some of the Indians who took advantage of the Dawes Act prospered on their land allotment and adopted the white man's ways. At least half of the Indian population, however, preferred to remain on the reservations, living a tribal life and depending upon the Government for their livelihood.

**Some Flaws in the Dawes Act.** The Dawes Act was far from a solution to the Indian problem. The long twenty-five-year proba-



whiskey while watching a man being hanged seems to us the coarsest kind of behavior. In the tough mining town of Virginia City, Nevada, such a spectacle took place one day. That night, many of those who had behaved in this fashion attended a travel lecture!

Virginia City had been founded in 1859 near the site of the Comstock Lode. Like many other mining towns that sprang up almost overnight, Virginia City was noisy and violent, yet thirsty for a little culture. Like Deadwood, South Dakota, and Tombstone, Arizona, among others, it was notorious for its wickedness. Some such towns had only one muddy street, lined with tents, shacks, saloons, dance halls, and gambling dens. Bowie knives, six-shooters, or brawny fists were often used to avenge insults or settle mining claims. Killers from the hills would race their horses into town, drug themselves with alcohol, and shoot up the town. Masked men, again and again, would

hold up stagecoaches or Wells Fargo express wagons carrying gold or silver from the mines. Why say more? Who hasn't seen or read about much of this part of our history in "Westerns"?

**Attempts to Bring Law, Order, Culture, and Luxury to the Mining Towns.** Not all in the mining towns were bad men and bad women ever ready to take advantage of the unwary. Many were decent people, who wanted to bring law and order to their towns. At first, as in California (page 340), they took the law into their own hands by creating vigilance committees. Later, some created official city governments with police departments<sup>1</sup> and fire departments. Soon Virginia City, for example, had streets lined with schools, churches, book shops, newspaper offices, fine homes, and hotels. Even then, however, there were schoolteachers and newspapermen who kept guns handy. Teachers kept them to prevent gun-toting pupils from breaking up lessons; editors, to prevent readers who felt insulted by their papers from shooting up their offices.

As the wealth of the Comstock Lode created millionaires, Virginia City competed with San Francisco for the title of cultural center of the West. At its opera house, managed by the famous David Belasco, opera singer Enrico Caruso and actress Maude Adams performed. Millionaires in silk top hats and their wives in Paris gowns rode in luxurious coaches to performances of Shakespearean plays.<sup>2</sup>

**What Happened to Many a Mining Town.** In time, most of these mining towns became ghost towns. People left some of them when

*The first "swell" arrival at Leadville, a Colorado mining town. What dreams do you think were in the mind of this "swell"? What do you think the miners would have thought of such dreams?*



<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a man held the post of sheriff or marshal while acting undercover as an outlaw or outlaw leader, as, for example, Sheriff Henry Plummer of Last Chance Gulch and other towns in Montana.

<sup>2</sup> One Colorado mining millionaire named H. A. W. Tabor built Denver an opera house costing millions. When it was finished, he asked who was the subject of a painting over the stage. On learning that it was Shakespeare, he asked: "What . . . did he ever do for Denver? Paint him out and paint me in instead!"

the gold and silver petered out. In others, gold and silver remained, but the ore was sunk so deep that it was too expensive to get out. Today, Virginia City, Tombstone, and Deadwood are mainly meccas for tourists. At Deadwood, for example, the curious want to see the tombstones of quick-on-the-draw Wild Bill Hickok, pistol-packing Calamity Jane, and frontier scout Deadwood Dick.

Recent researchers regret that the movies, television, and books tend to glamorize such characters as Hickok and Calamity Jane, and some of the so-called courageous Western marshals. They assert that actually Hickok was a lying professional gambler and murderer and Calamity Jane an immoral alcoholic.

**How the Mining Frontier Influenced America and the World.** Miners in the mining towns and the settlers who followed them soon clamored to have their areas admitted to the Union as states. Thus the gold and silver seekers paved the way for the creation of many Western states.<sup>1</sup> The minerals mined in the "Last West" helped to finance the North in the War Between the States. Need to transport minerals and money made from them spurred the building of the transcontinental railroads. Demands by miners for Government protection also spurred Government efforts to solve the Indian problem. Demands by miners that the Government take definite steps to keep the value of silver high deeply affected the politics of the nation (page 495).

The exciting and violent mining camps furnished rich material for novelists, poets, playwrights, musical composers, and producers of Wild West shows. Thousands of immigrants from other countries joined the gold and silver rushes to strike it rich. Some Europeans who stayed home but invested in Western mines got rich quickly. Some, like

some American investors, were fleeced by swindlers. In any event, many people around the world drew their most vivid impressions of America from what they heard or read about the mining camps of the Wild West.

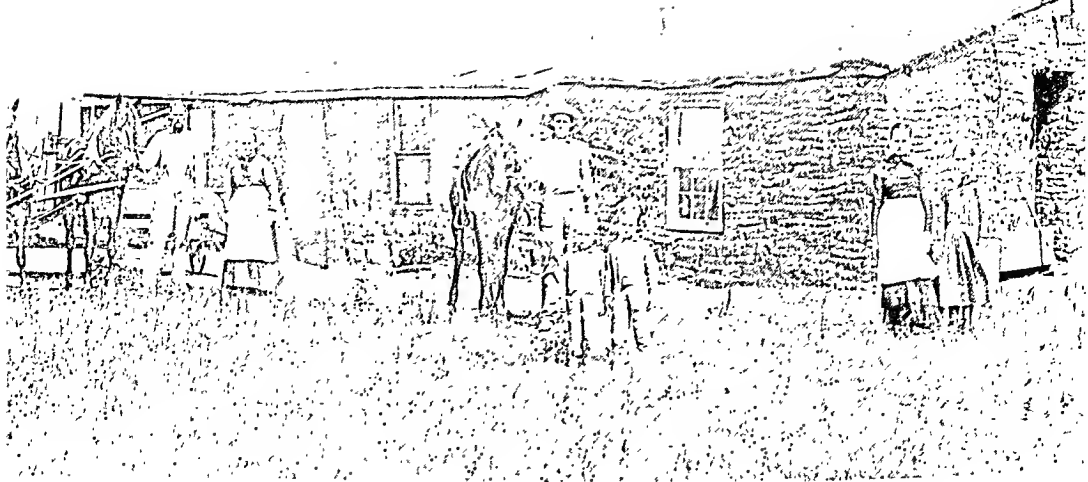
## **The Rise and Decline of the Great Plains Cattle Kingdom**

**Hardships on the 'Long Drive.'** Mounted on his horse, silhouetted against the big sky, he made a lonely figure on the Great Plains. Not far away he could see fellow cowboys, also mounted, also watching intently the sleeping herd of thousands of cattle. He rubbed tobacco juice into his sleepy eyes to keep them open. When some of the steers stirred restlessly in their sleep, he began singing softly to quiet them. Some of the tunes, and most of the words, he made up as he went along. Some of the tunes were hymns, but many of the words were far from sacred.

A few days earlier, these cowboys had left Texas, driving their herd northward toward Dodge City, Kansas. Ahead of them were at least two months of hard travel. For a thousand miles, through clouds of dust raised by the pounding herd, they heard little else but the monotonous moans and bellows of the cattle. Sometimes there were other sounds, too: the rattle of a dangerous snake; the crackle of a prairie fire caused by lightning; the thundering hoofs of stampeding cattle frightened by a thunderbolt, the shots and shouts of Indians or rustlers trying to steal cattle or horses.

Once in Dodge City, with the long, lonesome, tense trip over, the cowboys let loose. The railroad town of Dodge City, in these years after the War Between the States, was as wide open and as rough and tough as any mining town in the West. In gambling houses, saloons, and dance halls, the cowboys frittered away their poor pay, and sometimes lost their lives in gunplay. Let us now look at the reasons for the *Long Drive*, as their trip from Texas to Kansas was called.

<sup>1</sup> Nevada was admitted in 1864 and Colorado in 1876. Gold and silver seekers also played a part in the creation of other Western states (footnote, page 471).



*A sodhouse frontier family. A contemporary quoted a wife on the sodhouse frontier thus: "Sell for what you can get, John—give it away—leave it—only let's get out. . . ." For what reasons does America owe a great debt to those who stuck it out on the sodhouse frontier?*

ugly sodhouse on the lonesome prairie, lacking all but the barest necessities. Houses were built of sod because there was neither enough wood nor enough stone on the Great Plains. Lacking wood, and coal, too, the housewife had to use twisted hay, cornstalks, and corn cobs for fuel. Houses and dishes, as well as parents and children, often had to go dirty. For the few streams and waterholes almost never supplied enough water when it was most needed.

Hanging over this pioneer woman and her family was the possibility that hostile Indians might raid their little homestead, or that hostile cowboys might try to drive them off their land. No wonder many a woman of thirty looked more like a drab, wrinkled, worn-out woman of sixty on this *sodhouse frontier*!

**The Frontier Farmer Husband Had Terrible Heartaches, Too.** Many a sodhouse frontier farmer must have felt that all nature was involved in a devilish plot against him. The frigid winters often killed off his horses and cattle. The sod was so tough that plows had trouble turning it over. Wild winds would howl their way across the open plains, sweeping the newly plowed soil before them. Thus many a section of the Great Plains became one big "dust bowl." During the fre-

quent drought years, the pitiless sun would scorch crops to a brown stubble. And prairie fires would sometimes turn them into black ashes.

Sometimes, vast armies of grasshoppers would blacken the skies from the Rockies to the Missouri River, from Canada to the Arkansas River. They devoured crops. They ate curtains off windows. Piled high, they blocked roads and stopped trains.

**Obstacles Notwithstanding, Advertisements and Bigger Markets Lure Many to the Great Plains.** Many would-be farmers who migrated to the Great Plains did not realize what was in store for them. Railroad advertisements had described the Great Plains as a region of lush, well-watered meadow, of short and stimulating winters. In fact, in the late 1870's and early 1880's, there were unusually heavy rainfalls there. Furthermore, the market for corn and wheat at this time seemed to be growing steadily. Why?

Harvests had failed in Europe. Western Europe was unable to buy wheat from Russia because Russians were busy fighting Turks. The spreading Industrial Revolution had opened up millions of factory jobs in the cities of both America and Europe. This meant still more customers for farm products. These are some of the reasons why the

price of corn and wheat *did* go up, and why many plains farmers prospered by the middle 1880's

**Improved Living Conditions and Farm Techniques Attract Many to the Great Plains.** By this time, many farmers had replaced their sodhouses with framehouses, built with lumber brought in by the railroads. Towns had sprung up with churches, schools, paved instead of dirt streets, and cement instead of wooden sidewalks. By this time, too, many plains farmers had discovered ways of coping with nature's obstacles.

To get at water, which they needed so desperately, they patiently drilled wells as deep as 300 feet. They harnessed the powerful winds of the plains to drive windmills, which pumped the water to the surface, once the well was drilled. To conserve their precious water, they planted special varieties of wheat, corn, and other grains requiring little moisture. These were introduced by immigrants who had grown them successfully in Russia. Frontier farmers learned from Hungarians a new milling process that produced much better quality flour. They followed the example of the Mormons in Utah (page 278), who, through irrigation, had turned deserts into fertile fields. The Mormons themselves had learned about some such irrigation practices from the Indians of the Southwest.

The frontier farmers made use of improved steel plows to turn over their tough prairie sod more easily. They found the reaper, the thresher, and the newly invented twine binder (page 483) especially useful on the broad flat plains, where labor was scarce.

To frontier farmers, barbed wire, invented in 1873, was a blessing. As we know, wood and rocks for fences were scarce. Mud fences crumbled when it rained. Cattle were constantly overrunning the farmers' crops. But barbed-wire fences helped the farmers to win out over the cattle kings for control of the "Last West."

**Why Many Plains Farmers Quit and Went Back Home.** Many farmers could not afford to buy drills, windmills, and agricultural ma-

chinery, and could not compete with those who could. Many found the obstacles of nature too great, especially when a ten-year drought hit the Great Plains, beginning in 1887. At the same time that those with machinery were able to produce in great quantities, there were bumper crops in Canada, India, and Australia, too. Thus the markets were flooded, and farm prices dropped. But even then, it was obvious to some that the Great Plains, cultivated with modern methods and modern machinery, had a great future. Today, it is the world's leading corn and wheat belt.

**Many Lands Are Represented Among the Millions Who Migrate to the Farm Frontier.** Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, Irish, Scots, and Englishmen, Germans and Russians, and Americans from the Eastern seaboard—migrated by the millions to the Great Plains in the 1870's and 1880's. So many went west that in the twenty years after 1870, the Dakotas' population increased nearly forty times. These millions of farm frontiersmen—much more than miners and cattlemen—were responsible for taming the Wild West.<sup>1</sup>

**'Eighty-niners' Go on a Land Rush to the Oklahoma Territory.** The land hunger of would-be Western farmers was so great that many even settled in an area forbidden to them. Again and again, army troops drove them out of it. This forbidden fertile area, lying between Texas and Kansas, belonged to the Indians. It was called Oklahoma (Indian for "Beautiful Land").

Pressure finally forced President Harrison to issue a proclamation declaring a huge area of this Indian territory open to white settlers. On April 22, 1889, eager farmers by the thousands waited impatiently on the border line. A bugle blared. In rushed the

<sup>1</sup> By actually settling the "Last West" in the millions, these farmers were largely responsible for the admission of such new states into the Union as North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming, in 1890. Utah, which was settled much earlier by Mormons, was not admitted until 1896.

## The Frontier Slowly Fades As the 'Last West' Is Settled

1859

- Gold rush to Colorado's Pike's Peak area • Silver rush to Nevada's Comstock Lode

1860

- Pony Express

1861

- Gold discovered in Idaho
- First telegram from Pacific to Atlantic Coast • Colorado, Dakota, and Nevada organized as territories

1862

- Homestead Act

1863

- Idaho and Arizona organized as territories • Montana gold rush

1864

- Montana organized as a territory • Sand Creek massacre of Indians • Vigilantes suppress Plummer's gang

1866

- Long Drive begins

1867

- Oklahoma Indian reservation established

1868

- Wyoming organized as a territory

1869

- Women vote in Territory of Wyoming • First transcontinental railroad completed

1871

- Apache War begins in New Mexico and Arizona

1874

- Grasshoppers cause havoc on Great Plains • Barbed wire first used commercially

1875

- Gold rush to South Dakota's Black Hills • Second Sioux War starts

1876

- Custer's Last Stand

1877

- Nez Percé Indian War in Pacific Northwest • President Hayes condemns American policy toward Indians

1881

- Billy the Kid shot by sheriff
- *A Century of Dishonor* by Helen Hunt Jackson published
- Rich seams of copper discovered in Montana

1883

- Gold rush to Idaho begins

1885

- By this date buffalo practically exterminated

1886

- Warfare between Indians and whites practically ends

1887

- Dawes Act aims to remove Indians from reservations • By this date Long Drive practically over

1889

- Oklahoma opened up to settlers

1890

- Frontier declared at an end

excited *eighty-niners*—on trains, on horseback, in wagons, and on foot—to stake their claims. By sundown of the first day, Oklahoma had 50,000 white settlers, living in new-born cities of huts and tents. In 1907, this area was combined with other territory purchased from the Indians and admitted to the Union as the state of Oklahoma.<sup>1</sup> About this time, too, rich oil fields began to be developed there.

## Summing Up the Significance Of the American Frontier

**America Has Had Many Frontiers.** Of America's many frontiers, its earliest was the first settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. There, and on the fringes of the later colonies, pioneers struggled to turn the forest wilderness into civilized communities. By the outbreak of the American Revolution, the westward-moving frontier line had reached the heights of the Alleghenies. By 1850, settlers had pushed this line far enough west to create states along the west shore of the Mississippi. Because of the belief that the Great Plains were the "Great American Desert," pioneers bypassed this area and settled instead farther west in the fertile valleys of California and Oregon. It was only after the War Between the States that the frontier of the "Last West," the Great Plains, was settled. By 1890, no frontiers, in the sense of long stretches of continuous land, remained to be conquered (page 459).<sup>2</sup>

**How Typically American Was the Frontier?** Many other countries, such as Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa, Brazil, Argentina, and Russia, have had or still have frontiers. But no frontier has been tamed by as many people from as many lands as the frontier of the United States. In none

of these frontiers has the Government allowed the average man to obtain land so cheaply and to move about so freely as on the frontier of the United States.

Nevertheless, all frontiers have in some respects resembled our own. Just as the Indians were suppressed on the American frontier, so the original inhabitants were suppressed on other frontiers. Frontiersmen everywhere have, of necessity, tended to develop a spirit of self-reliance. Perhaps no one is considered more typically American than the American cowboy of the nineteenth century. Yet the Argentine cowboy (called a *gaucho*) was also a skillful horseman, a brave Indian fighter, a restless adventurer, and a hero in the literature of his country. The horse the American cowboy rode and the cattle he drove were descendants of animals brought to the New World by Spaniards<sup>1</sup> centuries earlier. Many words in the cowboy's vocabulary, such as "sombbrero," "bronco," "lasso," and "rodeo," were Spanish in origin. So was the entire open-range practice of raising cattle, with its roping and its roundup.

**How Important Was the Influence of the Frontier on American History?** On the subject of the influence of the frontier, a book could be written called the *Battle of the Books*. Books have been written asserting that the frontier was the most important influence in making the United States different from other countries. Other books have asserted that there have been many other equally or more important influences. The following section is a summary of what many historians today seem to believe about the influence of the frontier.

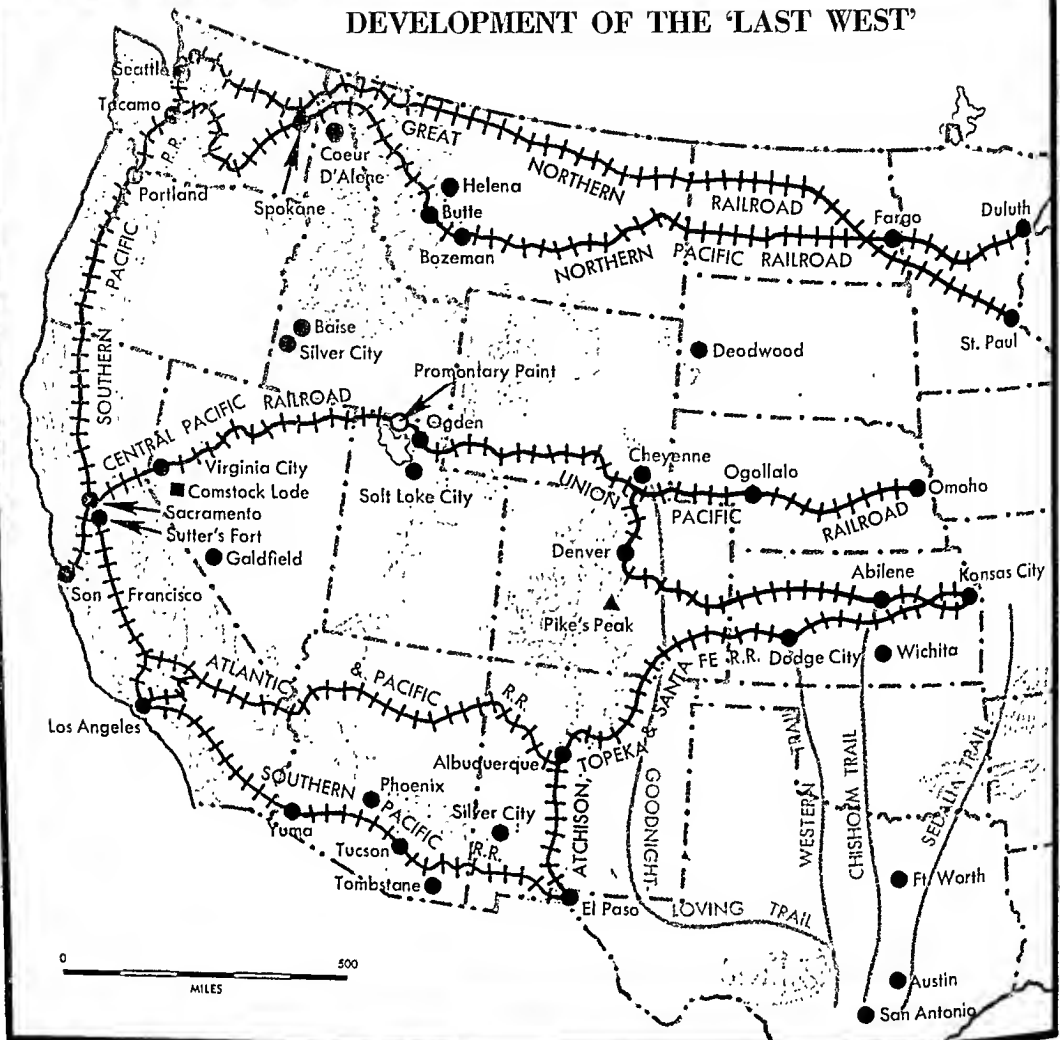
**The Frontier Was Not the Only Factor Promoting Democracy and Nationalism.** The national Government was too far away to have much direct control over frontiersmen. Nor were there any long-established local governments controlled by leaders long in

<sup>1</sup> Oklahoma was the forty-sixth state to enter the Union. After it came New Mexico and Arizona, in 1912, and Alaska and Hawaii, in 1959 (page 636).

<sup>2</sup> However, there were still many large patches of land in the West that were practically wilderness

<sup>1</sup> The Spaniards themselves had originally obtained horses from the Arabs during the Middle Ages.

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE 'LAST WEST'



power, as in many settled communities of the East. Therefore, frontiersmen had to create their own governments. In so doing, they acquired experience in democratic practices. On the frontier, people of different national origins and of different religions were in the habit of working together on such projects as building cabins. Often, in the process, they forgot their prejudices. It was only natural, then, for such people to extend their habit of co-operation to matters of government. Furthermore, since most frontiersmen had pretty much the same economic and social position, there was little room for snobbery (page 47).

So it is not surprising that the constitutions of Western states had many democratic pro-

visions. For example, beginning with the territory of Wyoming in 1869, many Western states granted women the right to vote. Western states also introduced procedures by which voters might directly propose, approve, or veto laws (pages 596, 597).

Yet many of America's democratic ideas came from England (page 45). And from the Eastern seaboard came the concepts of giving all male citizens the right to vote and of placing more power in the state legislature than in the governor. Many humanitarian reforms of the Jacksonian period, such as prison reform, developed in the settled East, not on the wild frontier. In the East, city factory workers increased steadily in numbers as the frontier moved westward. Their

votes were largely responsible for the establishment of free public schools, among other democratic reforms.

And, of course, frontiersmen were not entirely free from prejudice. Chinese, especially in the Far West, Mexicans, especially in the Southwest, and Indians on all frontiers were discriminated against.

Westerners tended to be nationalistic because the national Government had given them lands and protection. It had improved their transportation by building national roads and aiding transcontinental railroads. The need for unity against hostile Indians also explains why many frontiersmen favored a strong national Government.

However, settled areas promoted nationalism, too. Evidence of this was the strong spirit of nationalism among many Northerners who were determined to preserve the Union in the War Between the States.

**The Disappearance of the Frontier Stimulates Conservation and Overseas Expansion.** The disappearance of the frontier worried many Americans. Their eyes were at last opened to the fact that America's natural resources were not limitless. As a result, a movement to conserve natural resources developed (page 605).

The disappearance of the frontier was also a source of deep concern to certain economic groups. Many manufacturers wondered where they would find the raw materials and the customers to keep pace with their constantly expanding factories. Many bankers wondered where they would find places to invest their surplus capital. Such worries help to explain why, soon after the disappearance of the frontier, the Government began to acquire territory in distant lands. In so doing, the Government was abandoning its long-established policy of isolationism for one of overseas expansion.

**The Disappearance of the Frontier Troubles Farmers and Factory Workers.** Previously, when their land ceased to yield them a decent income, it had been possible for farmers to move on to better land on the frontier. But now, they usually had to

stay put. Deeply troubled, they formed organizations to demand that the Government do something to help out farmers (page 486).

Factory workers were worried, too. While there was a frontier, many immigrants settled there. Now, however, they settled in the crowded cities and competed with factory workers for jobs. Deeply troubled, the labor unions of the factory workers demanded that the Government cut down on the number of new immigrants.

**The Arguments, Pro and Con, Concerning the 'Safety-Valve' Theory of the Frontier.** The disappearance of the frontier worried some historians. They warned that it was bound to result in the spread of radical movements. They reasoned as follows: While there was a frontier, many factory workers who lost their jobs in periods of depression went west and bought frontier land fairly cheap. Thus the frontier acted as a kind of safety valve for the United States. But now that there was no frontier, such discontented workers would probably be easily swayed by radical propaganda.

But many of today's historians maintain that the *safety-valve theory* was greatly exaggerated. They reason as follows: It is true that some factory workers *did* go west. However, most of them went not in depressions when they were unemployed but in periods of prosperity. Most unemployed workers remained in Eastern cities—for a number of reasons. They knew almost nothing about farming. They couldn't afford to pay for transportation or to buy farm machinery or cattle. They couldn't even afford to pay for frontier land, much of which was held by speculators who demanded high prices. In the main, the people who *did* go west were either Eastern farmers whose lands had worn out or European immigrants. Of course, by thus keeping such people from settling in cities and competing for jobs with factory workers there, the frontier was, in effect, acting as a kind of safety valve.

**In What Sense Does America Still Have Frontiers?** In a sense, America still has many



frontiers. These are the many opportunities in manufacturing, trade, medicine, science, teaching, and countless other fields. Therefore, ambitious, self-reliant individuals, like those of frontier days, need not fall prey to radical propaganda. Recently, the idea that America will always have a frontier was expressed by the poet Archibald MacLeish in these words:

The American dream has been a dream of the west, of the world farther on. But now that the great journey across the ocean and the continent has come to the coast of the Pacific, there are those who say we have come to the end of the dream also. We must look backward now, they say, not forward; we must fear, not hope; we must hate, not love; we must conform, not imagine. It is a strange doctrine to hear

from Americans. No man can come to the Pacific coast of this continent, no man can watch the fog move in from that immeasurable ocean, and feel he has come to the end of anything. The land still faces westward and still dreams as the hills do here, the mist along their flanks, the sea before them. California, it is quite true, has filled up with people: her valleys are richly farmed, her cities are among the greatest in the world, her industries are fabulous. But even so the American journey has not ended. America is never accomplished, America is always still to build; for men, as long as they are truly men, will dream of man's fulfillment. West is a country in the mind and so eternal.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From "Sweet Land of Liberty." Published in *Collier's* magazine, July 8, 1955. Reprinted by permission of Archibald MacLeish.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 19

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Great Plains	Dawes Act	Wild Bill Hickok	the open range
Sand Creek massacre	Burke Act	Dodge City	sodhouse frontier
Buffalo Bill Cody	Wheeler-Howard Act	the Long Drive	eighty-niners
George A. Custer		Chisholm Trail	safety-valve theory of the frontier
Sitting Bull	"Pike's Peak or Bust!"	cowtowns	
Chief Joseph		cattle kings	
Helen Hunt Jackson	fifty-niners	Billy the Kid	
	Comstock Lode	nesters	

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. For what reasons was it natural for many to look upon the "Last West" as a "Great American Desert"?
2. Describe four influences that helped to attract settlers to the "Last West."
3. Discuss fully four reasons why many Indians were bitter at white men.
4. For what reasons did the United States Government not always live up to its treaties with Indians?
5. In a sense, the civilization of the Plains Indians had been buffalo-centered. Give examples to prove this.
6. What factors brought an end to the resistance of the Plains Indians?
7. Describe the attitudes toward Indians of (a) President Rutherford B. Hayes and (b) Helen Hunt Jackson.
8. With respect to the Dawes Act, tell (a) reasons for its passage, (b) its terms, and (c) some of its weaknesses.
9. Show specifically how the Government

tried to correct weaknesses in the Dawes Act.

10. Concerning Indians today, describe (a) some of their major problems and (b) some reasons for these problems
11. The United States Government has been trying to "get out of the Indian business." Explain this statement and its significance
12. For what contributions might all Americans say "Thank you" to American Indians?
13. What specific discoveries made America's "Last West" a mecca for miners in the last half of the nineteenth century?
14. For what reasons was a typical mining town in the "Last West" no place for the faint-hearted?
15. Give evidence that some mining towns, such as Virginia City, Nevada, developed a sense of civic pride.
16. Give proof that America's mining frontier left its stamp on history in many ways.
17. Connect with the Long Drive (a) the War Between the States, (b) railroads, (c) the firms of Armour, Swift, and Gudahy, (d) the Chisholm Trail, and (e) cowtowns.
18. Which groups were involved in the conflict in the cattle kingdom? Tell why in each case.
19. How did each of the following contribute to the collapse of the cattle kingdom: (a) its prosperity, (b) railroads, (c) meat-packing houses, and (d) nature?
20. Describe briefly five factors that made life hard on the sodhouse frontier.
21. Give reasons why, in the late nineteenth century, (a) many were attracted to the farm frontier and (b) many of these soon left it.
22. Give (a) the causes of, (b) some highlights of, and (c) results of the land rush to Oklahoma in 1889.
23. Give specific examples of America's shifting frontiers.
24. Point out ways in which our frontier

has been (a) similar to and (b) different from frontiers of other countries.

25. Show ways in which the frontier influenced the development of American (a) democracy and (b) nationalism.
26. Prove that the frontier was not the only influence promoting American democracy and nationalism.
27. For what reasons did the disappearance of the frontier promote (a) a conservation movement and overseas expansion and (b) worry farmers and factory workers?
28. Show specifically that opinions differ on the safety-valve theory.

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. The history of, and tales about, America's Wild West seem to fascinate people even in foreign lands. Give reasons why.
2. What do you consider was the greatest obstacle in taming the Wild West? Justify your choice.
3. Define "interdependent." Show to what extent the events and inventions that speeded up the settlement of the "Last West" were interdependent.
4. Give your reactions to (a) the Sand Creek massacre or (b) the belief of many that only by removing the Indians could the "Last West" be settled and developed.
5. What specifically do you think the Government might have done to prevent so many Indians from feeling so bitter toward white men? What arguments might have been raised against your suggestions?
6. Describe your reactions to the story of the shooting of buffalo.
7. Give your impressions of the quotations from (a) Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé Indians and (b) President Hayes.
8. A study of Indian legislation beginning with the Dawes Act indicates that the

Government has been in doubt as to just what policies are best. Prove.

9. Explain whether you agree or disagree with the statement that some of the problems of Indians were of their own making.
10. Even in the rough mining towns there was a hunger for law and culture. What factors might explain this?
11. For what reasons do you think such characters as Wild Bill Hickok, Calamity Jane, and Billy the Kid have been glamorized in movies and literature? For what reasons do we sometimes feel let down when researchers tell us they were not so admirable?
12. What do you think was the (a) most significant and (b) most dramatic influence of the mining frontier on America?
13. For what reasons does the story of the Long Drive stir the emotions of many?
14. Which group rouses your sympathy most: (a) cattle kings, (b) sheepherders, or (c) homestead farmers? Give reasons.
15. In a sense, those who stuck it out on the sodhouse frontier were waging a battle that helped to make America what it is today. Discuss fully.
16. Suppose that you had been in the Oklahoma land rush of April 22, 1889. What questions might have run through your mind as you waited for the bugle to blare?
17. In what ways has every family that migrated to America been a kind of frontier family?
18. What do you consider the most distinctive characteristic of the American frontier as compared with the frontiers of other countries? Justify your choice.
19. Suppose that the United States today had a vast land frontier such as it had before 1890. In what ways might our present history be affected?
20. Give your own examples to prove that, in a sense, America still has frontiers.
21. In the light of what you have learned about the frontier, for what reasons do

you think President John F. Kennedy felt that the name he selected for his program, the "New Frontier," would appeal to Americans?

22. From the selection by Archibald MacLeish select those phrases you consider most inspiring. Give reasons for each of your choices.

### ☆ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Write your own paragraph introducing Chapter 19. Use as many sources of information as possible, including movies, television, and outside reading.
2. On an outline map of the United States show (a) America's shifting frontiers, with dates and (b) locations important on the mining, cattle, and sodhouse frontiers of the "Last West."
3. As a member of a committee assigned to do research for a movie entitled *The Authentic Last West*, obtain information on (a) Indian life, (b) the mining frontier, (c) the cattle kingdom, and (d) the sodhouse frontier. Include in the committee report advice to the movie producer on food, clothing, housing, weapons, tools, environment, and customs in general.
4. In your Hall of Fame and Hall of Infamy include personalities from the "Last West." Give reasons for your choices in each case and cite your sources of information.
5. Report on one of the following: (a) Judge Roy Bean and his method of determining the law "vest of the Pecos," (b) Sheriff Henry Plummer and his gang of outlaws, or (c) the Texas Rangers.
6. Write a short poem on some significant or dramatic aspect of life described in this chapter.
7. Obtain the words of some cowboy songs that would be proper for singing to the

- class. Indicate what they tell about cowboy life.
8. In committee, investigate the ways of life of several tribes of Plains Indians. In the committee report, sum up (a) similarities and (b) differences among the Plains Indians.
  9. After research, outline highlights in the life of any one of the following, telling what you would commend and what you would condemn in his life. (a) Chief Joseph, (b) Geronimo, (c) Crazy Horse, or (d) Cochise.
  10. After investigating the complaints of Indians today, outline suggestions that you would make if you were a member of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.
  11. Make a human-interest map of the "Last West" highlighting historic landmarks that a tourist today might enjoy visiting. Consult, for example, the sections entitled "The Great Plains" and "The Farthest Frontier" in *The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places*. See also materials furnished by the American Automobile Association and various gasoline companies.
  12. Write an original "Western" in the form of a short story on (a) the mining frontier, (b) the cattle kingdom, or (c) the sodhouse frontier.
  13. After reading Frederick Jackson Turner's article "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," outline its highlights and tell why you think it created a sensation when it was published in 1893. Consult, for example, *A Documentary History of the United States*, edited by R. D. Heffner.
  14. In a museum or in illustrated books on the West, study paintings by (a) George Catlin, (b) Frederic Remington, or (c) Albert Bierstadt. Tell the class how your study has given you deeper insight into the West or stirred your emotions.
  15. For a committee-made mural entitled "Panorama of the Last West," submit sketches.
  16. After comparing the two conflicting interpretations of the frontier in *American Past*, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown, write your own interpretation.
  17. Write a group epitaph for the women of the sodhouse frontier.
  18. Write your reactions to any one of the following articles from the *American Heritage* series: (a) "Myths That Hide the American Indian" (October, 1958); (b) "How They Killed the Buffalo" (August, 1956); (c) "How the Frontier Shaped the American Character" (April, 1958); (d) "The Look of the Last Frontier" (June, 1961); (e) "The Prairie Schooner Got Them There" (February, 1962).

## CHAPTER

# 20

### *Farmers Protest That They Are Not Getting A Fair Share of America's Prosperity*

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#### **Commercial, Big-Business-Style Farming Creates Problems for Farmers**

• Farmers Protest High Interest, Railroad, and Storage Rates, High Tariffs, Trusts, Certain Tax Policies, and Falling Farm Prices • New and Improved Farm Machines, the Development of Scientific Agriculture, and Government Aid Are Especially Helpful to Commercial Farmers • Commercial Farmers Have Little Control Over Production and Price of Their Products • Farmers Are Plagued by the Currency Situation

#### **Farmers Organize and Become Active in Politics to Better Their Lot**

• The Grange Is Organized • Grangers Rejoice at the *Munn v. Illinois* Decision, Are Saddened by the *Wabash v. Illinois* Decision • Farmers Help Secure Passage of Federal Laws to Regulate Railroads and Monopolies • Grangers Form Co-operatives • The Greenback-Labor and Populist Parties Are Dominated by Farmers

#### **The Election of 1896 Is of Major Interest to Farmers**

• The Democratic Party Demands Unlimited Coinage of Silver • The 1896 Campaign Is a Bitter One • The High Tariff, Big Business Combinations, and the Gold Standard Win as Republican McKinley Is Elected President • The Democratic and Republican Parties in Time Become More Aware of Demands of Farmers and Wage Earners

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#### **Some Reasons Behind The Protest of Farmers**

Let's "raise less corn and more hell!" This is just a sample of the angry advice of Mary Ellen Lease, a spokesman for protesting farmers in the late nineteenth century. Many other agitators for the farmers' cause after

the War Between the States often used similarly violent language.

**Farmers Protest High Interest Rates.** Judging by the speeches such agitators made, here is the spirit and substance of their arguments:

The farmers of this country are the victims of villains who, like leeches, are sucking the

lifeblood out of our bodies. One such villain is the loan shark of the East, whose agents flood the West. Out of farmers desperate for money to buy livestock, machinery, or land, he squeezes interest rates of twenty per cent or higher. This means that millions of Western and Southern farmers are slaving from sunup to sundown for Eastern loan companies. It means that many farmers are losing their heavily mortgaged farms to the loan companies when they cannot keep up these high interest payments. It means that more and more farmers, losing their farms, become tenant farmers or sharecroppers.

Loan sharks claim that they have to charge farmers higher rates than manufacturers or merchants because farming is a riskier occupation. It's true that some farmers are in such a hurry to make money that they recklessly borrow too much money in order to buy too much land. But why doesn't the Government see to it that interest rates for farmers are fair?

At this rate, such agitators would conclude, the West—and the South, too—will soon become the private property of the East. For soon our farms will be owned by Eastern corporations, just as many of our mines and cattle ranches are now. Since Eastern corporations also own most of the nation's factories, it won't be long before the whole country will be theirs.

**Farmers Protest Trusts and High Tariffs.** The agitators went on, in effect:

The huge trusts that monopolize so many of the nation's industries also are like leeches living off the farmer. With little or no competition, they charge him excessive prices when he wants to buy farm machinery, fertilizer, or furniture. If the Government would only lower the tariff, such trusts might be forced to lower prices in the face of competition from European companies. But we farmers don't expect much help from the Government, since both political parties seem to favor the trusts and high tariffs.<sup>1</sup>

**Farmers Protest Tax Policies.** Such farmers' spokesmen would criticize tax policies somewhat like this:

The stocks and bonds of the trusts—and of corporations in general—can be hidden in bank vaults. But farmers can't hide their land, cows, and farm machinery, even if they want to. It's easier for the tax assessor, therefore, to estimate how much tax the farmer should pay on his property. No wonder many a wealthy stockholder pays a lower tax than many a poor farmer!

**Farmers Protest High Railroad and Storage Rates.** And here is the gist of what such agitators had to say about railroads:

At first, we rejoiced when we saw the railroads opening up the West. But now the rates they charge for our freight are so high that we can't make a profit. Why should farmers be charged such high rates when big corporations get low rates and rebates?<sup>2</sup> High, too, are the rates they charge us for storing our grain in their grain elevators. It's difficult to get a better deal from the railroads, which protect themselves by bribing certain state legislators and giving free passes to congressmen.

**Farmers Are Alarmed at Falling Farm Prices.** Then the spokesmen for the protesting farmers would conclude in words like these.

All this causes farmers' costs to climb higher and higher. But prices for farm products keep dropping lower and lower. We got \$1.45 for a bushel of wheat in 1866, now, in 1894, we're getting only forty-nine cents. In fact, in many a year since 1865, what we got for our crops was less than it cost us to raise them. How can farmers make a profit when the price of corn falls to fifteen cents a bushel? Is it surprising that so many are using their corn for fuel instead of buying coal?

<sup>1</sup> Freight rates in general dropped somewhat after the War Between the States. But they were much higher in the agricultural South, and especially in the agricultural West, than in the industrial East. The railroads explained that this was necessary because agricultural traffic was seasonal and therefore not as dependable as traffic in manufactures.

<sup>2</sup> There were, however, many farmers who were not aware of whether the tariff was good or bad for them.

**Changing Agricultural Conditions Are Mainly to Blame for Farmers' Problems.** Although such agitators often used strong language, the farmers' grievances were far from imaginary. However, before the War Between the States, farmers had not complained of low farm prices or of being the victims of villains who forced their costs up. Actually, the farmers' problems were more the result of changing agricultural conditions than they were of the actions of any particular "villains." Let us study these conditions to see why there was a change in the farmers' attitude.

## **The New Agricultural Revolution Introduces Big-Business-Style Farming**

**The Average Farm Before 1860 Is Fairly Simple and Self-Sufficient.** Prior to the War Between the States, the average farmer enjoyed a fair degree of independence. He raised a variety of crops, most of which his own family consumed. If he had a small surplus, he might barter it for something a neighbor produced. Thus it didn't matter much to him whether prices went up or down. Without much of a surplus to send to distant markets, he did not face the problem of high railroad rates, as later farmers did.

The average farmer used such simple hand tools as a hoe, a sickle, and a scythe. He was, therefore, not dependent—as later farmers often were—upon trusts that charged high prices for farm machinery. Since he seldom bought farm machinery or much acreage, he seldom borrowed money. Thus he was not at the mercy of moneylenders, as many later farmers were. The average farm was like a little factory, in which, as we know, the family manufactured by hand its own clothing, tools, and other necessities. And so the average farmer did not have to pay the high prices charged by big factories protected by tariffs.

**The Shift to Commercial, Big-Business-Style Farming Begins.** By the end of the war, most farmers were fast becoming far less in-

dependent. Why? Self-sufficient, small-scale farming may have made a farmer independent, but it never made him rich. Beginning in the 1850's, and especially during the war, many farmers saw a way they could reap substantial profits. So heavy was the demand for farm products at home and abroad that farm prices were soaring. To capitalize on this situation, many farmers began to specialize in raising huge quantities of one crop, such as wheat or corn.

To step up production, these farmers borrowed large sums for more land and farm machinery. (Farm machinery could be more effectively used when farmers specialized in one crop.) Thus many farmers became dependent upon lending agencies. Now that many formerly self-sufficient farmers had become commercial farmers, they were also dependent upon railroads, trusts, and tariff-protected factories, and, for markets, upon the world, as well as the nation.

This shift from simple, self-sufficient farming to commercial, big-business-style farming was part of a *New Agricultural Revolution*. This revolution spread after the war as more and more land was opened up in the West. Also part of the New Agricultural Revolution was the invention, and improvement, of many farm machines. So, too, was the increased use of science in agriculture. Of course, not all farmers, even today, have shifted to commercial, big-business-style farming. Many owners of small farms continue to farm much as their ancestors did.

**The New and Improved Farm Machines Are Especially Helpful to Commercial Farmers.** Sometimes months passed before gangs of farm laborers on one section of a farm saw the laborers on another section. This is how big some farms in the Middle West and Far West had grown after the War Between the States. On one 70,000-acre farm in North Dakota, hundreds of reapers were in use. Why had such farms become like huge factories in the field?

The Industrial Revolution in Europe and America had caused a migration of millions of farm workers to factories in cities. This

meant millions of new customers for farmers who remained on farms. Enterprising farmers met this big demand by taking advantage of the millions of acres of cheap land thrown open by the Government. But without the scores of farm machines improved or invented at this time, the huge farm factones would have been impossible.

**Inventors of the New Agricultural Revolution Build Upon Foundations Laid by Inventors of the Old.** During the Old Agricultural Revolution (page 305), a steel plow had been invented and improved. During the New Agricultural Revolution, it became a gang plow with many blades. In 1849, fifteen years after McCormick invented the reaper, a device was perfected by means of which the cut grain could be packaged into a bundle. Next was invented a device by which the bundled grain could be automatically bound by wire as it was cut. Then, in the 1870's, John Appleby invented the more satisfactory automatic twine binder. Soon a steam threshing machine was perfected. In the 1880's, the reaper and thresher were combined into a machine called the *combine*. The combine not only reaped and threshed but cleaned and bagged the grain in a single continuous operation. It could do about as much work as 100 farmers had done in Washington's time.

**Inventions of the New Agricultural Revolution Multiply in the Twentieth Century.** As the years rolled on, more agricultural machines rolled out of the factories. Among them were machines for spreading manure, for planting, husking, and shelling corn, for milking cows, and for incubating chickens. Indeed, just as there is no end to the Industrial Revolution, so there is no end to the Agricultural Revolution.

In the twentieth century especially, horse-drawn and steam-powered farm machines have given way to those driven by diesel engines and gasoline motors. Many farms today are not only mechanized but completely electrified. Even airplanes are sometimes used for planting seeds and spraying poisons to stamp out insect plagues. Modern

means of refrigeration make it possible for farmers to ship perishable products all over the world. Refrigeration also gave birth to the packaged frozen foods industry, which has revolutionized eating habits.

**Ingenious Experimenters Are Especially Helpful to Commercial Farmers.** The work of Edmund Ruffin (page 306) in improving the soil was of great value to the experimenters of the New Agricultural Revolution. One outstanding experimenter, Luther Burbank, began, in the late nineteenth century, to create new varieties of fruits, berries, vegetables, and flowers. His spineless cacti provided food for cattle in dry areas. George Washington Carver of Tuskegee Institute, born of slave parents, played a major role in

*George Washington Carver grafting in one of his experiments. This picture is worth a thousand words. For what reasons?*





bringing about great changes in Southern agriculture. Out of the peanut, the sweet potato, the soy bean, and cotton waste, he created hundreds of products: medicines and molasses, face creams and shaving lotions, dyes and plastics. As a result of his experiments, many Southerners shifted from raising one crop to raising many—and prospered thereby.

**Government Aid Is Especially Helpful to Commercial Farmers.** The year 1862 was a banner year in the history of the farmer in America. In that year, the Federal Government passed the Homestead Act and the Morrill Land Grant Act (page 395). In that year, too, it created a Department of Agriculture,<sup>1</sup> which gave advice to farmers on the best methods of farming.

In the years that followed, the Federal Government, through irrigation projects, helped to make useful millions of acres of formerly useless land. It also helped to make much used land more useful through flood control and by establishing agricultural experiment stations in every state. Such stations study local agricultural problems. They test methods of fighting crop and animal diseases and insect plagues typical of the area. Sometimes, as a result of experimentation, they introduce better breeds of cattle and new crops.

Valuable partners of the Federal Department of Agriculture are the various state departments of agriculture. The border patrols of such departments try to prevent diseased cattle and plants from getting into their states.

**Commercial Farmers, Unlike Big-Business Manufacturers, Have Little Control Over the Production and Price of Their Products.** Suppose the price of a certain manufactured article drops. The manufacturer may cut down on his production and lay off some of his employees. If he has a surplus, and the style of his product doesn't change very

much, he may store it until prices go up. To keep prices up, he may make agreements, or even join in combinations, with competitors. Such manufacturers may also seek to keep prices up by urging the Government to pass tariffs high enough to keep competing foreign manufacturers from underselling them in the United States.

Often nature has much more to say than a farmer about how big his crop will be. Droughts, floods, tornadoes, sudden frosts, insect plagues, plant diseases—any or all may affect his production. If he has already planted his crop, there is little he can do to cut down on production, no matter how much the price of his product falls. It is much harder for a farmer than for most manufacturers to store a surplus for a long time, since most farm products are perishable. Farmers are usually independent persons who often resist joining with other farmers to keep prices up.

Since so many countries produce a surplus of cotton, corn, and wheat for export, the price of such staple crops is fixed in world markets. Since American commercial farmers also produce a surplus of such crops for sale in foreign markets, a tariff on farm products would not help the farmer. Thus, unlike most manufacturers, the commercial farmer must buy his goods in a protected, high-priced home market, where there is little competition. Yet he must sell his crops in an unprotected, low-priced world market, where there is much competition. In the twentieth century, as we shall see, the United States Government has passed certain farm legislation to help the farmer cope with this situation (pages 736, 757).

**Farmers, Often Debt-ridden, Suffer Greatly from the Currency Situation in the Late Nineteenth Century.** Many debt-ridden farmers, as we know, had no love for loan companies or banks. A study of credit and currency will throw more light on the reasons why.

*Dear Money and Cheap Money as They Affect Creditors and Debtors.* If credit is difficult to get, and there is a small amount of currency in circulation, money tends to

<sup>1</sup> By 1859, the farm problem was considered so important that the secretary of agriculture became a member of the President's Cabinet.

become more valuable.<sup>1</sup> If money becomes more valuable, each dollar can usually buy more goods than before. This is because the price of goods drops as money becomes more valuable. When money is scarce and valuable, bankers and loan companies charge higher interest rates for lending it. If prices continue to fall between the time a loan is made and the time it is repaid, the banker and loan companies are once more the gainers. For the dollar paid back to them is worth more in purchasing power than the dollar they lent out. In short, money has become dearer (page 110). Such a situation, when money is dear and prices are low, is called *deflation*.

Not only bankers but all creditors, including bondholders, generally benefit from deflation. Like all generalizations, this one has its exceptions. For example, in a long-drawn-out depression, when prices drop to the bottom and businesses fail, banks and creditors in general suffer, too.

Debtors in general and farmers often in debt—as many of them were after the War Between the States—prefer a dollar that is worth less in purchasing power than the dollar they borrowed. In short, they prefer cheap money. For farmers, cheap money means higher prices for their crops. It makes it easier for them to pay back their debts. Such a situation, when money is cheap and prices are high, is called *inflation*.

But general inflation means that the prices of nonfarm goods go up, too. A farmer would prefer a type of inflation whereby the prices of farm products move up at a faster rate than those of nonfarm products. Of course, an ideal situation would be one in which prices remain fairly constant, so that neither creditor nor debtor suffers.

Now let us look at the actual currency situation as it affected the farmer after the War Between the States.

**The Currency Situation Forces the Farmer to Produce More, Thus Aggravating His Situation.** A great increase in the volume of business occurred after the war. To take care of this great increase in business activity, there should have been a comparable increase in the amount of money in circulation. Yet, at the time the volume of business was increasing greatly, the volume of money in circulation was increasing slowly in some years and actually decreasing in others. This scarcity of money at a time when there was such a demand for it caused the value of money to rise.

For the debt-burdened farmer, this situation was especially tragic. Suppose that he had borrowed \$10,000 to buy machinery or more land at a time when a bushel of wheat was selling for \$1. Suppose that when he had to pay this debt, wheat had dropped to fifty cents a bushel. Now it would take 20,000 bushels of wheat, instead of 10,000, to pay his debt. The farmer was forced to increase his production still more, in hopes of making enough money to pay the debt. Increasing his production, aided by the new farm machines and scientific agriculture, only led to still lower prices. Also forcing prices down in the 1870's, '80's, and '90's was strong competition from the rich wheat fields of Argentina, Australia, Canada, and Russia.

The hard-hit American farmers placed the most blame for their troubles on bankers and bondholders. They accused them of forming a conspiracy to keep the amount of currency in circulation small. Many farmers felt that they just couldn't win. Many farmers felt that they could never escape from the vicious circle of low prices for what they sold, high prices for what they bought, and ever-mounting debts. Many gave up the struggle to raise crops on their heavily mortgaged farms and became tenants of other farmers. By 1900, about one out of every three farmers in the entire United States was a tenant or sharecropper.

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<sup>1</sup> Of course, other factors are involved as well. For example, if a small amount of goods is being produced at a given time, prices will tend to go up, and money will therefore become less valuable. Whether prices go up or down, therefore, usually depends in part on which force is stronger: the force making for a small amount of currency or the force making for a small amount of goods.

But many farmers did not give up the struggle. They felt that they *could* win, and that the way to win was to organize.

## Farmers Organize to Increase Their Political Influence and Improve Their Economic Position

**The Grange Is Formed as a Social Organization for Farmers.** What sad, lonely lives of drudgery and desperation many farmers lived! How they clung to old-fashioned ways of doing things! How pitifully poor so many of them are! Wouldn't it be wonderful if something could be done to make their lives more exciting and in tune with the times! Such thoughts kept running through the mind of Oliver H. Kelley, a clerk in the United States Bureau of Agriculture. To help farmers, Kel-

*A hard-working farmer's wife on the Great Plains. The photographer has captured here an heroic slice of Americana. Explain.*



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Picnics, parties, and rallies helped to make the lives of the Grangers exciting. To acquaint members with new knowledge and ways of doing things, the Grangers founded schools and libraries, and invited lecturers to speak on scientific agriculture. The Grange was one of the first organizations in America to admit women on a par with men. This was a tribute to the heroic work of women on America's farms. How welcome a break in her monotonous life (page 469) a Grange meeting must have been to many a farmer's wife!

Kelley had not intended the Grange to be a political organization. But it soon became one. As Grangers met, it was only natural for them to talk over their grievances. Before long, they came to the conclusion that the most effective way to improve their economic position was to assume an active role in politics. This they proceeded to do.

**Most Grangers Agree with Jefferson's Views on the Farmer.** Thomas Jefferson, in 1785, had written that farmers

are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds.

Grangers agreed. They regretted that the America of the late nineteenth century was no longer the nation of farmers it had been when Jefferson lived. In the late eighteenth century, about ninety per cent of the people had been farmers or farm workers. By the late nineteenth century, fewer than forty per cent were.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1950, just under seventeen per cent were farmers or farm workers. By 1963, the percentage had dropped to less than eight per cent. Using farm machinery and scientific methods, a smaller and smaller percentage of farmers were producing much larger and larger quantities of food.

In Jefferson's time, and for many years after, most Presidents—and most other people in politics—had been farmers. But after the War Between the States, fewer and fewer farmers held office in the Congress or in state governments. Like Jefferson, many Grangers believed that in a nation of farmers, there would be very few very poor and very few very rich. They hated to see Eastern bankers, merchants, and manufacturers growing rich, while farmers, especially in the South and West, grew poorer.

**State Laws to Regulate Railroads Prove Weak.** Growing Grange membership<sup>1</sup> gave the Grangers great influence in state politics and over state legislation in the early 1870's. To help farmers, several Midwestern states passed laws fixing maximum railroad and grain storage rates. These laws, called *Granger Laws*, angered the railroads. To get them repealed, some railroads bribed some officials and refused to run some trains. They condemned the laws as violating the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. According to a clause in this amendment, a state may not deprive a person of property "without due process of law." The railroads argued that according to law, a corporation was a person;<sup>2</sup> that fixing railroad rates was depriving a person of property, and that a legislative act fixing rates, unlike a court decision, was not "due process of law." In almost every case, the railroads won out and, by the late 1870's, most Granger Laws were repealed.

**Grangers Rejoice at the *Munn v. Illinois* Decision.** In 1876, however, the farmers won an important decision in the Supreme Court. In the case of *Munn v. Illinois*, the Court upheld the right of the state of Illinois to fix maximum rates for grain storage. Here is

how the Court denied the due-process-of-law argument of the railroads: Certain businesses, such as grain warehouses and railroads are public in nature, that is, they affect large sections of the community. "When, therefore," the decision stated, "one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good." For this reason, the Court ruled that the state had the right to pass laws regulating rates.

The *Munn* decision was a blow to those who believed that the Government had no business interfering in business. Such believers in *laissez faire* had long included individualistic farmers. But now, to improve their economic position, farmers had become leaders in the movement away from *laissez faire*.

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Since almost all railroads ran across state lines, the decision made it virtually impossible for states to regulate railroad rates.

**The *Wobash* Decision Leads to a National Law for the Regulation of Railroads.** If the states can't regulate railroads, let Congress do it! cried indignant farmers across the nation. This cry embarrassed most congressmen, since most congressmen believed in *laissez faire*. But they did not want to antagonize farmers and their Grange organizations.

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In an attempt to solve its dilemma, the Congress passed a law, in 1887, called the *Interstate Commerce Act*. Forbidden by this law were: the retention of high rates through pooling agreements among railroads; rebates to big shippers; higher rates for a short haul than for a long haul over the same line in the same direction; and special rates favoring any persons or places. Rates for freight and passengers had to be posted by the railroads, and they could not be changed without ten days' notice.

*An Important Flaw in the Interstate Commerce Act.* The agency set up by the law to carry out its provisions, the *Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC)*, had no power to fix rates. Its power was limited to investigating complaints and issuing orders to railroads to obey the law. If the railroads disobeyed, the ICC could take them to court. In the courts, and by repeated appeals to higher courts, railroads were often able to delay decisions for years. When a decision was given, it usually favored the railroad. And some railroads, in spite of the law, went on granting rebates and forming agreements to fix rates.

*In Spite of Its Flaw, the Interstate Commerce Act Is a Significant 'First.'* The Interstate Commerce Act was the first big effort on the part of the Federal Government to regulate a big business in the public's interest. Thus it was the first important blow struck by the Federal Government at the principle of complete *laissez faire*. It was the first of many laws to follow that gave more and more power to the ICC. The ICC was the first of many Federal regulatory commissions that were to be created later. Such commissions, modeled on the ICC, were to supervise and regulate such forms of big business as the airlines, the stock exchange, and the radio and television industries.

*State Laws to Regulate Monopolies Disappoint Their Supporters.* Laws against monopolies had been passed by many states by 1890, especially by the farming states of the South and West. What explains their passage?

*Some Reasons Why Such Antitrust Laws Were Passed.* The farmers' bitterness against monopolies was, of course, just one of the reasons for the passage of such *antitrust laws*. These were some others: the anger of small businessmen against the unfair tactics of some big monopolies; the protests of consumers against price-fixing by some monopolies; the complaints of wage earners against the hostile attitude and practices of some monopolies toward labor; the exposure of certain abuses practiced by some monopolies, through Congressional and state investigations, newspapers, and books; the attacks on monopolies by newly organized third parties (pages 491, 494); and the criticisms made by supporters of low tariffs, who blamed high tariffs for the growth of monopolies.

There were also those who felt that anti-trust legislation was necessary if the American Dream was to be realized. Monopolies were becoming so big, they charged, that soon they would become more powerful than the Government itself. Monopolies, they were convinced, were enemies of what America had stood for from the start. Here, under a system of free enterprise, a poor boy who worked hard might become rich. But, they asked, if big business became bigger than the Government and controlled all economic life, how would this be possible?

*Some Reasons Why Antitrust Laws Disappointed Their Supporters.* To many persons, the state laws to regulate monopolies proved a bitter disappointment. As in the case of the Granger Laws, the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was a stumbling block to their enforcement. Trusts argued, usually successfully, that state regulation of monopolies interfered with a corporation's liberty or property without due process of law. They also argued successfully that their business was interstate and that only the Congress, according to the Constitution, could regulate interstate commerce. As a matter of fact, trusts would sometimes incorporate their business in one state where the laws were lenient, even though the cor-

peration might do more business in other states, or in all the states. All this made it apparent that the problem of regulating monopolies was a national one, and could not be handled effectively by any one state.

**A National Law to Regulate Monopolies Disappoints Its Supporters.** If the states can't regulate trusts, let the Congress do it! cried indignant farmers and other opponents of monopolies. The Congress was soon to try.

**The Substance of the Sherman Antitrust Act.** The Congress, using its power to control interstate commerce, passed the *Sherman Antitrust Act* in 1890. The act declared illegal "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations."

**Why the Sherman Act Disappointed Its Supporters.** The Sherman Antitrust Act was

named after a senator who had almost nothing to do with the ideas expressed in it; voted for by many lawmakers who didn't believe in it, practically ignored by Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley; and worded in such a way that it could be easily evaded.<sup>1</sup> The words "trust," "monopoly," and "conspiracy" were not defined therein.

Many congressmen believed that the country would benefit not by regulation of trusts but by following a *laissez-faire* policy. They felt that big combinations had far more virtues than faults. But they also felt that it was in the best interests of career and party to pass some kind of antitrust legislation.

<sup>1</sup> Frequently, it was evaded by setting up holding companies (page 438) to replace the trusts. Even when a corporation was pronounced guilty, which was seldom, the fine was so small as to mean little to a trust.

*A caricature of monopoly from Puck, May 7, 1890. The cartoonist here expressed the attitude of many farmers of the period. In a countercartoon or in words, how might those attacked have answered?*





*The Sherman Antitrust Act Fails to Prevent Trusts from Growing.* In the late 1890's, the Sherman Antitrust Act was used more against labor unions and small businessmen's organizations than against business monopolies. The first President to take any serious steps to enforce it against business monopolies was President Theodore Roosevelt, in 1902 (page 603). In fact, trusts grew bigger and bigger in the ten years following passage of the act, and many big new trusts were formed. Nevertheless, the Sherman Antitrust Act, like the Interstate Commerce Act, was evidence that the Federal Government was beginning to move slowly away from its *laissez-faire* policy.

Early in the twentieth century, Government officials began to distinguish between "good" and "bad" trusts. And, as we shall see, laws were passed to compel "bad" trusts to rid themselves of evil practices (page 616).

**The Grangers Try to Improve Their Economic Position by Eliminating Middlemen.** Why don't we buy our farm machines directly from the factory at wholesale prices? Why do we buy them from local dealers at retail prices, which are far higher, and thus give these middlemen a big profit? These were questions Grange members wanted answered.

*Some Purposes and Problems of Grange Co-operatives.* Many Grange locals answered such questions by buying farm machines in wholesale lots directly from the factory. Besides these buying *co-operatives*, Grangers also established *co-operatives* for marketing their products, for storing them, and for packing them. Grangers even formed *co-operative* factories to manufacture farm machinery.

Most Grange *co-operatives* failed. Without experienced managers or much capital, the factories, especially, could not stand up against the fierce competition of the big companies.

**Summing Up the Significance of the Granger Movement.** Grange membership began to decline in the late 1870's. The failure of so many farm *co-operatives* was

one reason. The brief revival of better times for farmers about this time was another. But the Grangers did perform and are still performing important services for farmers.

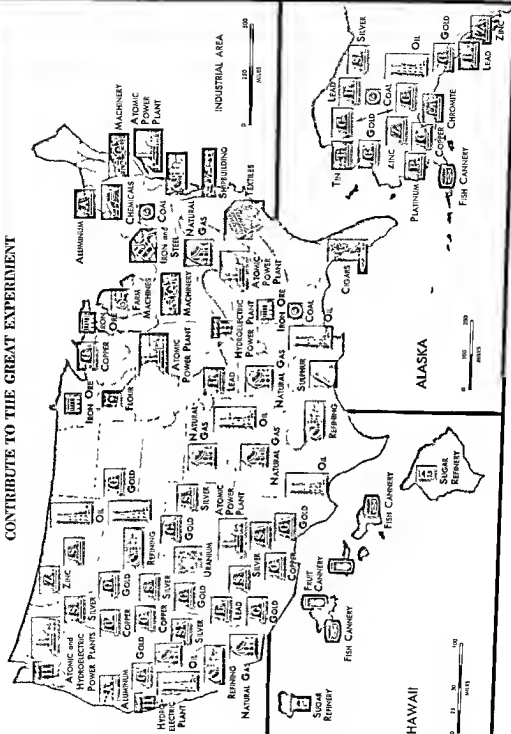
The Grange taught farmers the lesson that many laborers and businessmen had also learned: that "in union there is strength." By forming their *co-operatives*, Grangers had warned manufacturers and middlemen that they could not continue charging farmers exorbitant prices. Farmers profited from the failure of their early *co-operatives* and learned to operate their later ones more efficiently. As time went on, the Grangers tended to concentrate on their original aim of holding get-togethers for social and educational purposes. Meanwhile, other farm organizations and third parties arose that dedicated themselves to fighting for the farmers' interests.

## Farmers Join with Other Groups In Forming Political Parties

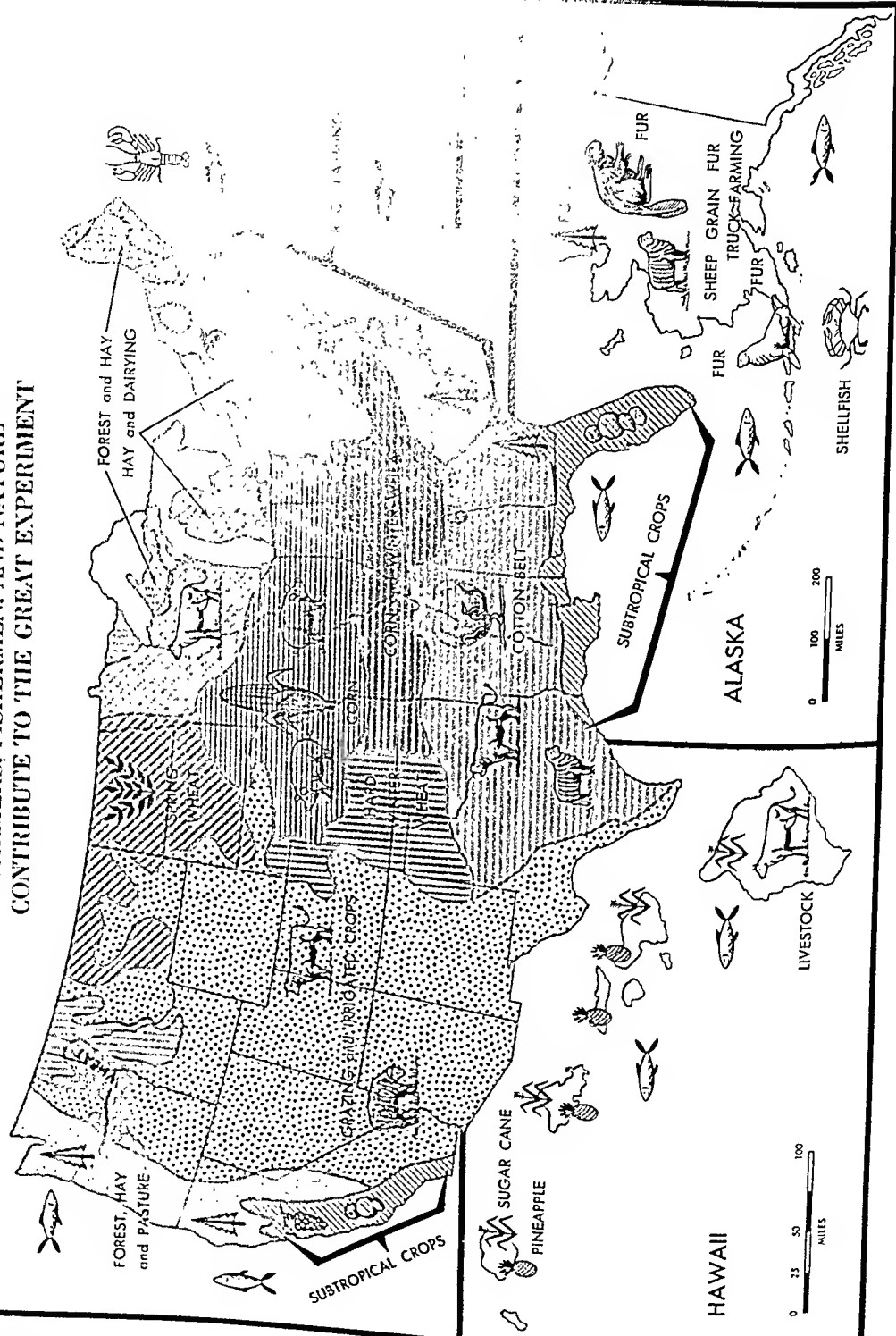
**The Government's Post-War Greenback Policy Disappoints Farmers.** During the War Between the States, the United States had issued more than \$400 million in greenbacks (page 392). This action delighted farmers, who, as we know, preferred cheap money. As we also know, the value of the greenbacks dropped during the war and prices consequently rose. Greenbacks fell in value because they were not backed by gold or silver, but merely by the Government's promise to pay the holder back (*redeem* the greenbacks) at some future date. Since people did not feel certain that the Government *would* redeem the greenbacks, their value dropped.

When the war ended, farmers and debtors in general wanted the Government to issue still more greenbacks. Instead, the Government, influenced by bankers and other creditors, took some of the greenbacks out of circulation. Then it passed a law, the *Resumption Act* of 1875, stating that after January 1, 1879, all greenbacks would be

# MANUFACTURERS AND NATURE CONTRIBUTE TO THE GREAT EXPERIMENT



# FARMERS, FISHERMEN, AND NATURE CONTRIBUTE TO THE GREAT EXPERIMENT



redeemed at face value in gold. This meant that a man holding a \$5 greenback could get a \$5 gold piece for it. Thus the greenbacks were no longer cheap money.

These developments, and the steady drop in prices after the war, seemed to farmers and debtors further evidence that a conspiracy of bankers and creditors was out to ruin them.

**No Conspiracy Is Involved in the Government's Greenback Policy.** Actually, there was no such conspiracy. The quarrel over greenbacks was just another phase of the conflict dating back to colonial times between debtors demanding cheap money and creditors demanding dear money.<sup>1</sup> The taking of some greenbacks out of circulation and the Resumption Act of 1875 did make money dearer and caused prices to drop. But this did not mean that a conspiracy was afoot.

There were other reasons why prices dropped at this time. Around the world, there was a great increase in the production of goods and, especially after 1870, a sharp decrease in the amount of gold mined. In the United States, a business panic in 1873 threw many wage earners out of work and also caused deflation.

**The Greenback-Labor Party Is Formed to Improve the Political and Economic Position of Farmers and Laborers.** Many debtor-farmers and discontented wage earners felt that there was little hope of getting help from the Republican or Democratic Party. They felt convinced that both parties were controlled by bankers and creditors in general, and by big businessmen. That is why many Grange members and union members joined with other farmers and wage earners to form, in 1878, their own political party, the *Greenback-Labor Party*.

**The Various Appeals Made by the Greenback-Labor Party.** To win farmers' votes, the Greenback-Labor Party's platform called for

Government adoption of a cheap-money program and strict Government regulation of railroads and monopolies. To win wage earners' votes, the platform called for a reduction in the hours of labor and elimination of Chinese immigration and prison contract labor.<sup>1</sup> It was hoped that such legislation would mean less competition and more jobs. To win over still more voters, the platform later recommended giving the vote to women. It also proposed an income tax, the rate of which would increase as a person's income increased. This is called a *graduated income tax*. Enactment of its entire program would, the party claimed, end "overgrown fortunes and extreme poverty" in the United States.

**The Greenback-Labor Party Gets Off to a Fast Start, But Fades Fast.** In 1878, the Greenback-Labor Party polled more than a million votes and elected fourteen congressmen. For a third party, an infant on the political scene, this was a remarkable showing. In 1880, the party ran James B. Weaver for the Presidency. Weaver had left the Republican Party, which he accused of having "sold out to bondholding and gold interests." Weaver polled only one-third of the votes his party had polled in 1878. Within a few years, the party petered out. Why?

The Greenback-Labor Party was burdened with a problem that has hampered most third parties. This is that many persons believe it is better to work for reform within one of the two major parties than to support a third party. Furthermore, the newspapers supporting the two established parties hurled strong attacks at the Greenback-Labor Party, after they saw how well it did in 1878. Some called its members "radical socialists." The party was also weakened when prosperity returned in the early 1880's. With higher wages, many wage earners felt that they no longer needed the Greenback-Labor

<sup>1</sup> Just after the American Revolution, Shays' Rebellion, one of the most dramatic of the currency conflicts between debtors and creditors, occurred (page 107).

<sup>1</sup> That is, labor performed by convicts in the prison or in its vicinity under prison guards, but under the management of a businessman who makes a contract with the state or community for the labor.

## The Farmer in the Late Nineteenth Century

1842

- Homestead Act • Morrill Land Grant Act • Department of Agriculture created

1857

- Kelley organizes Grange

1870

- United States Weather Bureau established

1873

- Demonetization of silver
- Panic begins five-year depression

1875

- Resumption Act provides for exchange of gold dollars for greenbacks in 1879

1876

- *Munn v. Illinois* decision pleases farmers

1878

- Greenback-Labor Party formed
- Blond-Allison Silver Purchase Act passed • Automatic twine binder introduced

1880

- One-quarter of nation's farms tenant-operated • Grange membership drops to 100,000

1884

- Bureau of Animal Husbandry created

1886

- *Wobash v. Illinois* decision angers farmers

1887

- Interstate Commerce Act for regulation of railroads • Hatch Act sets up agricultural experiment stations

1889



- Corn drops to twenty-eight cents a bushel • Secretary of Agriculture becomes Cabinet officer

1890

- High McKinley Tariff • Sherman Antitrust Act • Sherman Silver Purchase Act • Frontier declared closed

1891

- Populist Party formed

1893

- Panic begins three-year depression • Sherman Silver Purchase Act repealed • Cotton drops to six cents a pound

1894

- Wheat drops to forty-nine cents a bushel • Wilson-Gorman Tariff disappoints supporters of low rates

1895

- Morgan bond transaction

1896



- Rural free delivery of mail provided • Democratic platform borrows certain Populist demands • Corver begins research at Tuskegee Institute • Bryan, Free-Silver candidate, loses

1897

- Dingley Tariff: a new high in rates

1900

- Gold Standard Act • Thirty-five per cent of nation's farms tenant-operated

Party. And many farmers quit the party to throw themselves into a movement to get the Government to coin more silver. This, they thought, would make money cheap, cause prices for farm products to rise, and make it easier for them to pay off their debts.

**Farmers and Debtors in General Team Up with Silver Miners.** The United States decided, in 1873, that it would no longer coin silver dollars. A few years later, farmers and silver miners called this *demonetization* of silver the "crime of 1873." Since, in the 1870's, other countries demonetized silver, farmers and silver miners were convinced that there was an "international conspiracy" afoot. The purpose of demonetization of silver, they thought, was to keep money dear and thereby force prices down. It would also make it expensive to borrow money.

**No Conspiracy Is Involved in the Demonetization of Silver.** Actually, there was no conspiracy—national or international—involved in the demonetization of silver. Let us define some terms and then see why not. Up to 1873, the United States Mint had bought both silver and gold to be coined into money. The ratio at which these metals had been purchased before silver was demonetized was sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold (16:1). When a country uses two metals in a fixed ratio as a standard of value for its currency, it is said to practice *bimetallism*. When a country uses only one metal as a standard of value for its currency, it is said to practice *monometallism*. When that one metal is gold, a country is said to be on the *gold standard*. After the Government demonetized silver in 1873, and after it promised to redeem greenbacks in gold, beginning in 1879, the United States was practically on the gold standard.

In 1873, very few silver miners brought silver to the Mint to be coined into money. This was because silver was so scarce that they could get more for it from a jeweler or a silversmith than from the Mint. And it was because so little silver was brought to the Mint that the Government decided to demonetize silver.

But shortly after 1873, large quantities of silver were discovered in Nevada and Colorado. Down went the price of silver. Now the silver miners looked upon the demonetization of silver as a crime. Loud were their demands—and those of farmers, too—that the Mint once more coin silver in unlimited quantities.

**Government Silver Purchases Fail to Halt the Drop in the Price of Silver and of Crops.** Political pressure brought by silver miners and farmers persuaded the Congress to pass laws for the purchase of silver. One such law, the *Bland-Allison Act*, passed in 1878, failed to stop the drop in the price of silver. Then another such law, the *Sherman Silver Purchase Act*, providing for the purchase of virtually all the silver mined, was passed in 1890.

To pay for the purchase of silver provided for in this act, the Government issued new paper money. This paper money could be redeemed in either gold or silver. But the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, too, failed to stop the drop in the price of silver. And in spite of the additional new paper money, farm prices also continued to drop. All this helps to explain why silver miners and farmers played an important part in forming a third political party in 1892: the *Populist Party*.

**The Populist Party Makes Some Violent Statements and Demands Sweeping Changes.** "Corruption dominates the ballot box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even . . . the bench [the courts]. . . . The newspapers are . . . muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrated in the hands of capitalists. The urban [city] workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection, imported pauperized labor beats down their wages. . . . The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few . . . and the possessors of those despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From . . . governmental injustice we breed the two great

classes—tramps and millionaires. . . .” These angry statements appeared in the preamble to the platform of the Populist Party, which, in 1892, met in its first national convention, in Omaha, Nebraska.

*Some Reasons Why Farmer-Populists Were Angry.* In spite of the farmers’ demands for stricter regulation of railroads, the Interstate Commerce Commission seemed to be doing very little. In spite of the farmers’ demands for lower tariffs, the *McKinley Tariff* of 1890 raised rates higher than ever. In spite of the farmers’ demands for cheap money, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 did not cause a rise in prices. In spite of the farmers’ demands for stricter regulation of monopolies, the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 was not being enforced. To make matters worse for the farmers, there were some bad harvests about this time. Credit was hard to get. And thousands of farmers were losing their farms to creditors.

*Why Many Wage Earners and Silver Miners Joined the Farmer-Dominated Populist Party.* Although farmers really dominated the Populist Party, many angry wage earners and silver miners joined it, too. Why? Workers feared the loss of their jobs to the millions of new immigrants who were willing to work for lower wages than they. As it was, wages were low and hours long. There were more strikes in 1890 than in any previous year in American history. As for the silver-miner Populists, they were bitter because they felt that the Government was buying far too little silver.

*Many Aims of the Populists Shock Many Conservatives.* To the Populists, both the Republican and Democratic Parties were interested only in “power and plunder.” “To wipe the old parties off the face of the earth and establish a people’s government” was the dream of many Populists. Here were some of the changes proposed in the Populist platform for establishing their so-called “people’s government”:

- Inflating the currency by issuing more pa-

per money or by coining silver in unlimited quantities<sup>1</sup> at the ratio of sixteen to one (in order to benefit debtor-farmers and debtors in general)

- Establishing an eight-hour day, restricting immigration, and forbidding the employment by employers of labor spies (in order to win labor votes)
- Introducing the Australian ballot (secret ballot), the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, and certain devices to give the people more direct voice in the Government (page 596).

Such demands seemed shockingly radical to many conservatives, particularly in the East. So did the Populists’ demands that the Government institute a graduated income tax and assume ownership of railroads and of telegraph and telephone systems. Yet the Populists were not socialists wishing to overthrow capitalism. What they wanted was more opportunity for more people to become capitalists.

*How Successful Were the Populists?* “Populism spread like a flame on a dry prairie,” wrote the New York *Herald*. To farmer-Populists especially, populism was almost a religious crusade. Toil-worn farmers’ wives joined their husbands at party rallies and parades. There all passionately denounced bankers, manufacturers, merchants, and railroad operators—whom they held responsible for their troubles.

James B. Weaver, the Populist candidate for President in 1892, won more than a million popular votes and the electoral votes of several Western states. The Populists also captured ten seats in the House of Representatives and five in the Senate.

*Some Inherent Weaknesses in the Populist Party.* The Populists would have done even better had they won the vote of Southern farmers that they had counted on. However, even though many such Southern farmers liked the Populist platform, they voted for

<sup>1</sup> Coining silver in unlimited quantities was often referred to as *free coinage of silver*.

the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, in 1892.<sup>1</sup> Why? These farmers feared that by voting Populist, they would split the Democratic vote and enable the Republican candidate to win. And, as we know, they blamed the Republican Party for the War Between the States and for the evils of the Reconstruction period. They also feared that a Democratic defeat would be a defeat for white supremacy in the South. Furthermore, many Southern leaders wanted to industrialize the South. Such persons would naturally not support the Populist Party, with its appeals openly directed to farmers and laborers.

The Populists would also have done better had they succeeded in winning the labor votes they wooed. But forming a strong farmer-laborer party has always been difficult. The interests of farmers and laborers often seem to conflict. In the late nineteenth century, for example, laborers opposed immigration because they did not want competition for jobs. But many farmers, especially in the West, welcomed immigration as a source of farm labor.

*The Populist Party Disappears, But Its Principles Linger On.* By 1896, many principles of the Populists had become so popular with many Democrats that they were included in the Democratic platform. In fact, the Populists nominated the same candidate for President in 1896 as the Democrats. He lost. The Populist Party soon disappeared. But its principles lived on. In time, practically all of the Populist demands were adopted by the major parties and enacted into law. In this respect, the Populist Party illustrates a role commonly played by third parties in the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Cleveland had won the Presidency in 1884, but had been defeated for re-election by Benjamin Harrison in 1888. By defeating Harrison in 1892, he became the only President to have his two terms interrupted by that of another President. The Populists contributed to Cleveland's 1892 victory by winning the votes of many Western Republicans who would normally have voted for Harrison (Chapter 22).

## The Democratic Silver Platform In 1896 Terrifies Conservatives

One hot July day in 1896, a thirty-six-year-old man with pitch-black hair and piercing black eyes delivered a speech before the Democratic Convention in Chicago. When this big man with a big voice finished speaking, the delegates roared with enthusiasm. The next day, they nominated him as the Democratic candidate for President.

The eloquent orator was William Jennings Bryan, a Nebraska lawyer, editor, and former congressman. Bryan had expressed dramatically what the delegates felt passionately. Who were the delegates? Mainly farmers from the West and South, Western silver miners, and Eastern wage earners. Many of the farmers had been leaders in the Grange, Greenback, and Populist movements.

*A caricature of William Jennings Bryan in 1896, captioned "The Silver-tongued Ventriloquist and His Dummies," from Puck, August 12, 1896. How fair do you think this cartoon was?*





With what words had Bryan so stirred his fellow Democrats? With these:

[They] tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. We reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country. . . . Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!"

Why did Bryan look upon the gold standard as a form of crucifixion?<sup>1</sup> Because, as we know, it meant dear money, and dear money hit hard debtor-farmers and debtors in general. This explains why the Democratic platform included as its major plank a demand for the unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the legal ratio of sixteen to one. This bimetallic standard, of course, pleased silver miners as well as farmers.

Pleasing to farmers, too, were other planks in the Democratic platform calling for lower tariffs and stricter regulation of railroads. Pleasing to wage earners was the platform's attack on certain practices of judges that they considered antilabor (page 514). Pleasing to both groups was the demand that the Government put through a law for a graduated income tax.

**Why Conservatives Considered Bryan's Views Dangerous.** Marcus Alonzo Hanna was an Ohio multimillionaire who owned coal and iron mines, oil wells, shipping and streetcar lines, a bank, a newspaper, and an opera house. Shrewd, tough, bluntly

frank, Hanna was the most powerful political boss in Ohio. His influence was so great that few legislators there would dare vote against his wishes.

Many big businessmen like Hanna were sincerely convinced that the main goal of Government should be to help business prosper, especially big business. This prosperity, they felt, would, in time, seep down into the pockets of all the people.<sup>1</sup> To such men, and to conservatives in general, the gold standard was almost sacred. To abandon it and thus cheapen currency might mean that a man would lose half his fortune in purchasing power.

Such views help to explain why Hanna looked upon Bryan's views as dangerous to the country's currency and to the capitalist system. Hanna was, therefore, determined to prevent Bryan from becoming President. He was determined to beat him by getting a good friend, Governor William McKinley of Ohio, nominated by the Republicans and elected. Largely through Hanna's efforts, McKinley was nominated.

"The existing gold standard must be preserved," declared the Republican platform. It also called the high protective tariff "the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity."

**Why Some Republicans and Some Democrats Walked Out on Their Parties in 1896.** When the Republican platform declared for a gold standard, certain Republicans from the silver-mining states walked out on their party. Grover Cleveland, who had been elected President on the Democratic ticket in 1884 and 1892, wanted nothing to do with the Democratic platform of 1896. Let us look back a few years to understand why.

Cleveland had always been a strong supporter of the gold standard. He had been

<sup>1</sup> Yet some time before this so-called *cross-of-gold* speech Bryan had said: "I don't know anything about free [unlimited] coinage of silver. The people of Nebraska are for free silver and I am for free silver. I will look up the arguments later."

<sup>1</sup> Although a leading supporter of big business, Hanna was far more sympathetic to the organization of labor unions than were most big businessmen of his time. In fact, he was one of the first big businessmen to sign a contract with a union.

much alarmed when he saw the gold reserves of the Government shrinking during his second administration. The terms of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act (page 493) were partly responsible for this shrinkage. The paper money (*treasury notes*) that the Government had used to buy silver under this act could be redeemed in gold. In the market, silver had been dropping so steadily in value that many people felt uneasy. Therefore, they had redeemed their treasury notes in gold and hoarded the gold. But under the law, the Government was required to re-issue these treasury notes. An endless drain of gold from the treasury had resulted.

As President, Cleveland had feared that the time would come when the Government would be unable to redeem the paper money in gold, and thus would be compelled to go off the gold standard. To stop the endless drain of gold, he had persuaded the Congress to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. To get needed gold for the Government, he had made an arrangement with a group of bankers, led by J. P. Morgan. In return for supplying gold, half of which he got from abroad, Morgan was sold Government bonds at a more favorable discount than the Government usually had to give. Yet, in all fairness, Morgan's action gave the people greater confidence in the country's currency.

The repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and the Morgan bond transaction had infuriated silver miners and farmers. They had angrily denounced Cleveland as "Morgan's errand boy." Wage earners at the Democratic Convention in 1896 also denounced Cleveland. They could not forget that he had obtained a court order against the strikers in the Pullman strike of 1894 (page 511).

All this helps to explain why Cleveland walked out on the Democratic Party in 1896. He and other Democrats who did likewise were called "gold bugs," because they supported the gold standard. They nominated their own candidate for President, but they knew he didn't have a chance of winning. They hoped that McKinley would be elected.

**The Campaign of 1896 Is One of the Most Bitterly Fought in American History.** If Bryan is elected, don't come back to work. The plant will be closed. This was the threat that some manufacturers made to their workers in order to get them to vote for McKinley. Some farmers were warned by banks that their mortgages would not be renewed if Bryan was elected. "Madman!" "Murderer!" "Anarchist!" "Socialist!"<sup>1</sup>—these were just a few of the names that Bryan was called in the campaign. Republican campaigners chanted:

In God we trust!  
With Bryan we bust!

All this indicates the intense fear in the hearts of conservatives of what they considered the "dangerous radicalism" in the platform of the Democrats in 1896. Capitalizing on this fear, Republican campaign manager Mark Hanna persuaded big businessmen and bankers to contribute millions to the campaign. McKinley was publicized as "the advance agent of prosperity" and the man who could bring to the workingman "a full dinner pail."

"The Great Commoner," as Bryan was called, proclaimed in the campaign that all the great reforms for "the benefit of the human race" had come from the "common people." He attacked financiers as believing that they were "bigger than the government and greater than the Almighty." He compared the supporters of the gold standard to "a den of thieves." And Mark Hanna was labeled by Democrats "Dollar Mark," the leader of those who wanted to set up a plutocracy (rule by the rich).

**Some Reasons for the Defeat of Bryan.**

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<sup>1</sup> Like the Populists, Bryan had no desire to overthrow the capitalist system. Like them, he wanted more opportunity for more people to become prosperous capitalists. He said "Our campaign has not for its object the reconstruction of society. Property is, and will remain, the stimulus to endeavor and the compensation for toil." Bryan was not even a strong supporter of Federal regulation of business.

Many Populists had hoped that the Democratic Party in the campaign would stress the sweeping changes that had been recommended in the Populist platform. When the Democrats concentrated on the unlimited-coinage-of-silver issue, some of the Populists refused to vote for Bryan. Many wage earners in the East also refused to vote for Bryan, fearing that unlimited coinage of silver and low tariffs might actually result in the closing of factories. Even certain Western states, such as Iowa, Minnesota, and North Dakota, where Grangers and Greenbackers had been so strong, did not support Bryan. When there was a rise in the price of wheat just before the election, many farmers decided that there was no point in voting the Republicans out and the Democrats in. Finally, many were convinced by Republican speakers that Bryan really was a radical, and that unlimited coinage of silver would so cheapen money as to destroy their savings.

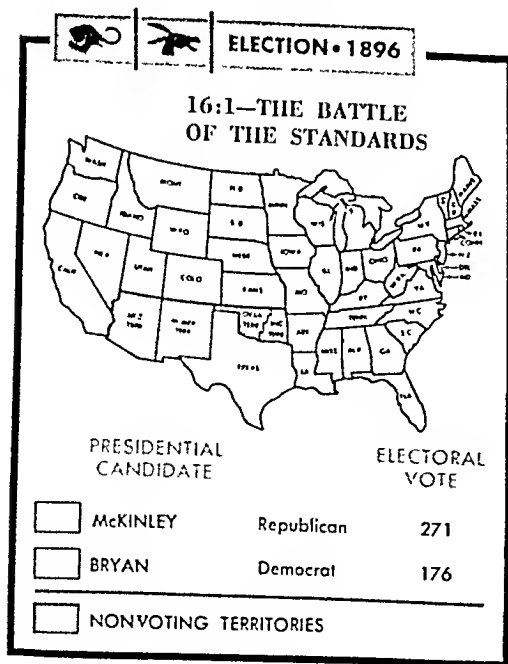
**The Election of 1896 Is a Major Turning Point in American History.** The campaign of 1896 has been called the *Battle of the Standards* (the gold standard v. the bimetallic standard). Put another way, it was a battle

between the supporters of dear money and those of cheap money, or a battle between creditor and debtor.<sup>1</sup>

*The High Tariff, Big Business Combinations, and the Gold Standard Win.* The supporters of dear money and the creditors won. The Republicans speedily lived up to the pledge in their platform and passed, in 1897, a high tariff. This *Dingley Tariff* was the highest in the nation's history up to this time. It, of course, pleased big businessmen. More big business combinations were soon arranged than in any earlier period. The supporters of dear money and the creditors were pleased when, in the *Gold Standard Act* of 1900, the Congress officially adopted the gold standard. This meant that all currency could be redeemed in gold.

The Republicans maintained that all groups had benefited as a result of their victory in 1896. They claimed credit for the wave of prosperity that swept the nation during McKinley's administration. According to the Republicans, businessmen now had confidence that the Government's attitude toward business would be friendly and that there would be no manipulation of the currency.

After the election, farmers prospered, in part because this was a time of poor harvests in Europe and good harvests in the United States. With good markets abroad, American farmers could get higher prices for their crops. Prices also went up for crops and other products because great supplies of gold were discovered in Alaska, Australia, and South Africa. This increased supply of gold pleased everybody who liked cheap money. Silver miners were particularly pleased because as gold decreased in value, the price of silver rose. Thus unlimited coinage of silver ceased to be an important issue.



<sup>1</sup> The Republican triumph in 1896 was also a triumph of those who followed the political philosophy of Hamilton over those who followed that of Jefferson. The two sections, the West and South, which had played such powerful roles in putting Jefferson and Jackson into office, were unsuccessful in electing Bryan.

Both the Democratic and the Republican Parties Become More Aware of the Demands of Farmers and Wage Earners. Since 1896, farmers and wage earners have shown little interest in forming a national political party representing mainly their interests. Since 1896, they have tended to vote for whichever political party has stood more strongly for their demands. And in the twentieth century, both major political parties at one time or another have supported what once seemed the radical demands of the Populists and, in 1896, of the Democrats. Practically all of these demands were eventually met.

*A Republican campaign poster of 1900. What features in this poster were designed to make it effective? In a counter-cartoon or in words, how might a Democrat have tried to weaken its effectiveness?*



## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 20

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Mary Ellen Lease	Interstate
New Agricultural	Commerce Act
Revolution	ICC
combine	Sherman Antitrust
Luther Burbank	Act
George Washington	co-operatives
Carver	Resumption Act of
Department of	1875
Agriculture	Greenback-Labor
Oliver H. Kelley	Party
Grangers	prison contract
Granger Laws	labor
Munn v. Illinois	graduated income
Wabash v. Illinois	tax
	James B. Weaver

demonetization of	William Jennings
silver	Bryan
"crime of 1873"	"cross-of-gold"
bimetallism	speech
monometallism	Marcus A. Hanna
gold standard	Morgan bond
Bland-Allison Act	transaction
Sherman Silver	Battle of the
Purchase Act	Standards
Populist Party	Dingley Tariff
McKinley Tariff	Gold Standard Act
free coinage of	of 1900
silver	
Australian ballot	

## ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. In the late nineteenth century, for what specific reasons were farmers angry at (a) loan companies, (b) trusts, (c) state governments, and (d) railroads?
2. Prove that the price a farmer received for his crops was not keeping pace with his cost of living.
3. For what reasons had the farmer before 1860 not faced the same problems as he did in the late nineteenth century?
4. Show (a) why and (b) how big-business-style commercial farming developed.
5. Prove by examples that in the New Agricultural Revolution one invention led to another.
6. In what ways did men like Burbank and Carver help to revolutionize agriculture?
7. Sum up five ways by which the Federal Government and state governments have helped farmers.
8. Give examples of problems that big-business-style farmers face and big-business-style manufacturers do not face.
9. What is the difference between inflation and deflation?
10. Explain why creditors generally prefer dear money, while debtors generally prefer cheap money.
11. For what reasons did the currency situation in the late nineteenth century force farmers to produce more? How did this make their own situation still worse?
12. Describe the (a) origin and (b) purposes of the Granger movement.
13. With respect to the Granger Laws, describe (a) their purpose, (b) arguments used by the railroads against them, and (c) the significance of (1) the *Munn v. Illinois* decision and (2) the *Wabash v. Illinois* decision.
14. Concerning the Interstate Commerce Act, describe (a) its origins, (b) its terms, (c) its weaknesses, and (d) its significance.
15. What groups urged the passage of state antitrust laws? Give reasons in each case.
16. Give reasons why many were disappointed with the (a) state antitrust laws and (b) Federal Sherman Antitrust Act.
17. Describe (a) the aims of and (b) reasons for the failure of most Grange co-operatives.
18. Describe (a) reasons for the decline of the Granger movement and (b) lessons the movement taught.
19. Why did farmers consider the Government's post-war greenback policy a conspiracy?
20. With respect to the Greenback-Labor Party tell (a) its aims, (b) its appeals, and (c) why it petered out after a promising beginning.
21. Why did farmers consider the Government's post-war silver policy a conspiracy?
22. Tell (a) what groups became Populists and (b) what the party's aims were.
23. For what reasons were the Populists not more successful?
24. Show that in spite of its early death, the Populist Party was far from a complete failure.
25. Connect with the campaign of 1896 (a) the "cross-of-gold" speech, (b) the Democratic and Republican platforms, (c) Marcus A. Hanna, (d) William McKinley, and (e) the main reason why some walked out on both parties.
26. Describe tactics used by both parties in the campaign of 1896.
27. Give the main reasons why Bryan lost the Presidency in 1896.
28. Explain three ways in which the election of 1896 was significant.
29. Give specific reasons why many (a) businessmen, (b) farmers, and (c) silver miners were pleased with the economic situation about 1900.

## ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Which grievance of the late-nineteenth-century farmer do you think gave him

- the most heartaches? Give reasons for your opinion
2. If you had been a farmer at this time, what recommendations would you have made to your fellow farmers about the problems facing farmers in general?
  3. If you had been (a) an officer of a loan company, (b) an officer of a trust, or (c) an officer of a railroad, or (d) a Government official, how would you have responded to the complaints of farmers? Be specific
  4. The shift from simple, self-sufficient farming to commercial, big-business-style farming was inevitable. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
  5. The Agricultural Revolution was closely tied in with the Industrial Revolution. Point out in what ways.
  6. Should the Government have practiced a completely *laissez-faire* policy with respect to farmers? Give reasons for your answer
  7. Commercial farmers might argue that because of the nature of their problems they deserved more Government aid than other groups. Give reasons why you would agree or disagree
  8. Few persons would want extreme inflation or extreme deflation. To what extent do you agree? Give reasons
  9. The currency situation brought about much farmer frustration. Explain why.
  10. It was inevitable that the Grange, formed as a social organization, would soon become involved in politics. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
  11. Give your views of Thomas Jefferson's praise of farmers, quoted on page 486
  12. Give your reactions to the reasoning of (a) the railroads in opposing the Granger Laws, and (b) the Supreme Court in (1) the *Munn v. Illinois* decision and (2) the *Wabash v. Illinois* decision.
  13. For what reasons do you think neither (a) the Interstate Commerce Act nor (b) the Sherman Antitrust Act was made stronger?
  14. Explain why you agree or disagree with the idea that (a) the Interstate Commerce Act, (b) antitrust laws, or (c) monopolies violate the principle of freedom of enterprise.
  15. Give your reactions to the arguments of the trusts against state antitrust laws.
  16. What do you think was the greatest service of the Granger movement to farmers? Give reasons for your choice.
  17. Farmers, debtors in general, and silver miners tended to blame groups and the Government for their troubles far more than they blamed circumstances. For what reasons does this often happen with those holding grievances?
  18. Which proposal of (a) the Greenback-Labor Party or (b) the Populist Party do you think was considered most radical by conservative groups? Justify your choice.
  19. What do you think was the major reason for the failure of (a) the Greenback-Labor Party or (b) the Populist Party? Give reasons why.
  20. Explain why creditors in general would prefer to have their country on a gold standard rather than on a bimetallic standard
  21. Give your reactions to the preamble to the platform of the Populist Party in 1892.
  22. Do you think the "cross-of-gold" speech appeals more to (a) the emotions or (b) reason? Give reasons for your choice.
  23. For what reasons was it inevitable that big businessmen like Marcus A. Hanna would be taking a deeper interest in politics by the late nineteenth century?
  24. Some Democrats and some Republicans proved their independence when they walked out on their parties because of opposition to their 1896 platforms. Do you think that such independence may be beneficial to (a) the parties and (b) the nation? Explain fully
  25. To what extent do the campaign tactics used in 1896 compare with (a) those used in 1840 and (b) those used today?
  26. For whom would you have voted in

1896, Bryan or McKinley? Give reasons why.

☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. For a composite committee report, investigate (a) Mary Ellen Lease, (b) Ignatius Donnelly, (c) James B. Weaver, (d) "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, (e) "Bloody Bridles" Waite, and (f) "Sockless Jerry" Simpson. The report should indicate similarities and differences in their careers and ideas, especially as these pertain to the Populist movement.
2. Draw a cartoon (a) on any grievance or grievances of the farmer, (b) for or against Bryan in 1896, or (c) showing fears or hopes aroused by the Populist platform.
3. Imagine yourself a congressman. Write a speech urging or opposing the passage of any Federal law mentioned in this chapter.
4. Prepare an illustrated circular urging farmers to join either (a) the Grange or (b) the Populist Party.
5. To a committee-composed newspaper such as the Grange or the Populists might have published, contribute (a) an editorial, (b) an advertisement, (c) a news article, or (d) a cartoon.
6. Write an essay entitled (a) "Oh, for the Good Old Days Before Farming Became Big-time and Commercialized!" or (b) "If Bryan Had Won in 1896."
7. Make a chart or graph for the bulletin board showing significant developments in agriculture from 1861 to 1900. See, for example, the section on agriculture in *Encyclopedia of American History*,

edited by R. B. Morris, and the section entitled "The Million-acre Farm" in *American Science and Invention* by M. Wilson.

8. If possible, (a) visit the headquarters of a farm co-operative, (b) attend a Grange meeting, or (c) interview several farmers to learn what their major problems are and what is being done to solve them.
9. Write an imaginary dialogue between (a) a big-business-style farmer and a big-business-style manufacturer, (b) a cheap-money advocate and a dear-money advocate, or (c) William Jennings Bryan and Marcus A. Hanna.
10. After reading the various points of view on "The Farmers' Revolt" in *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link, or on "Agrarian Protest" in Volume 2 of *Great Issues in American History*, edited by R. Hofstadter, sum up your own conclusions.
11. Make up slogans such as might have appeared on placards carried in parades of (a) the Greenback-Labor Party, (b) the Populist Party, or (c) the Democratic or Republican Party in 1896.
12. The critic H. L. Mencken called Bryan "a charlatan, a mountebank, a zany without sense or dignity." After research, write an article telling whether you agree with this estimate.
13. From the *American Heritage* series, read one of the following: (a) "The Myth of the Happy Yeoman" (April, 1956); (b) "Bryan: The Progressives (Part I)" (December, 1961); or (c) "All My Immense Labor for Nothing . . ." (on Ignatius Donnelly—June, 1961). Report on to what extent the article chosen appeals to the emotions, changes your attitudes, and adds to your fund of information.

## CHAPTER

# 21

### *Laborers Protest That They Are Not Getting A Fair Share of America's Prosperity*

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#### **Many Workers Join Unions After 1865**

• Reasons Why Workers Felt Insecure • Many Workers Become Dissatisfied with Individual Bargaining • Some Steps Taken by Unions, Especially When Collective Bargaining Fails • Unions Meet Resistance from the Public in General, from Employers, Sometimes from Government Officials, and Even from Workers

#### **The Knights of Labor and American Federation of Labor Compared**

• The Broad Membership of the Knights of Labor • Some Policies and Successes of the Knights • Some Reasons Why the Knights of Labor Declined • The AFL Builds a Powerful Union of Craft Unions, Using Conservative Methods • The Leading Role of Samuel Gompers • The AFL Rejects Certain Policies of the Knights of Labor • Certain AFL Policies Resemble Those of the Knights of Labor

#### **Industrial Warfare Is a Highlight of the Late Nineteenth Century**

• The Haymarket Affair Results from a Bomb Thrown by an Unknown • The Homestead Strike-Lockout: Pinkerton Detectives and Militia Called In • The Pullman Strike Sums Up Many Causes and Costs of Late-Nineteenth-Century Labor Strife • The Status of Labor by 1900

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#### **Many Workingmen Join Unions After the War Between the States**

More than sixty-six hours of work a week for a wage of less than ten dollars, factories too cold in winter and stifling hot in summer; machines so noisy that they shattered nerves and so unprotected that they sometimes severed fingers or limbs, a crowded slum in a

crowded city near the factory for a home—these conditions help to explain the discontent of the average industrial worker after 1865. They also throw light on why many such unhappy workers joined labor unions then.

During the war, although wages had risen, prices had risen more so. With many former wage earners in the army, wage earners at





*Millworkers shortly after the War Between the States. Mention five things that this drawing by Winslow Homer in Harper's Weekly tells about the times.*

home were so in demand that they demanded higher wages. When many employers resisted, many wage earners either joined the established unions<sup>1</sup> or formed new ones.

**A Feeling of Insecurity Makes Many Workmen Unhappy.** Adding to the unhappiness of many workingmen was the threat of unemployment that constantly hung over them. The invention of new machines might simply eliminate their jobs. Or male workers might be replaced by women or children, who could easily operate such machines, and who would accept less pay. So, too, might the millions of immigrants who were pouring into the country. Accustomed to the much lower wage scales and much worse working conditions of Europe, such immigrants were willing to work very long hours for very little money. The Congress, in 1864, had passed a law permitting businessmen to import immigrants

and keep them as employees until their passage money was repaid to the businessmen. Native American laborers found this *contract labor law* most obnoxious.

Who knew, too, when a depression might come along and throw millions out of work? After 1865, many factories, using more and more machines, were expanding so rapidly that they would sometimes produce more goods than they had customers for. So many railroads were being built that there were sometimes not enough freight and passengers to make them pay. Such overexpansion would sometimes lead to panic, depression, and widespread unemployment.

For many other reasons, the average worker felt insecure. He could almost never save enough money to provide for his wife and children in case of emergency. What would happen to them, he asked himself, if I should be injured on the job, become sick, or die? Will my wife and I starve when I grow too old to work?

Times had changed since the days when

<sup>1</sup> As we know, many of the infant unions had been hard hit by the Panic of 1837 (page 256).

the captains of industry called their workers by their first names. Many a small factory had expanded into a giant plant, operated by a corporation employing thousands of workers. In such an organization, the individual worker was more like a number than a person. Who was there to listen to his problems?

**The Gradual Disappearance of Good Cheap Land Adds to the Workingmen's Insecurity.** It had been a nice feeling for a worker in the old days to know that in a depression he could head west, where there was abundant cheap land. But good cheap land was beginning to disappear after the War Between the States. And many a native American or immigrant, who might otherwise have gone west, moved to the factory towns to compete for jobs.

**Many Workers Became Dissatisfied with Individual Bargaining.** It is true that any worker had the right to bargain with his employer for better wages, hours, and conditions of work. This was called his *freedom of contract*. But many a worker came to feel that freedom of contract meant very little. If he complained to an unsympathetic employer, it was easy for the employer to find another worker, but a lot harder for him to find another job. Thus the worker frequently found individual bargaining with his boss or the management of little value. Many discontented workers asked one another: If businessmen can organize big combinations to gain many benefits, why can't we?

For all the reasons cited above, more and more workers began, in the post-war years, to join with other workers to form unions. Representatives of these unions would then try to negotiate with employers for better wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of work for the entire membership. It was hoped that this *collective bargaining* would gain more for all the workers than individual bargaining would gain for any one worker.

**Some Steps Taken by Unions, Especially When Collective Bargaining Fails.** Sometimes an employer refuses to come to terms with a union, or even to engage in collec-

tive bargaining. The union may then call a *strike*. A strike is more effective when the struck plant is a *closed shop*,<sup>1</sup> rather than an *open shop*. A closed shop is one in which the employer agrees to hire only union members. In theory, an open shop employs both union and nonunion workers. Actually, it usually ends up employing only nonunion workers.

Certain other tactics of unions are designed mainly to get others to refuse to do business with a nonunion business. Such tactics are the *boycott*, *picketing*, and the use of the *union label*. People who boycott a business refuse to buy from that business, or work for it, or handle its products. People who picket a business walk up and down in front of the place of business, urging others not to patronize the business or work for it. The union label on a product is designed to let people sympathetic to unions know that that product has been made in a union shop.

**Unions Meet Resistance from the Public in General.** One newspaper, shortly after the War Between the States, suggested that strikers be treated with "bullets and bayonets." Many looked upon the idea of unions as in basic conflict with American traditions—a foreign concept brought in by radical immigrants from Europe. What did they consider such American traditions to be? The tradition that any ambitious, self-reliant man can become a success on his own in this land of equal opportunity . . . the tradition that an employer should have the right to run his business as he likes, without any interference from unions . . . the tradition that a worker should have the right to work anywhere he wants to, for whatever wage he will accept, without any interference from unions. Many were also critical of union opposition to child labor. What is wrong, they asked, with keeping children out of mischief by putting them to work in factories?

<sup>1</sup> For the changed situation with respect to the closed shop, see Taft-Hartley Act (page 871)

and safety standards in factories and mines. At times, it even urged city ownership of public utilities.

In time, the AFL, like the Knights, organized unskilled as well as skilled workers in a given industry. It also formed some unions made up entirely of unskilled workers. And in spite of the opposition of Gompers to the Knights' idea of one big union of all labor, the AFL was to merge, in 1955, with another powerful national labor organization. This merger of the AFL with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)—known as the AFL-CIO—created what was by far the biggest labor organization in American history (page 763).

## Industrial Warfare Marks The Late Nineteenth Century

**The Haymarket Affair Results from a Bomb Thrown by an Unknown.** Who threw the bomb in Haymarket Square? To this day, nobody knows. Yet four men were hanged for the crime. One convicted for it dynamited himself to death. And three others were given prison sentences.

What is the story behind this tragedy growing out of one of the most violent of the many violent industrial conflicts of the late nineteenth century? One afternoon in May, 1886, on an empty lot in Chicago, an anarchist<sup>1</sup> was preaching violence to a group of workers on strike against the McCormick Harvester Company. The strikers were demanding an eight-hour day. (So ridiculous did this idea seem to many conservatives that one newspaper wrote: "The thing is really too silly to merit the attention of a body of lunatics!") Suddenly, police appeared on the scene and tried to break up

the meeting. When strikers resisted, a riot resulted in which several of them were killed by the police.

The next day, in Chicago's Haymarket Square, a mass meeting was held to condemn the action of the police. The meeting was orderly. When it began breaking up, police appeared. It was then that someone threw the bomb. The police opened fire and so did some strikers. Seven policemen and four strikers were killed. In anger over the bomb-throwing, newspapers and the police stirred the people into a blind rage. Public demand for punishment led to the conviction of eight anarchists, against none of whom was there evidence of his having thrown the bomb. When four of the convicted were hanged, anarchists stood by the scaffold singing the "Marseillaise."<sup>1</sup>

Several years later, John P. Altgeld was elected governor of Illinois. Convinced that the trial of the eight had been unfair, he pardoned those still in prison. He knew that in so doing, he was running the risk of ruining himself politically. Nevertheless, he said:

No man's ambition has a right to stand in the way of performing a simple act of justice.

To the day of his death, many attacked Altgeld savagely for his stand in this so-called *Haymarket Affair*.

The Haymarket Affair hurt the labor movement in general and helped to give the deathblow to the Knights of Labor. Enemies of labor made the most of the incident, as they had of bloody railroad strikes that had occurred earlier (in 1877). They tried to make the public think that violence and unions went hand in hand. The Knights of Labor, which had practically nothing to do with the Haymarket Affair, was blamed for it. The union was also unfairly accused of

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<sup>1</sup> Anarchists believed that anybody who had property or wealth must have stolen it in one way or another. They also believed that all governments were enemies of the people. They were even willing to use bombs against property owners, Government officials, or Government property.

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<sup>1</sup> The "Marseillaise" is the French national anthem. It originated as a call to arms during the French Revolution of 1789.

being completely dominated by radical foreign-born anarchists.

**The Homestead Strike-Lockout: A Forty-Year Setback for the Unionization of Ironworkers and Steelworkers.** Up the Monongahela from Pittsburgh, on July 6, 1892, moved two barges carrying 300 armed Pinkerton detectives. As the barges approached the Carnegie Steel Works in Homestead, Pennsylvania, angry steel strikers blazed away at them with rifles, sticks of dynamite, and even cannon. The Pinkertons blazed back. But after ten of the detectives were killed and many wounded, those remaining surrendered.

The Pinkertons had been hired by the president of the Carnegie Steel Company, Henry C. Frick. Why? When Frick tried to cut his steelworkers' wages, they threatened to strike. Before they could do so, Frick shut down the Homestead factory, thus locking them out. In their place, he planned to hire nonunion workers. He had hired the Pinkertons to protect these proposed non-union workers and the factory.

At first, people in general had sympathized with the strikers. But then an anarchist (who was not a steelworker) wounded Frick in an attempt to assassinate him. This quickly shifted public sympathy from the Iron and Steel Workers Union to the company. The union suffered another blow when the Pennsylvania militia—8,000 strong—was called in to suppress the strikers. So weakened was the union that many quit it and applied for their old jobs as non-union workers. Only one out of five was taken back.

Apparently Frick's aim from the start had been to break the union. To Andrew Carnegie, in Scotland, he wrote:

... Do not think we will ever have any serious labor trouble again. ... We had to teach our employees a lesson.

Apparently Carnegie did not object to Frick's aim. But he was unhappy about his method.

In a letter to British Prime Minister William Gladstone, he wrote:

... The false step was made in trying to run the Homestead works with new men. ... It is expecting too much of poor men to stand by and see their work taken by others.

Frick's success caused other employers of steelworkers to adopt stern tactics toward their employees. For many years after the Homestead strike-lockout, the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week were the rule in the steel industry. Not until the 1930's (page 762) were ironworkers and steelworkers able to build a strong union and bargain successfully with their employers.

**The Pullman Strike Sums Up Many Causes and Costs of Labor Strife in the Late Nineteenth Century.** Locomotives were

*The first of the big labor conflicts, the railroad strikes of 1877, in which a virtual war was waged between workers on the one hand and police and soldiers on the other. This drawing from a contemporary magazine, Leslie's, is a reminder of how far we have progressed in what ways?*



## Labor in the Late Nineteenth Century

**1862** • Certain coal miners, called 'Molly Maguires,' begin to use violence against mine operators in Pennsylvania

**1864** • Contract Labor Law allows employers to import European workers under contract

**1866** • National Labor Union, first effort to form nation-wide union

**1868** • First Federal eight-hour day law, limited to certain Federal employees

**1869** • Knights of Labor founded

**1873** • Depression causes sharp drop in union membership

**1875** • Twenty-four 'Molly Maguires' convicted, ten hanged

**1877** • Injunctions used to crush violent railroad strikes • Massachusetts pioneers in requiring safety devices in factories

**1879** • Henry George's *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth* published

**1882** • Act bans immigration of Chinese laborers

**1885** • Contract Labor Law canceled

**1886** • Knights of Labor membership rises to 700,000 • American Federation of Labor organized • Haymarket Affair

**1890** • Sherman Antitrust Act passed, soon often applied by courts against organized labor • Knights of Labor membership drops to 100,000

**1892** • Homestead steel strike-lockout • Federal eight-hour day law extended to all Federal workers

**1893** • Panic begins three-year depression

**1894** • Coxey's Army of unemployed marches on Washington in protest against hard times • Injunction and Federal troops used to suppress Pullman strike • Labor Day made a legal national holiday

**1900** • Most American workers work a ten-hour day and a six-day week



overturned, trains looted, tracks torn up, bricks thrown at railroad workers who had taken the place of strikers. Railroad traffic between Chicago and the Pacific coast was at a virtual standstill. Twelve persons were killed in the rioting and scores injured. This 1894 strike, the Pullman strike, cost the railroads almost \$5 million, the strikers almost \$1.5 million, and the nation, indirectly, more than \$80 million.

*Why There Was a Pullman Strike.* George Pullman was head of the Pullman Palace Car Company, which manufactured sleeping, dining, and parlor cars. These were rented to railroads. To house his employees, Pullman built a town, called Pullman, Illinois. In it, the neat houses with their flower gardens, the shops, the schools, and the churches were all owned by the Pullman Company. Many such company towns had been built by other industrialists.

When Pullman car business fell off in the Panic of 1893, Pullman fired one-third of his employees and cut the wages of the rest by one-third. But he did not cut the high rents in his town, the high prices in its shops, or dividends to his stockholders.

Some of the Pullman workers—members of the American Railway Union—went on strike. This union had been organized in 1893 by a locomotive fireman, Eugene V. Debs. Debs asked Pullman to arbitrate the question of the wage cuts, rents, and other grievances of the Pullman workers. The mayors of fifty cities supported Debs' request for arbitration. Pullman refused.

As a result, in 1894, all the Pullman workers who were not already on strike went out on strike. Debs then backed the Pullman strikers by ordering all members of the American Railway Union to refuse to assist in running any Pullman car or any train connected with a Pullman car. The General Managers' Association, made up of the heads of twenty-four railroads serving Chicago, backed Pullman. They fired every employee who obeyed Debs' order. Before long, the strike covered twenty-seven states and territories.

*What the Government Did About the Pullman Strike.* It was then that the General Managers' Association obtained from a Federal court an injunction forbidding all strikers to interfere with the movement of trains. The injunction was issued on the grounds that the strikers were interfering with the distribution of the United States mail and with interstate commerce. It stated that the strike was a conspiracy in restraint of trade and therefore a violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act (page 489). When strikers ignored the injunction, President Cleveland proclaimed: "If it takes the entire army and navy to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that card will be delivered!" And he ordered a regiment of the United States Army into Chicago.

*Why Rioting and Violence Broke Out.* Some rioting had occurred before the Federal troops were sent in. But, in general, in obedience to Debs' request for law and order, the strike had been fairly peaceful. It was after the injunction had been issued and the soldiers had been sent in that most of the rioting and violence took place. Who was to blame for the violence? According to the General Managers' Association, the strikers themselves. According to union leaders, agents of the railroads deliberately sent in to discredit the union. No doubt both were right in part. Also to blame were tramps, hoodlums, and criminals, who always seem to crop up to take advantage of a time of trouble.

Governor Altgeld of Illinois blamed the bloodshed on President Cleveland's sending in of Federal troops. "Illinois was able to take care of itself," he wrote. In Altgeld's view, Cleveland's action was a violation of states' rights. According to the Constitution, the governor pointed out, Federal troops may not be sent into a state unless the permission of the legislature or of the governor is first obtained. Cleveland had obtained neither.

*The AFL Refuses to Participate in the Pullman Strike.* Debs asked Gompers' powerful AFL to call a general strike in sympathy

and more. The same man, the judge, decides what act is illegal, issues a blanket injunction forbidding such an act to anybody, forbids violation of the injunction by anybody, and punishes anybody who violates it as being in contempt of court.

State factory laws are often ignored by factory owners. They are seldom enforced by the states. Many of them have been declared unconstitutional by state courts and the Supreme Court on the ground that such actions as the regulation of hours by states interfere with a worker's freedom of contract or an employer's property rights.

Of the tiny minority of the nation's labor force that has been unionized, all but a tiny minority are skilled workers. Of the thousands of strikes waged between 1865 and 1900, far more have been lost than have been won.

Had the pessimistic labor leader been able to look ahead into the twentieth century, he might have become an optimist. Labor in general, both skilled and unskilled, was to make great gains. Labor unions were to become so powerful that many people now speak of "big labor" as they have so long spoken of "big business."

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 21

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

contract labor law	blacklist
freedom of contract	yellow-dog
collective bargaining	contract
strike	lockout
closed shop	injunction
open shop	Knights of Labor
boycott	Terence V. Powderly
picketing	AFL
union label	Chinese Exclusion
strikebreakers	Act

Samuel Compers	company towns
Haymarket Affair	American Railway
anarchist	Union
John P. Altgeld	Eugene V. Debs
Homestead strike-	General Managers'
lockout	Association
Pinkertons	socialist
Henry G. Frick	
Pullman strike	
George Pullman	

### ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Describe the wage and working conditions that caused many to join unions after 1865.
2. Sum up five reasons why the average worker felt insecure after 1865.
3. For what reasons did many workers begin to think that collective bargaining was preferable to individual bargaining?
4. Point out the essential difference between (a) a strike and a lockout, (b) a

- closed shop and an open shop, (c) a boycott and a blacklist, and (d) a union label and a yellow-dog contract.
5. Give examples of, or reasons for, opposition to unionization after 1865 by (a) various groups and (b) Government officials.
6. For what reasons did union organizers find it difficult to get many workers to join unions?
7. Show the connection between the growth of nation-wide markets and the growth of national labor unions.

8. Prove that the Knights of Labor (a) had various aims and (b) appealed to various groups.
9. Prove that the policies of the Knights of Labor were both (a) practical and (b) idealistic.
10. Prove that many of its principles outlived the Knights of Labor.
11. Show how the decline of the Knights of Labor was caused by (a) cleavages within and (b) pressures from without.
12. What experiences in his early life prepared Samuel Gompers for union leadership?
13. Point out ways in which the AFL was (a) different from and (b) similar to the Knights of Labor.
14. With respect to the Haymarket Affair, describe (a) what caused it, (b) the atmosphere that led to conviction of the accused, (c) Altgeld's role, and (d) its effects.
15. With respect to the Homestead strike-lockout, describe (a) what caused it, (b) the role of the Pinkertons, (c) why Frick succeeded, (d) Carnegie's attitude, and (e) its effects.
16. With respect to the Pullman strike, describe (a) what caused it, (b) its costs, (c) the roles of (1) Debs, (2) the General Managers' Association, (3) a Federal court, (4) Cleveland, and (5) Altgeld, (d) Gompers' attitude, and (e) its effects.
17. For those who were pro-labor there were (a) bright spots and (b) dark spots in the labor picture by 1900. Prove by examples.
3. Do you believe that the factors making for insecurity of workers after 1865 still exist today? Explain fully.
4. Do you believe that collective bargaining is in keeping with, or a violation of, democracy? Give reasons for your answer.
5. Of which of the steps taken by unions to win benefits from employers and of which of the steps taken by employers in opposing unions do you (a) approve and (b) disapprove? Give reasons.
6. Comment on the viewpoint of many after 1865 that unions were contrary to American traditions.
7. Explain whether you approve or disapprove of the policies used by many Government officials in opposing unions.
8. What do you think was the most important reason why many workers refused to join unions after 1865? Justify your choice.
9. Suppose most unions had remained local, instead of affiliating with national unions. How do you think (a) the status of labor and (b) the status of employers would have been affected?
10. Of which of the aims, membership policies, and general policies of the Knights of Labor do you (a) approve and (b) disapprove? Briefly give reasons for your choices.
11. Do you believe that the Knights' urging of the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act was in keeping with its motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all"? Explain.
12. A study of the reasons why the Knights declined should be compulsory reading for almost any organization. Give reasons why.
13. What adjectives do you think best describe Samuel Gompers?
14. To what extent do you agree with Gompers' criticisms of the Knights of Labor? Justify your answer.
15. The argument that it is a mistake to try to unite skilled and unskilled workers in one union persists to some extent to-

### ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Considering the status of labor after 1865, would you have joined a union? Give reasons why or why not.
2. Just as the average worker felt insecure after 1865, so did the average employer. Explain fully whether you agree or disagree.



day. For what reasons do you think this argument has endured so long?

- 16 On reading accounts of the Haymarket Affair, the Homestead strike-lockout, and the Pullman strike, one gets a feeling of *sadness* and *bewilderment*. Show specifically that the italicized words would apply in the case of any one of these incidents.
17. With respect to the three above incidents, tell whether you would commend or condemn the stand taken by (a) Altgeld, (b) Frick, (c) Carnegie, (d) Pullman, (e) Debs, (f) Cleveland, and (g) Gompers. Give reasons in each case.
18. Which do you think was more justified in his view of the labor picture in 1900, the optimistic labor leader or the pessimistic one? Give reasons.

★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Write a three-cornered conversation that might have taken place after 1865 in which a union organizer tries to persuade a worker to join a union and an employer's representative tries to persuade him not to.
2. Read "Samuel Gompers' Letter on Labor in Industrial Society," Document 6 in Volume 2 of *Great Issues in American History*, edited by R. Hofstadter. Report on which arguments in it appeal to (a) your emotions and (b) your reason.
- 3 After studying current newspapers and periodicals, report on to what extent labor problems today are (a) similar to and (b) different from the labor problems discussed in this chapter.
4. Write an imaginary dialogue between (a) Terence V. Powderly and Samuel Gompers, (b) George Pullman and Eugene V. Debs, or (c) Governor Altgeld and President Cleveland. Cite your sources.
- 5 Write a series of questions you would

like to have asked any leader of labor or management mentioned in this chapter. Indicate his possible answers.

6. From Sections VII through X of *Labor in America* by F. R. Dulles, select those quotations which you think would make labor history come alive for the class.
7. Make a chart in which you outline in one color the aims of the Knights of Labor that have been achieved and in another color those that have not been achieved. See, for example, Volume 2 of *Documents of American History*, edited by H. S. Commager.
- 8 After research, report on what you find (a) dramatic and (b) significant in the story of the group called the "Molly Maguires" or the railroad strikes of 1877.
9. In committee, examine the books in your school or local library that deal with individuals, organizations, or incidents discussed in this chapter. Contribute to the committee report evaluations of these books in terms of interest, illustrations, and significance.
- 10 Imagine that any individual in this chapter asked on his deathbed, "Have I served humanity well?" Write an essay telling how you would have answered him. Consult several sources.
11. For an encyclopedia for young children write an article entitled "The History of the AFL in the Nineteenth Century." Include a discussion of (a) its leadership, (b) its membership, (c) obstacles it faced, (d) its successes, and (e) its failures.
- 12 Outline the material you would put into a television script to depict any one of the examples of industrial warfare mentioned in this chapter.
13. After reading in *The American Reader*, edited by P. Angle, the sections in Chapter 16 entitled "The Pullman Strike: The Company's Case" and "The Pullman Strike: The Workmen's Case," report on who you think had the better arguments.
- 14 Make a series of sketches illustrating highlights in this chapter.

## CHAPTER

# 22

### *The Political Panorama of The Late Nineteenth Century*

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#### Some General Aspects of Politics 1865–1900

• Spiritual and Moral Values Decline • Many Qualified Men Refuse to Participate in Politics • Political Bosses Become Ever More Powerful • Both Parties Tend to Evade Issues, Keep Wartime Bitterness Alive, and Practice Mud-Slinging • Republicans Win Many Presidential Campaigns • There Are Many Bright Moments in the Period from 1865 to 1900

#### From Grant to Arthur: Real Issues Are Submerged

• Radical Republicans and Big Businessmen Are Pleased by Certain Policies in Grant's Administration • During the Administration of the Personally Honest Grant, Corruption Is Widespread in the Nation • A Liberal Republican Movement Demands Reform • Americans Show Moderation in the Disputed Hayes-Tilden Election • How the Conscientious Hayes Showed Courage as President • Garfield's Assassination Strengthens the Merit System • Some Constructive Policies of Arthur

#### Real Issues Slowly Emerge Under Cleveland, Harrison, and Cleveland

• 1884: A Shameful Campaign • Cleveland Takes Strong Stands on Appointments, Pensions, Public Lands, and the Tariff • 1888: A Clear-cut Issue Is Widely Discussed • More Voters Vote for Cleveland, But Harrison Wins • Harrison's Administration Is Highlighted by a Higher Tariff, Big Silver Purchases, an Antitrust Act, a Liberal Pension Policy, and the Rise of a Strong Third Party • Cleveland's Second Term Is a Time of Troubles • 1896: A Real Issue Divides the Parties Sharply

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The idealistic Henry Adams<sup>1</sup> was sick at heart when he looked at the political picture of the United States in the late nine-

teenth century. Shortly after 1900, he wrote:

One might search the whole list of Congress, judiciary, and executive, during the twenty-five years 1870–1895 and find little but damaged reputations. The period was poor in purpose and barren in results.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Adams was a descendant of Presidents John and John Quincy Adams. The Adams family was always noted for its dedication to public service.

Many writers have supported this point of view. Some have gone so far as to call the period from the end of the War Between the States to the opening of the twentieth century the most disgraceful period in American history. Recently, however, other writers have maintained that Adams and other severe critics of the period overstressed the period's evils and ignored its accomplishments. In studying this period, a writer supporting either point of view would find plenty of facts to strengthen his case

## Some General Aspects Of Politics 1865-1900

**Spiritual and Moral Values Decline in the Gilded Age.** Without a doubt, the late nineteenth century was a period of shocking political corruption. Industry, as we know, was undergoing unparalleled expansion. To get rich Government contracts or huge sections of land in the West or high tariffs to benefit their industries, certain railroad operators, industrialists, and other business leaders bribed judges, congressmen, and other Government officials. In fact, some of the congressmen were lawyers for, or shareholders in, the very businesses that would benefit by the laws they introduced. And far too many citizens closed their eyes to all this corruption. Indeed, many of them were too busy trying to get rich themselves in this so-called *Gilded Age* (page 569). So materialistic did many become that spiritual matters got little attention. On Sundays, many a church was virtually empty.

The War Between the States was partly to blame for this breakdown in spiritual and moral values. Profiteers had made fortunes during the war, often by graft and wild speculation. As we know, after the war, many carried on in the same unscrupulous spirit. And many a lawyer, judge, and newspaper editor took his orders from such persons.

Many a war veteran felt that having missed a chance to get rich during the war,

he would make up for it after the war. Many a nonveteran who had enjoyed a fat income during the war looked around for ways to keep his income high, no matter how. Spiritual and moral values suffered also when many an educated Southerner, experienced in government, was barred from politics. Many carpetbaggers, who replaced such Southerners, were more interested in personal gain than in public welfare.

**Many Qualified Men Refuse to Participate in Politics.** While in the South many of the most experienced leaders were barred from politics, in the North many of the finest men refused to have anything to do with politics. They preferred to devote their time and brains to building careers in the business world, which had far more prestige than politics. No wonder the word "mediocre" has been used to describe many politicians of this period!

**Political Bosses Become Ever More Powerful.** The most influential of the post-war politicians was usually the boss of the political machine (page 246). To win elections

*A Thomas Nast cartoon on boss rule. Explain whether or not you think this cartoon is exaggerated.*



by any means, fair or foul, was the primary goal of some such bosses. For winning an election meant that loyal members of the party would be rewarded with Government jobs or other Government favors. It meant that financial supporters of the party, such as railroad corporations, would be rewarded with Government contracts or laws helping their business in one way or another.

The spoils of victory were so great that a party member who did not give his all to bring it about was looked upon almost as a traitor. Among other Presidents in this period, Rutherford B. Hayes was deeply disturbed because loyalty to the party seemed to be stronger than loyalty to the nation. He counseled: "He serves his party best who serves his country best."

The boss seldom ran for election himself. But he was far more powerful, especially in city and state governments, than those he helped to elect. One statesman, Elihu Root, described the boss' power thus:

. . . I do not remember how many years Mr. [Roscoe] Conkling [political boss in New York State] was the supreme ruler in this state; the governor did not count, the legislature did not count; . . . It was what Mr. Conkling said; and in a great outburst of public rage he was pulled down. Then Mr. [Thomas C.] Platt ruled the state; for nigh upon twenty years he ruled it. It was not the governor; it was not the legislature; it was not any elected officers; it was Mr. Platt.

Such a situation, in which a political boss dominates elected officials, is called *invisible government*.

**Both Parties Tend to Evade Issues Until the 1890's.** Both parties in this period avoided taking a strong stand on the pressing problems of the day, such as:

How can the benefits of big business be preserved without driving little business out of business?

How can the tariff be adjusted so as to protect American business, without boosting the cost of living of American consumers excessively?

How can industrial disputes be settled in a manner fair to both capital and labor?

How can railroad expansion be encouraged, but railroad abuses, such as high rates and rebates, discouraged, to protect farmers?

How can a currency system be set up that will be fair to both creditors and debtors?

How can the great natural resources of the nation be developed, without being wasted?

How can a merit system, which might eliminate some of the abuses of the spoils system, be established for Government employees?

Is isolationism or a stronger role in world affairs the better policy for a nation bursting with industrial expansion?

**Why Both Parties Tended to Evade Issues.** In general, the leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties agreed that the great benefits won by industry during and after the War Between the States should be preserved. High tariffs and the Government's *laissez-faire* attitude, among other friendly Government policies toward business, were partly responsible for industry's gains. This helps to explain why neither party took a strong stand in behalf of legislation in such areas as tariff revision or regulation of railroads and trusts.

Where differences *did* appear, they were not so much party differences between Republicans and Democrats as they were sectional differences within the parties. In each party, for example, the farm groups of the West and South often tended to oppose the business groups of the East and North. To win elections, party leaders avoided taking strong stands on issues that might antagonize the various sectional groups within their parties that held conflicting viewpoints.

Many political leaders, like millions of other Americans, believed that the Government's main job was merely to preserve law and order. Economic problems, they felt, could best be left to the successful businessmen, who had proved their ability by making fortunes in the fiercely competitive business world. In fact, from colonial times, there

had been a general fear among Americans that Government regulation would imperil individual freedom. Then, too, there were those political leaders who were either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the real issues of the times

**Veterans Are Nominated and Veterans' Organizations Created by Both Parties.** Each party usually nominated a general for the Presidency and boasted that its general had been more of a hero in the war than his rival. Each usually nominated veterans for lesser offices. In the North, veterans of the Union army joined together in an organization called the *Grand Army of the Republic* (GAR), which strongly supported and had great influence in the Republican Party. In the South, veterans of the Confederate army joined together in an organization called the *Confederate Veterans*, which strongly supported and had tremendous influence in the Democratic Party.

**Bitterness Is Kept Alive by Both Parties.** Over and over again, Republican campaigners and writers would tell the voters that the Republicans had saved the Union and that the Democrats were the party of rebellion that had been prepared to destroy it. This waving-of-the-bloody-shirt technique (page 422) was, in a sense, practiced in the South, too. Voters were reminded, for example, of the ravages caused by Sherman in his march through Georgia. Whatever its source, this type of campaigning was bad for the nation because it kept alive hates that might better have been buried.

**Mud-Slinging Is Practiced and Vague Promises Are Made by Both Parties.** Each party often tried to smear the reputations of the opposing party's candidates. A careful investigation would be made of their private lives in hopes of finding some bits of scandal that could be reported to the voters. This mud-slinging (page 240) was one reason why politics as a career was held in contempt.

Political platforms were carefully worded so as to seem to promise all things to all people. Along with such tactics, corruption

in many of these campaigns was quite common. Some voters were bribed. Some voted several times in the same election.

**Some Reasons Why the Republicans Won So Many Presidential Victories.** In the presidential campaigns after the war, the Republicans usually won, even though their margin of popular votes was usually narrow. As we know, for only eight of the forty-eight years between 1865 and 1913 was there a Democrat in the White House. What explains this dominance of the Republicans over so long a span?

**Many Voters Associate the Republican Party with the Preservation of the Union.** Republican campaigners at this time convinced many people that a vote for their party was an act of patriotism. Voters were won over by such Republican slogans as "The party that saved the nation must rule it." Many voted the Republican ticket because they worshiped the memory of the martyred President Lincoln. They felt that they were thus showing their respect for him and his ideals. Some felt, too, that by voting Republican they were showing their support of a Union in which the nation was strong, rather than a Union in which the states had great power.

**Favorable Legislation Pleases Many Businessmen.** Powerful support for the Republican Party also came from men of power, such as big businessmen and bankers. Such men contributed millions to Republican campaign funds. Why, they asked, switch from the Republican Party when Republican Administrations have favored us with high tariffs, a strong national banking system, land and money grants to railroads, repeal of the income tax shortly after the war, and little regulation of our businesses? Bankers and other creditors were pleased, too, with the dear dollar that resulted from such laws as the Resumption Act of 1875 (page 490). A dear dollar meant that their bonds, mortgages, and other securities would grow more valuable.

**Why Former Slaves and, at Times, Many Western Farmers Voted Republican.** Former

and Federal officials became so tainted with scandal that these individuals lost the confidence of the voters and were, before long, finished politically.

**Many in High and Low Places Retain Their Idealism.** In spite of the decline in spiritual and moral values in the late nineteenth century, there were many who elung to their high ideals. Senators, such as John Sherman of Ohio, and Presidents, such as the Republican Hayes and the Demoeat Cleveland, vigorously eondemned corruption. In fact, presidential eandidates did not engage in the mud-slinging praeticed by their supporters during eampaigns. Demands for reform were so strong in both parties as to come close to splitting them apart at times.

All in all, as the years rolled on, fewer and fewer offieials became involved in seandals. Incidents of corruption made the headlines. But the vast majority of Americans were hard-working people, whose decency was taken for granted. And of those who made fortunes, some used much of their money to build libraries, art galleries, science foundations, and other projects to benefit the public.

**Some Idealistic Legislation Brightens the Fairly Dark Years.** The spirit of idealism and reform is shown in some of the legislation passed in the late nineteenth eentury. To cheek the abuses of the spoils system, a merit system for Federal civil service positions was introduced in 1883. To see that Indians got a fairer deal, the Dawes Act was passed in 1887 (page 463). To see that women got a fairer deal, a few Western states granted them the right to vote by 1900. To insure more honest eleetions, Massachusetts adopted the Australian ballot in 1888. Soon other states did the same. To curb corruption in polities. New York passed, in 1890, the first corrupt praetices aet (page 597). To make invisible government more visible, and to eheck the power of the politieal boss, eertain deviees to give voters a more direct voice in the government were to be introduced in several states shortly after 1900 (pages 596-597).

**Political Parties Begin to Take Bolder Stands in the Late Nineteenth Century.** Another encouraging sign for good citizens in the late nineteenth century was the fact that the major parties began to face up to important issues. Third parties, such as the Populists, pulled votes away from the Republicans and Democrats because of the bold stand such third parties took on important issues. To meet this challenge, the two major parties began to take somewhat stronger stands, too.

In fact, as we know, many Populist principles appeared in the Demoeatie platform in the election of 1896 (page 495). In that election, it is true, the Democratic Party, then controlled by farmers of the South and West, lost out to the Republican party, strongly supported by Eastern industrialists. However, in the twentieth century, both parties were to give more and more attention in their platforms to the demands of farmers, as well as to those of wage earners, consumers, and small businessmen.

**Much Material and Cultural Progress Is Made in the Fairly Dark Years.** Finally, those who say that this period's evils have been overstressed point to the great material and cultural progress made therein. A nation that had begun as one in which most people made things by hand had become the most highly industrialized nation in the world. It is true that during this speddy industrialization, many worked long hours for low wages and lived in slums. However, conditions for the vast majority were never as bad as those of other countries undergoing rapid industrialization. The millions migrating to the United States were partial proof of this faet. The fairly steady rise in standard of living of most persons was further proof. More and more people were enjoying such benefits as telephones, phonographs, and lighting by oil, gas, and even by electricity. In medicine and music, in literature and science, and in the great spread of free public education, America was making great strides.

By 1890, the vast expanse of the relatively

The continuation of the high wartime tariffs and of the big grants to railroads pleased many big businessmen. The passage of the Resumption Act (page 490) and Grant's veto of a bill to put more greenbacks in circulation were especially pleasing to creditors. And westward expansion and business expansion continued at a rapid rate.

***Corruption Is Widespread in the Nation During the Grant Administration.*** A wave of corruption swept the country while Grant was in office. Here are some shocking examples:

The United States minister to Brazil cheated the Brazilian Government out of \$100,000 and ran off to Europe. Actually, he was cheating the American taxpayer, for the United States Government paid back Brazil's loss.

The secretary of the treasury allowed a Federal agent to pocket half the taxes he had collected. Treasury officials and President Grant's private secretary conspired with a "Whiskey Ring" in St. Louis to cheat the Government out of millions of dollars in taxes on whiskey.

The secretary of the navy took large bribes from contractors seeking Government business. Dishonest speculators seeking vast tracts of valuable Western lands bribed officials of the Department of the Interior.

President Grant's brother-in-law, as well as several Government officials, joined with speculators Jay Gould and Jim Fisk in a scheme to monopolize the gold supply of the nation. The exposure of the scheme did not prevent Gould from making millions, even though many businessmen and bankers went bankrupt.

Some national legislators, both Republicans and Democrats, and even the Vice-President, were implicated in the shocking Crédit Mobilier scandal involving the Union Pacific Railroad (page 446).

Many state legislators in many different states were bribed by railroad speculators and others seeking special favors. And just as some local Democratic machines, such as

the Tweed Ring, were crooked, so there were some local Republican machines that were also dishonest. As we know, too, in the South, many corrupt carpetbaggers were enriching themselves at the expense of the people.

And unscrupulous manipulation of the stocks of many businesses played an important part in causing the Panic of 1873.<sup>1</sup>

***How Grant's Personality Made It Possible for Corruption to Smear His Administration.***

The last year of Grant's life was one of never-ending agony. He was suffering from cancer of the throat. Yet throughout this terrible year, he spent every waking moment dictating his memoirs or, when he could no longer speak, writing them out. Being bankrupt at this time, he wanted to repay his debts and to make sure that his family, through the sale of the memoirs, would be provided for. Grant was bankrupt because he had made the mistake of trusting a friend who turned out to be dishonest.

***The Personally Honest Grant Is a Poor Judge of Character.*** Grant seemed to feel that rich men deserved respect, just because they were rich. He respected them because he felt that the industries they had built up had helped the North to win the war. He felt that they were making America great by building big factories and railroads spanning the continent.

Some of the rich men Grant admired were dishonest. When they gave him gifts of fast horses, fine wines, and cruises on their yachts, he thought that it was because they were so fond of him. Actually, they were using their friendship with him to obtain favors from Government officials.

***Grant's Loyalty to Friends and Relatives Is a Handicap to His Administration.*** Grant was loyal through thick and thin to friends

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<sup>1</sup> Bad times in Europe, wild speculation, and over-expansion in railroads, mining, manufacturing, and Western wheat were more fundamental causes of this panic. Thousands of businesses failed in the six-year-long depression that followed. Thousands of jobless men stood on bread lines waiting for handouts.

and relatives, even when they didn't deserve loyalty. Of the scores of relatives and old army associates he appointed to Government jobs, many were downright inefficient. The members of his Cabinet were practically all personal friends—mainly incompetent men whose prime interest was in making money from their high positions.

A few good Cabinet members resigned in protest against the great influence that political bosses had in the Administration. One excellent member stayed on. This was the secretary of state, the wealthy and highly competent Hamilton Fish. To this patriot belongs most of the credit for the fine accomplishments in foreign affairs under Grant (page 553).

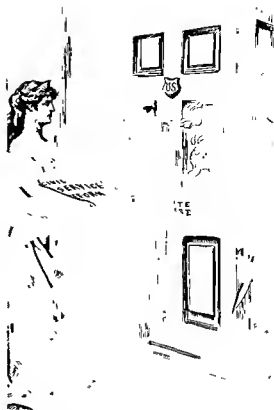
Even when it was clearly shown that some of his appointees were dishonest, Grant usually dismissed the evidence as Democratic propaganda. Like many others, he had come to look upon the Republican Party, which he felt had saved the Union, as almost sacred.

**Grant Recognizes His Limitations as President.** Grant knew little about politics or politicians, and perhaps even less about the Constitution or the great economic and social changes taking place in the nation. He looked upon the Presidency as a gift from a grateful people. He did not seem to realize that holding the nation's highest office was a great responsibility.

Toward the end of his time in office, Grant, in a sense, admitted the sins of his Administration and tried to explain his failure as Chief Executive thus:

It was my fortune, or misfortune, to be called to the office of chief executive without any previous political training. . . . Failures have been errors of judgment, not of intent.

**A Liberal Republican Movement Rebels Against Corruption and Demands Reforms.** "Turn the rascals out!" This was the slogan of a new party, the *Liberal Republican Party*, organized in 1872 by Republican reformers disgusted with the corruption



*In this contemporary cartoon, Grant seems to be telling a crowd of office seekers that there ought to be a better way of appointing people to the Federal civil service than the spoils system.*

in their own party. To Liberal Republicans, the rascals were Grant, the Radical Republicans who dominated his Administration, and his many incompetent and frequently corrupt appointees. The Liberal Republican reformers demanded that a mild Reconstruction policy toward the South replace the stern policy of the Radical Republicans. They demanded that civil authority always prevail over military authority. They demanded, too, that a civil service merit system be set up to replace the spoils system. This, they felt, would make the Government more efficient and politics less corrupt.

**Why Greeley and the Liberal Republicans Had No Chance Against Grant.** The Democrats decided, in 1872, to support the Liberal Republican candidate for President, Horace Greeley (page 288). Greeley was



the brilliant but eccentric editor of the New York *Tribune*. The Democrats believed that only by thus fusing with the Liberal Republicans might they beat Grant and end military Reconstruction in the South.

But Greeley didn't have a chance against Grant. In the first place, he was an odd choice for the Liberal Republicans to make. He was opposed to the civil service reform advocated by the Liberal Republicans, and he favored a high tariff, while most Liberal Republicans, and Democrats, too, favored a low one. Secondly, he was an odd candidate for the Democrats to endorse. In previous campaigns, as *Tribune* editor, this abolitionist had attacked Democrats as cruel slave-beaters and traitors to the Union.<sup>1</sup> (He did, however, oppose the harsh Reconstruction policy toward the South, which he had formerly favored.) And thirdly, he looked so odd to many voters that they laughed at him, instead of voting for him. His bald head and his moon-shaped baby face were both fringed with fuzzy white hair. His rumpled white coat looked as if he had slept in it.

But there were other reasons why Greeley didn't have a chance against Grant. Grant was still very popular, especially with former Union soldiers. In Southern communities, carpetbagger governments still controlled election machinery. And groups that wanted high tariffs, hard money, and special favors poured millions into Grant's campaign fund.

In this 1872 campaign, the bloody shirt was again waved. Name-calling and mud-slinging were again practiced.

A few days before the election, Greeley's wife died. A few weeks after it, apparently brokenhearted over her loss and the loss of the election, Greeley himself died.

*The Liberal Republican Movement Is Not a Complete Failure.* The Liberal Republican movement was valuable in a number of ways. The movement indicated that there were

large numbers of decent, patriotic citizens who were revolted by corruption and wanted honest government restored. It convinced many Republicans that failure to listen to criticism might spell defeat in the next election. It influenced Grant to make less frequent use of Federal troops in Southern elections. And it influenced the Congress to pass a law restoring the civil rights of many former Confederate leaders.

**The Disputed Hayes-Tilden Election: The American People Show Moderation in a Crisis.** To many Democrats, their party looked like a sure winner in the presidential election of 1876. They were convinced that the voters were disgusted with the scandals of the Grant Administration. Furthermore, they felt that they had a strong candidate in Samuel J. Tilden, the millionaire reformer and New York governor who had won national fame by crushing the Tweed Ring.

Despite such Democratic optimism, the election proved to be an extremely close one. The issue remained long in doubt. Then the Democrats became gleeful. According to late returns, Tilden had more popular votes than the Republican candidate, Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, and 184 electoral votes to Hayes' 165.

But, to their dismay, the Democrats soon learned that victory was not theirs. Tilden lacked one electoral vote to give him the needed majority. Certain electoral votes were still uncounted. This was because three Southern states run by carpetbagger governments had each sent in two sets of returns—one for Tilden and one for Hayes. Which set should be counted? There was also a dispute over an electoral vote in Oregon. In all, twenty votes were in dispute—exactly the number Hayes needed to be elected. Although the Oregon vote was soon placed in Hayes' column, arguments over the other disputed electoral votes almost culminated in violence.

There was no provision in the Constitution for settling such a crisis. Therefore, the Congress set up a fifteen-man *Electoral Commission*, composed of eight Republicans

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<sup>1</sup> For this reason, some Democrats gave Greeley lukewarm support or didn't vote at all.

and seven Democrats, drawn from the Senate, House of Representatives, and Supreme Court. The commission, by a vote of eight to seven, gave all the disputed electoral votes to Hayes.

Why did the Democrats accept this decision? Hayes had promised that if elected, he would remove all remaining Federal troops from the South. Furthermore, a compromise had been arranged between Republican Party leaders and leading Southerners by which the latter would take over the distribution of Federal jobs in the South. The South was also promised huge expenditures for internal improvements, such as railroads, and the appointment of a Southerner to Hayes' Cabinet. In addition to these considerations, many Southerners who had regained control of their states and wanted to industrialize the South (page 417) were attracted by the promises in the Republican platform to promote business.

In any case, it was a tribute to the American people that they did not resort to civil war over this disputed election, but settled it by compromise.

**Hayes Tries to Live Up to His Motto: 'He Serves His Party Best Who Serves His Country Best.'** By appointing an ex-Confederate to his Cabinet, Hayes hoped to help dissipate the hatred created by the War Between the States. Hayes also recalled the remaining Federal troops from the South. Thus, in effect, was political and military Reconstruction ended—and its failure admitted.

With the troops no longer present to maintain Radical Republican control, the South became solidly Democratic. Hayes' recall of the troops was in keeping with his pre-election promise and the interparty compromise of 1877. But this action, like the appointment of the ex-Confederate, took courage. For, as Hayes expected, his actions opened him to strong attack by carpetbaggers and others who still believed in waving the bloody shirt.

**Hayes Shows Courage by His Stands on Civil Service Reform and the Silver Question.**

"And now for civil service reform," wrote Hayes in his diary almost immediately after recalling the troops. Hayes knew that civil service reform would set off savage attacks on him by his party's political bosses, whose power depended on the spoils system. Yet he went ahead and discharged certain officials whose departments had reputations for dishonesty.

Hayes proceeded to appoint a leader in the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 as secretary of the interior. He encouraged this Cabinet member, the German immigrant Carl Schurz, to introduce the merit system in his department. In fact, Hayes' entire Cabinet, appointed without consulting political bosses, was an excellent one. Yet his record on civil service reform was not entirely spotless. Many civil service reformers attacked him for granting political favors to corrupt carpetbaggers who had helped bring his election about.

Hayes again showed courage in his veto—subsequently overridden—of the Bland-Alison Silver Purchase Act (page 493). This veto angered Westerners in Hayes' own party who wanted cheap money.

**As Some View the Hayes Administration.** Historians generally sum up Hayes as a conservative, efficient President, who, nevertheless, did not understand enough about the great economic problems of the day or do very much to help solve them. He did almost nothing, for example, about such problems as the abuses committed by railroads and trusts. When the great railroad strikes of 1877 broke out, causing terrible loss of life and property, he seemed almost bewildered. He finally decided to use the injunction and Federal troops to stop the lawlessness.

Before his election, Hayes had stated that he would accept only one term. Moreover, his independence had antagonized such political bosses as Conkling. Therefore, he was not renominated.

**Only a Third Party Faces Up to Important Issues in the 1880 Campaign.** Republican candidate James A. Garfield won the election of 1880 by fewer than 10,000 votes over

system, many Republicans bolted their party and campaigned for Cleveland. These bolters, supporters of reform, were nicknamed *Mugwumps*. Among them were the poet James Russell Lowell and Carl Schurz.

**The 1884 Campaign Is an Especially Shameful One.** Instead of concentrating on important issues, campaigners for both candidates in 1884 tried to dig up scandals in the private life of the opposing candidate. Few campaigns in American history have been as disgraceful as this one.

**Why Blaine Lost.** Of the ten million-odd votes cast, Cleveland won by the narrow margin of about 23,000. Why did Blaine lose? In the presence of Blaine and others, the Reverend Samuel Burchard attacked the Democratic Party as the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion." Blaine, worn out from campaigning, did not catch the ugly insult to Roman Catholics. By the time he repudiated it, the damage had been done. The Irish Catholic votes he lost in New York as a consequence may well have cost him the election.

The very evening of the Burchard incident, Blaine attended a banquet given by millionaires at Delmonico's, a fashionable New York restaurant. The next day, the *New York World* printed a cartoon showing Blaine seated between the hated Jay Gould and William Vanderbilt, who had said: "The public be damned" (page 444). In the corner of the cartoon a poverty-stricken father, mother, and child were shown begging for some crumbs. The news report on the banquet condemned Blaine thus: "While Blaine and his millionaire admirers were feasting . . . , thousands of children in this great city, whose fathers labour twelve hours a day, went to bed hungry." As a result, more desperately needed votes were lost to Blaine.

In addition to these costly incidents, Mugwump votes for Cleveland and votes cast for Prohibition and Greenback Party candidates also cut into Blaine's total. Perhaps more important than any of these reasons for his loss, however, was the hunger for reform.

Cleveland was the first Democrat to be

elected after the War Between the States. His victory indicated that waving the bloody shirt was on the way out as effective political propaganda.

#### **Job-Hungry Democrats Flood Washington.**

From all over the nation, Democratic office seekers by the thousands flooded Washington, almost before Cleveland could move into the White House. These Democrats demanded that congressmen and Cabinet members use their influence with the President to get them jobs. With their party out of power for the past twenty-four years, these job-hungry Democrats were saying, in effect: It's our turn now!

**Cleveland's Policy on Civil Service Appointments Pleases Neither Reformers Nor Party Regulars.** What was Cleveland to do? Suppose he replaced all the Republican Federal civil service employees in the nonclassified category with Democrats. Then the Mugwumps would turn against him. Suppose he didn't. Then the Democrats would turn against him. His party would be weakened because many would feel that they no longer had any incentive to work for it.

What did Cleveland do? He doubled the number of Federal civil service positions in the classified category, thus taking these jobs out of the hands of politicians. It is true that, under pressure from his party, Cleveland replaced most Republicans in the nonclassified category with Democrats. But he tried hard, though sometimes unsuccessfully, to pick competent people. This civil service policy of Cleveland's pleased neither those Mugwumps who wanted a complete merit system nor those Democrats who preferred the spoils system.

**Cleveland's Policy on Pensions and Toward Former Confederates Antagonizes Many Veterans.** Just when the war was ending, a man enlisted in the Union army and served nine days, during which he contracted measles. Many years later, he applied for a veteran's pension. Cleveland vetoed his application, ridiculing his "valiant service" and "terrific encounter with the measles." Cleveland vetoed many such applications

for pensions, which he thought were filed by fakers. Although he approved far more pension claims than any preceding President, he was angrily attacked by war veterans for those he turned down

Cleveland also was attacked as a Confederate sympathizer for appointing two former Confederates to his Cabinet and for ordering the return of captured Confederate flags. In anger at the order, the national commander of the Grand Army of the Republic (page 521) cried out

May God palsy the hand that wrote that order  
May God palsy the brain that conceived it  
And may God palsy the tongue that dictated it!

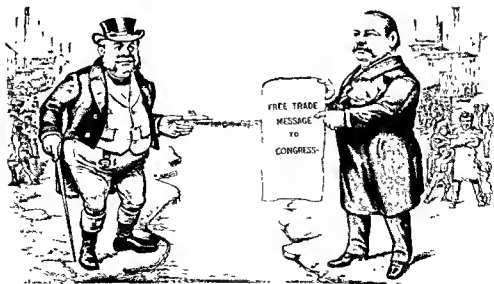
Shortly after, Cleveland canceled the order. He had learned that the return of the flags was the responsibility of the Congress. The flags were returned, but not until 1905. By then, the hatred aroused by the war was not so great.

**Cleveland's Strong Stand on Public Lands.** Cleveland also made enemies of certain railroad corporations, lumber and mining companies, and cattle ranches. He compelled them to return to the Government eighty million acres of public land they had been holding illegally.

**Cleveland Is Won Over by Arguments for a Low Tariff.** His party leaders had warned Cleveland that to work for a lower tariff would lead to attacks on him by the most powerful industrial groups in the nation. Cleveland answered these politicians by asking, "What is the use of being elected or re-elected, if you don't stand for something?"

**Cleveland Proposes to Reduce the Surplus by Reducing the Tariff.** Today, when the United States Treasury has such a tremendous deficit, it is hard to believe that a President would be worried about a surplus. But in Cleveland's day, duties collected under the high protective tariff were helping to create a tremendous surplus in the Treasury. Cleveland was worried that the surplus would encourage Congressional extravagance in passing appropriation bills. With

*Do you think this Currier and Ives cartoon would have appealed to Cleveland's friends or to his foes?*



### JOHN BULL AND HIS FRIEND CLEVELAND.

"That suits me Mr Cleveland, keep my mills and factories going if the rest of mankind starve-I am glad to see you sport my colors the Red Bandana!"



"I am proud of your approval Mr Bull and am doing my best to serve you as you say-I wear the real British Red there isn't anything green about me"

the great growth of industry, he realized, what was needed was more money in circulation. Cleveland became convinced that among the several ways of reducing the surplus the wisest would be to reduce the tariff.

*Cleveland Studies the Arguments for a High Tariff.* Cleveland admitted that when he took office, he knew very little about the tariff. While in office, however, he studied it constantly. He found that, again and again, supporters of a high protective tariff had repeated the arguments given by such men as Alexander Hamilton (page 164) and Henry Clay (page 216). Summed up, these arguments run as follows:

A high protective tariff will help infant industries to develop, thus creating more and more jobs. Such a tariff will tend to make the nation self-sufficient so that if cut off from foreign nations in time of war, it will still have the goods it needs. And a high tariff will mean higher wages for American workers, since American manufacturers will not have to lower their prices to meet the competition of foreign manufacturers.

*Cleveland Studies the Arguments for a Low Tariff.* In his study of the arguments for a low tariff, Cleveland came across the following: A high protective tariff means high prices for a lot of people. Farmers especially suffer, because they sell their products in an unprotected market but have to buy manufactured goods in a protected one (page 484). By the 1880's, many infant industries had long since grown into husky giants, which no longer needed to be spoon-fed by a protective tariff. Because foreign competition is reduced or eliminated by a protective tariff, the growth of big monopolies was encouraged. Thus the protective tariff came to be called "the mother of trusts." High protective tariffs in the United States cause other countries to raise their tariffs in retaliation. Thus the United States loses valuable foreign markets.

Cleveland came to the conclusion that these arguments for a low tariff were more convincing than those for a high protective tariff. Furthermore, Cleveland found that

only a fairly small percentage of American workers worked in industries protected by the tariff. Not all workers in protected industries necessarily received higher wages than workers in unprotected industries. Cleveland asked why workers in unprotected industries should have to pay higher prices, just to make possible higher wages for workers in protected industries.

Because of his conclusion on the tariff, Cleveland was much disturbed by its upward trend. Let us look at this trend and at the action he took concerning it in his first term.

*Cleveland Is Troubled by the Trend of the Tariff.* The Congress, in 1861, had put through the high Morrill Tariff. This high tariff was supposed to be only temporary, for raising money to conduct the war. But after the war, tariffs climbed even higher. One of the reasons why the Radical Republicans wanted to bar Confederate leaders, who were mainly farmers, from the Congress was to keep them from forming an alliance with other farmers to lower the tariff.<sup>1</sup>

Many manufacturers, including those in the South when the South became more industrialized, vigorously opposed any attempt to reduce the tariff. In fact, many manufacturers hired lobbyists to persuade congressmen to keep tariff rates high, and even to raise them.

For the most part, Republicans, after the war, favored a high tariff. The Democratic Party in general hesitated to take a stand on this issue. Cleveland, however, felt that his party was honor-bound to take a stand on the tariff. Of it, he said:

A tariff for any other purpose than public revenue is public robbery.

The Democratic House passed the moderate tariff that Cleveland's supporters introduced in the Congress in 1888. But the Republican Senate rejected it.

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<sup>1</sup> From the War Between the States to the present, tariff rates have been generally high.

**Succession to the Presidency, Before and After the Presidential Succession Act of 1886.** Notwithstanding their deadlock over the tariff, the House and Senate during Cleveland's administration co-operated in passing some important measures. Between 1792 and 1886, according to law, the President and Vice-President would have been succeeded by the President Pro Tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. But if when Garfield died Arthur had also died, the country would have been left without a President. For the President Pro Tempore had not yet been elected by the Senate and the House had not as yet met to choose its Speaker.

In 1886, the Congress passed a law changing the succession to the Presidency in the event that both the President and Vice-President should die, resign, be removed, or be unable to serve. This act, the *Presidential Succession Act*, stated that members of the Cabinet should succeed to the Presidency in the order in which their positions had been created, beginning with the secretary of state.<sup>1</sup>

**1887: A Bonner Year for Legislation in Cleveland's Administration.** In 1887, the Dawes Act was passed to prevent unfair treatment of Indians (page 463). In 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act was passed to prevent unfair treatment of shippers by railroads (page 488). In 1887, the *Electoral Count Act* was passed to prevent a repetition of the confused situation resulting from the disputed election of 1876. According to this law, if two or more sets of electoral returns were received from any state, and the Congress could not agree as to which was the valid set, the Congress would be obliged to accept as valid the set certified by the governor of the state. In short, each state was to be the judge of its own electoral returns.

**1888: The First Post-War Election in Which a Clear-cut Issue Is Widely Discussed.** Even school children in 1888 could recite most of

the arguments for and against a high protective tariff. For both parties in the 1888 campaign flooded the nation with tariff literature. From platforms all over the nation, speakers expounded their views on the tariff question. Now, at last, for the first time since the War Between the States, a real issue was being widely discussed in a presidential campaign.

**More Voters Vote for Cleveland, But Harrison Wins.** President Cleveland himself was really the one responsible for making the tariff a burning issue in 1888. His attacks on the high tariff provoked the Republicans to defend it. Cleveland, renominated by the Democrats, ran against Benjamin Harrison, the Republican candidate. About 100,000 more voters voted for Cleveland than for Harrison. Yet Harrison won, having polled the larger number of electoral votes. This happened because Harrison won states with a large number of electoral votes by a small popular majority, whereas Cleveland won states with a small number of electoral votes by a large popular majority (page 146).

**The Tariff Is Boosted to New Heights in Harrison's Administration.** Manufacturers who had contributed millions to Harrison's campaign rejoiced at the McKinley Tariff of 1890. This was the highest tariff in American history up to that time. Infant industries were protected by it even before their birth. For the McKinley Tariff placed duties on goods that men promised to start manufacturing provided the tariff was high enough to protect them from foreign competition.

**Logrolling Leads to Big Silver Purchases.** Many Republican congressmen from the silver states of the West voted for this tariff, even though they hated high tariffs. They did so because Eastern Republican supporters of the tariff promised to vote for the purchase of tremendous amounts of silver, even though they hated cheap money. As a result of this logrolling (page 161), the Sherman Silver Purchase Act was passed in 1890 (page 493).

**Veterans' Pensions Are Granted Freely.** Under Harrison, veterans rejoiced to find that almost every pension request was granted.

<sup>1</sup> For a revision of this act, see page 866.

Many veterans, who did not know whether they were eligible for pensions, or how to go about applying for one, fell into the hands of unscrupulous characters called "pension sharks." Such "sharks" often got more out of the pensions than the veterans did themselves.

**Harrison Practices the Spoils System, But Also Promotes the Merit System.** Party bosses and other machine politicians were delighted when the Harrison Administration removed all Democratic civil service employees except, of course, those in the classified category. However, Harrison promoted civil service reform when he appointed Theodore Roosevelt, a strong supporter of the merit system, to the Civil Service Commission. He also added to the number of positions in the classified category. Like Arthur, Cleveland, and later Presidents, he took this action toward the end of his term of office. One obvious aim was to prevent a President's appointees from being ousted by the incoming Administration.

**Reed Revolutionizes the Rules of the House of Representatives.** The Republicans had only a narrow majority in the House of Representatives under President Harrison. The Democrats made the most of this situation. Many of those present would refuse to answer "present" to the roll call. They hoped thus to prevent the Republicans from getting a quorum<sup>1</sup> to carry on business. This technique had been practiced often by both parties.

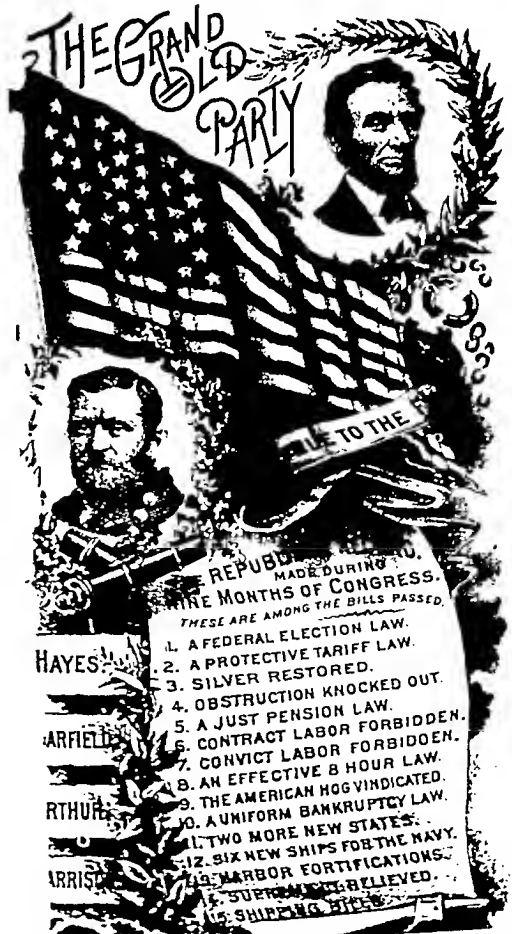
But the Republican Speaker of the House, Thomas B. Reed, insisted on counting all representatives who were present, whether they answered the roll call or not. He was even accused of counting a hat in the clothing closet! Reed justified his action on the ground that a minority has no right to practice delaying tactics to prevent the House of Representatives from getting its work done. The Democrats responded by labeling him

"Czar" Reed. Yet when they controlled the House, they did as he had done, to prevent delaying tactics.

**Resentment Piles Up Against the Harrison Administration.** "Buy now, before prices go up!" This warning appeared in the advertisements of various stores as soon as the McKinley Tariff rates were published. By 1892, prices *had* soared. So had the tempers of many voters.

**The High Tariff Is Blamed for the High Cost of Living.** The voters blamed the McKinley Tariff and the Republicans for the high cost of living. In the campaign of that year, Harrison and Cleveland were once more pitted against each other. And the Democrats never stopped hammering away

*What groups are being appealed to in this campaign poster of the 1880's?*



<sup>1</sup> A quorum is the number required to be present before business may be legally conducted.

at the theme that a high tariff must mean a high cost of living.

Democratic campaigners asked the Harrison Administration such questions as Didn't you tell us that high tariffs would mean high wages? Isn't the steel industry one of the most highly protected industries in the nation? Hasn't the Carnegie Steel Company been making big profits? Why then did it cut wages and help to bring about the Homestead strike-lockout (page 511)?

*Many Complain Because What Had Been a Treasury Surplus Had Become a Deficit.* Democratic campaigners also profited from other resentments of voters toward the Harrison Administration. Thrifty taxpayers were grumbling because what had been a Treasury surplus had quickly become a deficit. One reason was the McKinley Tariff. Its rates were so high that few goods were imported. Fewer goods imported meant fewer duties collected by the Government.

Other reasons for the deficit were the huge expenditures on pensions and on dredging rivers, improving harbors, and other public projects. Some of the public projects were quite unnecessary, but very costly. It had cost a lot of money, too, to build the steel ships that had boosted the United States Navy from twelfth to fifth place among the navies of the world. Of this expenditure, however, most Americans approved.

*Some Other Reasons for Discontent.* Civil service reformers also were grumbling because it seemed to them that the spoils system was becoming stronger than ever. Haters of monopoly were disappointed because the Sherman Antitrust Act, passed in 1890 (page 490), was not being enforced. Farmers were resentful because, in spite of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, money was still dear and prices were still low. Workers were also discontented. There had been more strikes in 1890 than in any other year in the nineteenth century. Many strike leaders accused the Administration of having done more to help the employer than to help the employee. Some peace lovers were worried, too. The United States had nearly gone to

war in disputes over such Pacific areas as the Samoan Islands (page 551) and the Bering Sea (footnote, page 553). All this accumulated resentment helps to explain why Cleveland won an easy victory in the election of 1892.

**Populist Strength Foreshadows More Real Issues in Future Elections.** In the 1892 campaign, the Democrats had called the McKinley Tariff "a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few." The Republicans had called it true "American doctrine." The new party, the Populist Party (page 493), called both major parties frauds engaging in "a sham battle" over the tariff. To the Populists, the battle over the tariff was a mere device on the part of the major parties to avoid more serious issues. To the Populists, the real issues of the times were the aims stated in their platform. These aims deeply disturbed many leaders in both major parties. They found the big vote polled by this new third party in the election of 1892 even more disturbing. It was obvious that in future elections the major parties would find it more and more difficult to avoid taking strong stands on real issues.

**Cleveland's Second Term Is a Time of Troubles, as Resentments Pile Up Against Him.** "Men died like flies under the strain." So wrote Henry Adams of the effects of the Panic of 1893, which broke out almost as soon as Cleveland took office for his second term.

*Some Serious Effects of the Panic of 1893.* In the four-year depression that followed the panic, four million people lost their jobs. Prices and wages tobogganed. Some railroads and many banks and businesses went bankrupt.

*Coxey's Army Suffers Defeat.* Many ragged and some hungry unemployed joined in bands to march on Washington and beg the Government for relief. One such band, called *Coxey's Army*, was led by General Jacob Coxey, a wealthy businessman who was also a Populist. Part of Coxey's program for relief was to get the Government to spend



## The Political Panorama of The Late Nineteenth Century

1865

- Lincoln's assassination makes Vice-President Johnson President
- Thirteenth Amendment ratified

1866

- Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) formed

1867

- Tenure of Office Act passed

1868

- Senate acquits Johnson in impeachment trial
- Grant defeats Seymour for Presidency
- Fourteenth Amendment ratified

1869

- Prohibition Party formed
- Gould and Fisk try to corner nation's gold supply

1870

- Fifteenth Amendment ratified

1872

- Amnesty Act restores political rights to most former Confederates
- Grant re-elected over Liberal Republican candidate Greeley
- Tweed Ring brought to trial
- Crédit Mobilier scandal exposed

1875

- Whiskey Ring arrested

1876

- Secretary of war impeached for taking bribe
- Disputed Hayes-Tilden election

1877

- President Hayes withdraws last troops from South

1878

- Greenback-Labor Party polls more than one million votes

1881

- President Garfield's assassination makes Vice-President Arthur President

1883

- Pendleton Act introduces merit system in Federal civil service

1884

- Cleveland defeats Blaine in a filthy campaign

1886

- Presidential Succession Act passed

1887

- Electoral Count Act passed
- Interstate Commerce Act: first major effort of Government to regulate business
- Dawes Act promises Indians eventual citizenship
- Cleveland requests return of Confederate flags

1888

- Harrison defeats Cleveland with fewer popular votes

1890

- High McKinley Tariff causes big Republican setback in Congressional election
- Sherman Antitrust and Sherman Silver Purchase Acts passed

1892

- Cleveland defeats Harrison
- Populist candidate wins more than one million votes

1894

- Wilson-Gorman Tariff becomes law without Cleveland's signature

1896

- McKinley defeats Bryan in free-silver campaign

1897

- High Dingley Tariff results from McKinley's victory

1898

- Many Democrats accuse Republican Party of imperialism

1900	• Gold Standard Act a death-blow to Populist Party dreams
1901	• McKinley's assassination makes Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt President

\$500 million for the building of roads. The jobless would be given work building such roads at \$1.50 a day.

In the march, Coxey and his wife and baby rode in a carriage, while most of his army trudged along on foot. On his arrival, he set out to read a petition from the steps of the Capitol. But on his way, he and his lieutenants were arrested for walking on the grass. In this humiliating fashion, Coxey's Army met defeat.

**What Caused the Panic of 1893.** Over-expansion in railroads, other industries, and agriculture helped to cause the *Panic of 1893*. Indeed, for some years even before this panic, as we know, farmers had been suffering hard times. This suffering of farmers had, by 1893, hurt many businesses that depended for much of their business on farmers. Among such were railroads that carried farmers' products, companies that manufactured farm machinery, and companies that lent farmers money.

From 1889 on, business in Europe had also been bad. Many European investors, needing money, had sold their investments in the United States. This had resulted in a great drain of gold out of the country. Many Americans had then begun to fear that the nation would have to go off the gold standard, and that therefore United States currency would become unstable.

**Cleveland Is Blamed for the Panic of 1893.** As in previous panics, people tended to blame the party in power. They were especially indignant because Cleveland, generally

speaking, believed that it was not the responsibility of the Government to fight depression. This attitude was similar to that of other Presidents of the nineteenth century during whose administrations panics had occurred.

Cleveland believed that an important reason for the Panic was the threat to the gold standard. He tried to keep the country on the gold standard by getting the Congress to repeal the *Sherman Silver Purchase Act*, and by arranging the Morgan bond transaction (page 497). For so doing, Cleveland was condemned by Southern and Western farmers, who, as we know, favored cheap money. In fact, it was only with Republican support that he and Eastern Democrats were able to get the *Sherman Silver Purchase Act* repealed. Cleveland's action split his party into two factions—one representing the West and South, and the other the East. Partly because of this split, the Democrats were not able to elect another President until 1912.

**Friction in the Democratic Party Over the Tariff.** Conflict over the tariff also helped to split Cleveland's party. As in his first term, Cleveland urged the Congress to put through a moderate tariff. This time, both houses were controlled by Democrats. But some Democratic senators engaged in logrolling with Republicans to put through a tariff with rates only slightly lower than those of the McKinley Tariff. Of this maneuvering, one senator said:

... We were all, Democrats as well as Republicans, trying to get in amendments [to the tariff] in the interests of protecting the industries of our respective states.

President Cleveland allowed this tariff, the *Wilson-Gorman Tariff* of 1894, to become law without his signature. And he denounced the Democratic senators who had voted for it as traitors to their party.

**Many Are Embittered as an Income Tax Is Declared Unconstitutional.** Cleveland had suggested to the Congress that an income tax law be passed. Such a law was made part of the *Wilson-Gorman Tariff*. During

the War Between the States, and for some years after, income taxes had been collected. The income tax was not then declared unconstitutional, but was repealed in 1874.

The income tax provision in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff, however, was declared unconstitutional almost as soon as it was adopted. The decision of the Supreme Court was by a five-to-four vote, with one judge changing his mind at the last minute. The Court maintained that an income tax is a direct tax. According to the Constitution, direct taxes must be apportioned among the states on the basis of population, not on the basis of personal wealth.

The lawyer who argued against the income tax law called it a communistic threat to property rights. Many debtor-farmers and wage earners called the Supreme Court decision further proof that the Government was in alliance with business to favor the rich over the poor. Many Democrats and Republicans quit their parties and allied themselves with Populists.

**Some Other Reasons for Discontent During Cleveland's Administration.** But these were not the only troubles in Cleveland's time of troubles. Because he used a Federal injunction, backed by Federal troops, in the Pullman strike, Cleveland made many enemies among labor groups( page 513). Because he added many more civil service positions to the classified category, he antagonized machine politicians. Because the United States got involved in a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, he was attacked by many who feared that a war might break out (page 553).

**1896: A Real Issue Divides the Parties More Sharply Than at Any Time Since 1865.** Neither party, as we have seen, began to take anything like strong stands on real issues until the elections of 1888 and 1892. Not until 1896, however, did a real issue sharply divide the parties (page 495). Then millions of voters became passionately concerned about the issue of free, or unlimited, coinage of silver as it was hotly debated throughout the land.

Back of the free silver issue, however, was really a bigger issue. This, as we know, was the feeling of Western and Southern farmers, plus some wage earners, that Eastern industrial and financial groups were getting far more than a fair share of the national income. In a sense, Bryan, the Democratic loser in the election of 1896, was expressing this feeling when he said:

America is not really America, unless the lowliest man feels sure in his bones that he has free and equal opportunity to get ahead.

**Imperialism Begins to Shape Up as Another Real Issue.** During the McKinley administration, the United States became involved in a war with Spain, the *Spanish-American War* (page 626). As a result, territories outside the continental limits of the nation were acquired. This pleased expansionists. The acquisition of these territories created another real issue, *imperialism*, which sharply divided the Republican and Democratic Parties in the election of 1900. Bryan, who opposed imperialism in this election, was again to be defeated by McKinley.

## The Significance of the Political Picture 1865-1900

Politics is a profession, like law, medicine, engineering, and other professions. To be a good politician, dedicated to the nation's welfare, requires hard work and a thorough study of government, law, history, and many other fields of knowledge. Yet, unfairly to the many good politicians, and unfortunately for the nation, the word "politician" is often used contemptuously. This attitude dates back to the period after the War Between the States, when many respectable people wanted no part of politics. Thus the political field was left open to many who were far from respectable.

More than ever today, our country needs good politicians. Recognizing this need, colleges give courses training young people for

careers in politics. This may help to restore the politician to the status he enjoyed in Washington's time. Then, to call a man a politician was to honor him.

Through almost all of American history, there have been two major parties. Their exchange of views has helped to make voters better informed and more interested in elections. However, as we have seen, from about 1868 to about 1888, there seemed to be little difference between the platforms of the two major parties. Real issues were avoided. Indeed, it was almost as if the nation had one major party, instead of two. But when real issues began to be debated again about 1888, American voters and the nation could better enjoy the benefits of a two-party system.

A French philosopher once wrote:

The tyranny of a prince in an oligarchy [government by a few] is not so dangerous to the public welfare as the apathy of a citizen in a democracy.

In the 1868-1888 period, many American citizens *were* apathetic about politics. They

were revolted by the name-calling, mud-slinging, and waving of the bloody shirt that featured political campaigns. This apathy on the part of many citizens was itself partially responsible for much of the corruption of the period. For it frequently put government in the hands of a minority that was more interested in promoting private interests than in promoting public welfare.

As the election of 1896 shows, people in general had by that time become far less apathetic about politics. More and more farmers and wage earners, as well as businessmen, had come to realize that politics was *their* business, as well as the business of machine bosses. The tremendous industrial expansion of the nation had created serious problems for many. It was such problems, plus the programs and pressures of such groups as the Populists, that stimulated the renewal of interest in politics. This renewed interest resulted in more and more public discussion of real issues by political parties in the twentieth century. It led to law after law favoring farmers, wage earners, and people in general.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 22

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Gilded Age	Horatio Seymour	James A. Garfield	Electoral Count
Roscoe Conkling	Whiskey Ring	Chester A. Arthur	Act
Thomas C. Platt	Hamilton Fish	Pendleton Act	Benjamin Harrison
invisible government	Liberal Republican Party	civil service reform	"pension sharks"
Grand Army of the Republic	Prohibition Party	James G. Blaine	"Czar" Reed
Confederate Veterans	disputed Hayes-Tilden election	Mugwumps	Panic of 1893
Tweed Ring	Electoral Commission	Samuel Burchard	Coxey's Army
Thomas Nast	Carl Schurz	Presidential Succession Act of 1886	Wilson-Gorman Tariff

★ **Questions to Check**  
**Basic Information**

1. Describe the conditions that led to the decline in spiritual and moral values during the Gilded Age.
2. For what reasons did many well-qualified men spurn politics in the Gilded Age?
3. Show how the activities of Conkling and Platt illustrate invisible government.
4. Mention four important issues on which both parties failed to take strong stands after 1865. For what reasons did they fail to do so?
5. Connect with the politics of both parties after 1865 (a) veterans' organizations, (b) "waving the bloody shirt," (c) mudslinging, (d) vague promises, and (e) certain unethical practices.
6. What groups tended to support the Republican Party after the war? Give reasons why in each case.
7. Prove that disunity within the Democratic Party helped the Republican Party after the war.
8. Concerning the Tweed Ring, describe (a) reasons for its rise, (b) evils it practiced, and (c) reasons for its fall.
9. Give examples of (a) political, (b) social, (c) economic, and (d) cultural bright spots in the period between 1865 and 1900.
10. Give (a) reasons for Grant's nomination, (b) reasons for his easy victory, and (c) proof that both parties subordinated issues to personalities in 1868.
11. What policies of the Grant Administration (a) pleased certain groups and (b) troubled many? Explain fully.
12. Point out specifically how Grant's (a) character traits and (b) political inexperience handicapped him as President.
13. Concerning the Liberal Republican Party describe (a) its aims, (b) the weaknesses of Horace Greeley as its candidate, and (c) its influences.
14. Show specifically (a) what made the Hayes-Tilden election a disputed one, (b) how it was settled, and (c) why the Democrats accepted the settlement.

15. In what ways did Hayes try to promote (a) national unity and (b) the merit system?
16. Concerning the Pendleton Act, tell (a) its connection with Garfield's assassination, (b) Arthur's surprising attitude toward it, (c) its provisions, and (d) its effects.
17. Give evidence to show that Arthur tried to be a good President.
18. Discuss fully four reasons why Cleveland won the Presidency in 1884.
19. Mention groups antagonized by Cleveland's policies and give specific reasons why in each case.
20. For what specific reasons did Cleveland favor a low tariff over a high one?
21. For what reasons was the trend of the tariff generally upward after the War Between the States?
22. Give the substance of the constructive legislation passed under Cleveland.
23. Describe two distinctive characteristics of the election of 1888.
24. With respect to Harrison's term, describe (a) the legislation passed, (b) presidential policies, and (c) the policies of the Speaker of the House of Representatives.
25. What groups resented the Harrison Administration? Give reasons why in each case.
26. For what reasons did the Populist Party in the election of 1892 worry both major parties?
27. What groups resented policies of Cleveland's second term? Give reasons why in each case.
28. Show that real issues were involved in the election campaigns of 1896 and 1900.
29. For what reasons were many American citizens (a) apathetic about politics from about 1868 to about 1888 and (b) less so later?

★ **Questions for Thought**  
**and Discussion**

1. For what reasons is there often a decline in spiritual and moral values after a war?

2. The average citizen was most to blame for the decline in spiritual and moral values after 1865. To what extent do you agree?
3. The following lines might be amusing if they were not so sad. Give reasons why. "I always voted at my party's call, And I never thought of thinking for myself at all."<sup>1</sup>
4. Write your reactions to Elhu Root's comment on invisible government, quoted on page 520.
5. What are the dangers to a nation when political parties evade discussion of important issues? Do you believe that evasion of an important issue or of important issues is sometimes justifiable? Explain.
6. To what extent are the campaign tactics practiced today similar to specific campaign tactics practiced after the War Between the States?
7. What would you say was the most important reason why the Republican Party won so many presidential victories after the war? Give reasons for your choice.
8. The rule of Boss Tweed might be summed up in his own words: "Addition, division, and silence!" Give specific reasons why.
9. What do you consider the three brightest spots in the period from 1865 to 1900? Give reasons for your choices.
10. What questions would you like to have asked those who were considering Grant as the presidential nominee of his party?
11. "I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution." Give reasons why you agree or disagree with this statement of Grant.
12. Is the kind of loyalty Grant displayed to his friends and relatives in government a sign of strength or weakness in a government? Explain fully.
13. Would you have voted for the Liberal Republican ticket in 1872? Give reasons why or why not.
14. The Liberal Republican Party, like other American third parties, soon died. For what reasons do you think third parties fail to last?
15. For what reasons does the Hayes-Tilden election deserve careful study?
16. As Presidents, Hayes and Arthur showed certain similarities. What similarities?
17. Do you believe that all Federal positions should be subject to the merit system, from Cabinet positions down to those of lowest rank? Give reasons for your answer.
18. "Though the people support the government, the government should not support the people." Give reasons whether you think this statement of Cleveland would be valid today.
19. What aspect of the campaign of 1884 do you consider most disgraceful? Give reasons for your choice.
20. Mention specific ways in which Cleveland displayed courage as President.
21. Which do you consider the strongest argument for (a) a high tariff and (b) a low tariff? Give reasons for your choices.
22. After studying the elections of 1824, 1876, and 1898, (a) what conclusions do you draw and (b) what recommendations would you make?
23. Make three points of comparison between the administration of Harrison and Cleveland's first term.
24. Explain why you approve or disapprove of Speaker Reed's tactics.
25. Do you think it was fair to blame (a) Harrison or (b) Cleveland (in his second term) for the problems that accumulated while he was President? Give reasons for your answer.
26. What do you think of the arguments raised against the income tax provision of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff? Discuss fully.
27. People are constantly criticizing politics and politicians. To what extent is this a criticism of such critics? Explain fully.
28. Give examples of how material in this

<sup>1</sup> From *H.M.S. Pinafore*, words by W. S. Gilbert.

chapter might be used to teach good citizenship.

☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities that a President should possess, check the Presidents mentioned in this chapter. Use as many sources of information as possible.
2. After comparing the two conflicting interpretations of the Gilded Age in Volume 2 of *American Past*, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown, write your own interpretation.
3. Write a series of newspaper headlines on what you consider the most dramatic incidents in the 1865–1900 period.
4. Read the section entitled “The American Party System” in *The American Commonwealth* by James Bryce. One source is *A Documentary History of the American People*, edited by A. Craven and others. Select five points made by Bryce that you consider most important and tell why you think so.
5. Write an editorial attacking (a) invisible government, (b) the Tweed Ring, or (c) the apathy of voters.
6. Make up or look up campaign slogans for any of the parties in any election discussed in this chapter.
7. In committee, obtain as many significant quotations as possible by or about individuals mentioned in this chapter. Select those the committee feels tell most about the period for a committee-made bulletin board chart.
8. Draw a cartoon illustrating how any President mentioned in this chapter showed courage while in office.
9. After examining the cartoons of the period from 1865 to 1900 in as many books as possible, write an article entitled “Late-Nineteenth-Century America as Reflected in Cartoons.”
10. In committee, draw up what the committee thinks would have been an ideal political party platform for any presidential election in the 1865–1900 period.
11. Select the one individual mentioned in this chapter who you think most deserves to be in your (a) Hall of Fame or (b) Hall of Infamy. From several sources find as many reasons as possible to buttress your choice.
12. In committee, investigate the campaign tactics used during the 1865–1900 period. Contribute to a committee-made report entitled “An Appeal for Proper Campaign Tactics.”
13. For a three-minute talk, investigate the significance of one of the following: (a) the Liberal Republican platform; (b) Cleveland’s First Inaugural Address; (c) the gold conspiracy of 1869; (d) the Star Routes’ scandal; (e) the Mulligan letters; (f) Coxey’s Army; (g) the terms “stalwarts,” “half-breeds,” and “mugwumps” as applied to politics.
14. In committee, visit various political clubs in your community. Interview members and, if possible, officers, asking such questions as “What can be done to make politics more attractive as a profession?” and “What suggestions would you offer to young people wishing to enter politics?” Pool and evaluate the answers.
15. Make an outline of (a) tariff history or (b) the history of political parties from Washington to McKinley. For details on the tariff, consult an economics textbook.
16. From the *American Heritage* series, read (a) “The Lowest Ebb” (on the Grant Administration—April, 1957) or (b) “The Front Porch Campaign” (McKinley’s in 1896—December, 1959). Sum up the article you select in no more than one paragraph.
17. In committee, for the period including Washington’s term of office through McKinley’s election, select (a) the ten most important events in American history or (b) the ten Americans who did most for their country. Opposite each, on a committee-made chart, give reasons for the choice.

## CHAPTER

# 23

### *Territorial Expansion Proceeds As Traditional Isolationism Prevails in the Years After 1865*

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#### **Expansionists Challenge Traditional Isolationism After 1865**

• Why Napoleon III Gave Up His Dream of a Mexican Empire • Expansionist Seward Overcomes Opposition and Purchases Alaska • Steps Leading to the Annexation of Hawaii • The United States Almost Goes to War in the Pacific Over Samoa • Isolationists Fail to Get the United States to Quit Samoa • Strong-Minded Expansionists, Not Isolationists, Determine America's Pacific Policy

#### **Settling Disputes by Arbitration: A Goal of American Foreign Policy**

• The *Alabama* Claims: An Explosive Issue Is Settled Peacefully • Why Britain Heeded America's Demands • Some Other Disputes Are Settled Peacefully, Too • The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute: The Monroe Doctrine Is Invoked and Britain Is Persuaded to Arbitrate • Why the Venezuelan Boundary Settlement Was Significant

#### **A Start on Putting Pan-Americanism into Practice**

• Why Blaine Wanted to Form a Federation of North and South American Republics • Why Many Latin Americans Were Suspicious of Pan-Americanism • Differences in Heritage Between Latin Americans and North Americans Are a Problem in Pan-Americanism • Why European Nations Were Hostile to Pan-Americanism

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#### **Expansionists Challenge Traditional Isolationism**

**Napoleon III of France Tries to Set Up an Empire in Mexico.** During the War Between the States, Napoleon III of France sent thousands of troops into the Republic of Mexico in

an attempt to establish a French empire in the Western Hemisphere (page 396). Undaunted by the fact that his uncle, Napoleon I, had failed in a similar attempt earlier, Napoleon III was convinced his venture would succeed. Such a triumph would, he was certain, bring glory to France and thus



help to revive his sagging popularity at home. He thought, too, that it would bring to France Mexico's rich natural resources, as yet undeveloped. These would help to speed up the industrialization that France was undergoing at this time.

It looked as though Napoleon would have little trouble achieving his objective. Ever since its war with the United States (page 332), Mexico had been plagued by civil wars. The weak Governments that followed one after another were almost an invitation to invasion. Nor could the United States do anything to stop Napoleon at this time. It was busy with its own war.

To carry out his scheme, Napoleon used Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, as his puppet. He put Maximilian on the throne of Mexico and promised him the perpetual support of French troops.

**Reasons Why Napoleon Gave Up His Dream of a Mexican Empire.** Fifty thousand American troops were sent to the borders of Mexico after the War Between the States. These troops weighed mightily in Napoleon's decision to give up his scheme. By 1867, he had withdrawn all French troops from Mexico. But there were still other reasons for their withdrawal. French troops were needed at home. It looked as though France might become involved in a war with Prussia. (This possibility was realized in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.) Besides, Mexican guerrilla forces were inflicting huge losses on French forces. Mexico's guerrillas were led by its Indian president, Benito Juárez. Since Juárez showed no signs of yielding, the French invasion was growing costlier and costlier—both in money and men. Deserted by the deceitful Napoleon, Maximilian refused to give up the Mexican throne. He was captured by Juárez' guerrillas and shot by a firing squad. An American newspaper commented: "If anybody deserves to be shot, it is Napoleon."<sup>1</sup>

**The Significance of the Maximilian Affair.** By standing up to Napoleon, the United States had put teeth in its warning to Europe not to interfere with the republics of the Western Hemisphere. Not for many years was there as substantial a threat to the Monroe Doctrine as Napoleon's aggression in the *Maximilian affair*. The experience convinced a great many Americans that the Monroe Doctrine was a wise policy, which must be upheld at all times, at all costs.

**Why There Was a Strong Isolationist Spirit After the War Between the States.** Isolationism was also a wise policy: of this most Americans were more convinced than ever after 1865. If asked why, the average citizen might have answered:

Even at this late date, Europe is still infected with aggressive autocracies, like the regime of Napoleon III. In any case, why should we get involved with other nations? Why should we compete with other nations to gain overseas territory? We have expanded our territory south to the Caribbean and west to the Pacific. We have our hands full developing all this land. Our people are busy building railroads and rebuilding the war-torn South. Our booming factories have plenty of customers here at home, and more coming in as immigrants all the time. We don't have to acquire colonies to get more customers. Nor do we need colonies for raw materials. We've got plenty of our own resources and we're busy developing them. Americans with money to invest are investing it right here.

In fact, so isolationist was the general spirit that as late as 1892 a New York newspaper recommended that the United States call its foreign ministers home and abolish the whole diplomatic service!

**Why Certain Americans Promoted Expansion in This Period of Isolation.** Yet, in spite of this isolationist attitude, the United States *did* expand overseas and *did* get involved with other nations. Neither most of the people nor most Government officials had much to do with initiating such policies. They were initiated by certain strong-minded individ-

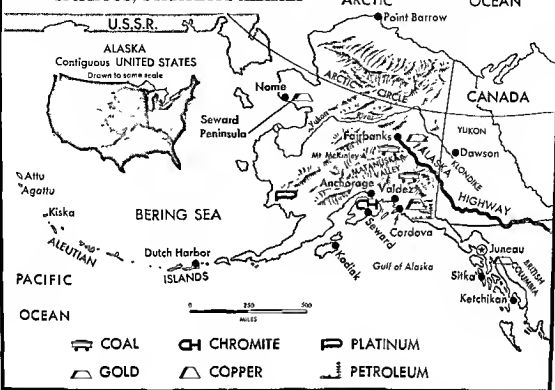
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<sup>1</sup> Maximilian's grief-stricken wife, Carlotta, went insane and remained so for sixty years until her death in 1927.



## U.S. GROWTH

### SPACIOUS, STRATEGIC ALASKA



duals—in and out of government—who knew what they wanted.

These individuals wanted the United States to become a great world power and they wanted to see the American flag waving over possessions around the world. They knew that the day was coming when American industry would produce far more than the home market could buy. They feared that the day was coming when most of America's raw materials might be exhausted. They therefore urged acquisition of overseas possessions to provide American industry with new markets for its surplus production, new areas where surplus capital could be invested, and new sources of raw materials.

**Expansionist Seward's Program.** One such strong-minded individual was Secretary of State William H. Seward. Seward wanted the United States to expand in the Caribbean, in the Pacific, and on the east coast of Asia. He

felt quite sure that, sooner or later, Canada would become part of the United States. In the Caribbean, he tried, for example, to acquire the Danish West Indies and Santo Domingo (the Dominican Republic). For many reasons, among them its strong spirit of isolationism, the Congress opposed this venture.

**Seward Overcomes Opposition by Isolationists and Others and Purchases Alaska.** Late one evening in March, 1867, Seward was playing cards at his home. He walked the Russian minister to the United States and announced that the czar was willing to sell Alaska to the United States. This was like sweet music to the ears of expansionist Seward. When the minister suggested that the treaty be formally drawn up and signed the following morning, Seward immediately replied: "Why wait till tomorrow . . . ?" The State Department office was quickly opened.

Clerks were called in. And before daybreak, the treaty was signed and ready to be delivered to the surprised Senate for ratification.

*Some Reasons Why Russia Sold Alaska.* Russia, trying to expand southward to gain control of Balkan territory and the strategic city of Constantinople, was meeting resistance from Great Britain. If a Russo-British war was to have broken out, the powerful British Navy would probably have had little trouble seizing Alaska. Moreover, manifest destiny and gold rushes had already brought many Americans to the Pacific coast. How long, then, would it be before Alaska, nearby and gold-rich, fell into American hands anyway?

*The Struggle in the Senate to Get the Treaty Purchasing Alaska Ratified.* To many—in and out of the Senate—the purchase price of \$7.2 million for Alaska was extravagant. Like Seward, they felt certain that Canada would eventually become part of the United States.<sup>1</sup> When it did, they reasoned, Alaska would probably come along, too—free of charge.

In addition, many isolationists warned that this was just the first of a series of steps Seward would take to acquire territory and squander more of the taxpayers' money. Many mistakenly called Alaska "a frozen wilderness" (page 636). People poked fun at what they called "Seward's icebox" and "Seward's folly."

*Why the Senate Finally Ratified the Treaty.* Some senators thought that in taking Alaska off Russia's hands the United States was repaying Russia for its seeming friendship toward the Union during the War Between the States (page 398). Others were convinced by the argument that if we didn't buy Alaska, Britain would seize it. Finally,

many a wavering senator was won over by these eloquent words of Senator Charles Sumner:

The purchase of Alaska would drive one more monarch from this continent. . . . One by one they have retired, first France, then Spain, then France again, and now Russia, all giving way to the absorbing unity declared in the national motto, 'E Pluribus Unum!'

**Hawaii's Annexation Demonstrates America's Increasing Interest in the Pacific.** A revolution against Queen Liliuokalani, native ruler of the Hawaiian Islands, broke out in January, 1893. Over the Government building, the American flag was raised. The revolutionaries were mainly Americans who had been born in the Islands, or who had lived there for a long time.

*Reasons for America's Long-Time Interest in the Pacific.* What events prior to that time help to explain why Americans would be revolting against a Hawaiian queen? What were the results of this revolution?

Back in Washington's time, Americans had been interested in these islands—indeed, in the entire Pacific. New England trading vessels, en route to China, would round Cape Horn and stop off at these sun-drenched tropical islands, then called the *Sandwich Islands*. In China, furs from America and sandalwood from Hawaii were exchanged for ivory fans, lacquered boxes, china vases, tea, and silks. Soon missionaries and merchants were making Hawaii their home. Soon, too, New England whaling ships were using the Islands as a base of supply.

The Hawaiian Islands, about two thousand miles away, are closer to the Pacific coast of the United States than any other territory in the Pacific. After the gold rush to California and the settlement of Oregon, many Far Western Americans looked at the Islands with longing eyes. Acquiring them would mean protection for the Pacific coast and easier trading with the Orient. To make such trade easier for people on the Atlantic coast, there was much talk in the 1850's of

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<sup>1</sup> The British and the Canadians were aware of this attitude on the part of some Americans. This is one reason why, in 1867, a few months after the purchase of Alaska, the Dominion of Canada was created under the British North America Act. This action united the provinces and tended to bring about a stronger Canada.



*A scene from Perry's visit to Japan in 1853. In this event there were drama, suspense, humor, psychology, and diplomatic maneuvering, a fascinating cast of characters, and a great deal of significance. Obtain proof of the presence of each of these elements.*

building an interoceanic canal through either Panama or Nicaragua.

Giving a big boost to trade with the Orient were American Commodore Matthew Perry's visits to Japan in 1853 and 1854. Impressed by the inventions of the Western world that he brought with him, and fearful of his warships, the Japanese Government opened some of its ports to American trade. And as Pacific trade increased, traders demanded more protection from the United States Navy. To some naval officials, the Hawaiian Islands seemed a most desirable refueling base for the United States to acquire. They became especially anxious that this be accomplished when both Britain and France made attempts to annex Hawaii.

But then the United States became involved in the War Between the States. And after it was over, as we know, most Americans, concentrating on domestic problems,

tended to lose interest in foreign problems.

**Why Americans in Hawaii Wanted the United States to Annex the Islands.** Americans living in Hawaii were unhappy at this decline in interest. Many of them were hoping that the United States would annex Hawaii. A few thousand of them, mainly sugar planters, had come to own a large percentage of the Islands' fertile land. They employed large numbers of Chinese, Japanese, and native Hawaiians.

A special treaty between the United States and Hawaii, drawn up in 1875, helped to make them happy. This treaty was called a *reciprocity treaty* because each Government made concessions to the other. Hawaii promised to lower its tariff on certain American products. It also promised not to give up any of its territory to any other nation. The United States reciprocated by allowing Hawaiian sugar and certain other products

to enter the United States free of duty. This treaty made for great bitterness among sugar growers in the United States. But it made for great profits among Hawaiian sugar growers. In 1887, this reciprocal treaty was renewed. And a clause was added to it giving Pearl Harbor to the United States as a naval base.

Then came a development that saddened Hawaiian sugar planters: the McKinley Tariff of 1890. A clause in this tariff allowed the raw sugar of any country to enter the United States free of duty. The tariff also gave American growers of raw sugar two cents a pound for every pound they produced. The new arrangement hit the Hawaiian sugar industry hard, and practically brought about a depression in Hawaii. For it meant that American sugar growers could undersell Hawaiian sugar growers in the American market. It also made it easy for Cuban sugar growers to compete in the

United States with Hawaiian sugar growers. Many Americans in Hawaii came to feel more than ever that only by annexation to the United States could the Islands enjoy prosperity again.

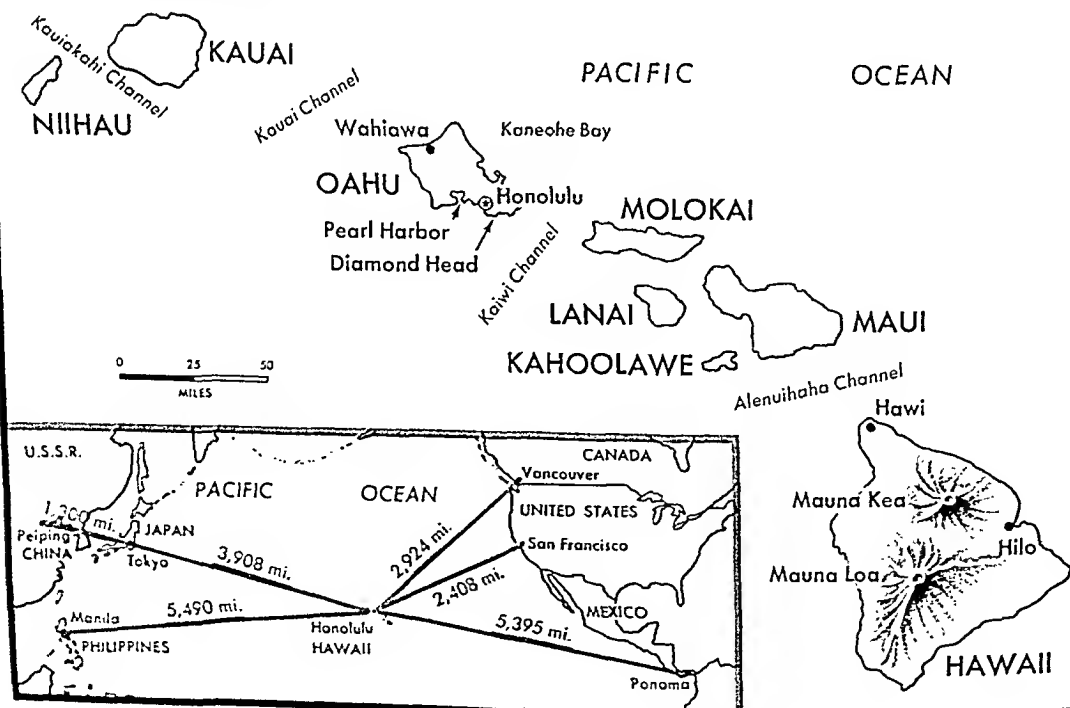
Furthermore, many Americans in Hawaii were angry at the policies of Queen Liliuokalani, who had succeeded to the Hawaiian throne in 1891. A woman of strong will, the queen struck fear into the hearts of Americans and other foreigners by canceling many of the rights they had enjoyed for years and stirring up her native subjects with the cry: "Hawaii for Hawaiians!"

*Some Steps Leading to the Annexation of Hawaii.* "The Hawaiian pear is now ripe and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." So wrote the American minister to Hawaii to the State Department immediately after the revolution against the queen. To get the United States to an-



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### TINY, STRATEGIC HAWAII



nex Hawaii, the revolutionaries speedily submitted to the United States Government a treaty of annexation.

President Cleveland, who started his second term two months after the revolution, was opposed to the annexation. He was opposed to expansion generally. Specifically, he doubted that the revolution was supported by the majority of Hawaiians. The man he sent to investigate confirmed his doubts. He reported that American "troops on shore" had been used "to overawe the queen's supporters and Government." Cleveland then offered to restore the queen to her throne if she would pardon the revolutionaries. She would chop off their heads, she replied defiantly.

The queen's attitude antagonized many Americans at home, who, up to this time, had had no desire to annex Hawaii. The American revolutionaries in Hawaii continued to hold out. Only by sending in troops against them could Cleveland have restored the queen to her throne. This he was reluctant to do. In 1894, he decided to recognize the republic set up by the revolutionaries. In 1898, after Cleveland had left the White House, Hawaii was annexed to the United States.

A treaty of annexation would have required ratification by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. And many Democratic senators especially were opposed to expansion. Therefore, Hawaii's annexation was by a joint resolution of the Congress. A joint resolution, as we know, requires only a simple majority vote.

*Some Strategic Reasons Why Hawaii's Annexation Was Speeded Up.* Public support for annexation had grown stronger because the United States was at this time at war with Spain (page 626). The American Navy had captured the Philippines from Spain. Annexing the Hawaiian Islands, it was felt, would help American forces to hold on to the Philippine Islands.

Many Americans were also convinced that if the United States didn't take Hawaii, Japan or some other nation might. This, they feared, might create a threat to the Pacific coast. By 1898, formerly isolated Japan had

BURMARCK -- Youst knock dot chip off my shoulder, if you darst!  
UNCLE SAM -- Sep, you deases I stop on the tail o' my coat.  
JOHN ROLL. -- 'De wants to 'il me in me blooming boys?



A Fack cartoon on the Samoan incident. Find out how a hurricane prevented war over this incident.

become a world power with a large navy. And by this time, there were far more Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands than any other group.<sup>1</sup>

*The United States Almost Goes to War in the Pacific Over Samoa.* Pago Pago is a magnificent harbor on the little island of Tutuila. Tutuila is in the Samoan archipelago. The Samoan archipelago is in the South Pacific, halfway between Hawaii and Australia. Pago Pago became a coaling station of the United States Navy by treaty in 1878. But within a short time, Great Britain and Germany were also granted special privileges in Samoa.

*The United States, Great Britain, and Germany Compete for Samoa.* Then began a tense, sometimes violent three-way rivalry for domination in the islands. Naval officers, consular officials, land speculators, and traders of one nation did everything in their

<sup>1</sup> There were about 70,000 Japanese there, as compared with about 30,000 each of Hawaiians and whites, and about 25,000 Chinese.

power to prevent those of the other two nations from gaining an advantage. Frequently, if one country favored one Samoan king, another country would back a competing king. Murders were committed and civil wars broke out.

**Isolationists Fail to Get the United States to Quit Samoa.** Millions of Americans at this time knew so little about Samoa that it might well have been on the moon. But when they heard that German sailors there had trampled on the American flag, many of them called for war. War was averted, however, when the three nations agreed, in 1889, to a joint administration of the islands. Isolationists in the United States angrily condemned this agreement. They charged that it broke faith with the founding fathers, who had warned against entangling alliances with other nations. In any case, the joint administration didn't work. Once more, the islands were plagued by civil wars.

In disgust, many American isolationists demanded that the United States get out of the islands. But, as had happened in the case of Hawaii, the war with Spain in 1898 had increased American interest in the Pacific. The United States did not get out. By agreement among the three nations in 1899, the islands were divided between the United States and Germany, with the United States receiving desirable Tutuila.<sup>1</sup>

**Strong-Minded Expansionists, Not Isolationists, Determine America's Pacific Policy.** By 1900, the American flag was flying over the Hawaiian Islands and American Samoa, as well as over the Philippines and Guam, both acquired in the war with Spain. In that year, the United States also laid claim to Wake Island. Earlier, in 1857, the islands of Jarvis and Baker had been acquired, and, in 1867, Midway.

As we know, in the nineteenth century,

most Americans tended to favor a policy of isolationism. Only in the century's closing years did the spirit of expansionism with respect to overseas territory grow strong. Yet because of the influence of certain strong-minded expansionists, the Pacific, by the opening of the twentieth century, was thus dotted with possessions of the United States.

## **Settling Disputes with Other Nations By Arbitration Is a Goal Of American Foreign Policy**

**The Alabama Claims: An Explosive Issue Is Settled Peacefully.** The four-year War Between the States had cost the nation over \$4 billion. Britain should pay half that sum, declared Senator Sumner, adding that the British could make payment by withdrawing from their territories in the New World.<sup>1</sup> On what did Sumner base his "bill" to Britain? He charged that Britain's sympathy and aid to the Confederacy had greatly increased the costs of the war by doubling its length. As we know, the British Government *had* been sympathetic to the Confederacy. We know, too, that cruisers, such as the *Alabama*, had been built in British ports for the Confederacy. Such raiders had destroyed many Union vessels (page 397).

American officials in general felt, however, that Britain should pay damages only for the ships actually destroyed by the raiders. To most of them, the sum of more than \$2 billion demanded by Sumner was ridiculous.

**Why Britain Heeded America's Demands for Damages.** In 1870, France and Prussia were at war. There was a possibility that Britain might be drawn into a general European war. British officials asked themselves: What is to stop the United States, if we do become involved in such a war, from allow-

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<sup>1</sup> Germany's share of the Samoan Islands came under New Zealand's control after Germany lost World War I. In compensation for withdrawing from Samoa entirely, Britain received from Germany certain concessions in West Africa and in the Solomon Islands in the Pacific.

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<sup>1</sup> It was Sumner's hope that these territories might ultimately wind up in American hands. They included Canada, the British West Indies, British Honduras, British Guiana, the Falkland Islands, Bermuda, and the Bahamas.

ing our enemies to build hundreds of *Alabamas* in its ports? Might not our merchant marine then be destroyed or driven from the seas?

Besides, many Englishmen felt that the United States, in demanding damages, had a pretty good case.

As a result, the British Government announced that although it did not recognize Sumner's extravagant demands, it was "disposed to enter upon negotiations." This was good news to President Grant's secretary of state, Hamilton Fish, who had long been eager to settle all outstanding disputes with Britain.

**The Alabama Claims Are Settled, and Some Other Disputes, Too.** To settle the *Alabama* claims and other disputes, Britain and the United States drew up the *Treaty of Washington* in 1871. In it, Britain expressed "regret . . . for the escape . . . of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports." It was agreed to create an international court of arbitration, the *Geneva Tribunal*, to settle the *Alabama* claims. The court, made up of representatives of Britain, the United States, and three neutral nations, decided that Britain had violated international law by not acting as a neutral should act. It awarded the United States \$15 5 million as payment for the actual damage caused by the raiders.

The Treaty of Washington was like a beacon light in international relations. It pointed up the fact that nations of good will need not settle their disputes by war.<sup>1</sup>

**The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute: The Monroe Doctrine Is Invoked and Britain Is Persuaded to Arbitrate.** In 1895, Venezuela let out a cry for help. Gold had been

discovered in a long-disputed area lying between Venezuela and British Guiana. Venezuela protested that Britain would not arbitrate ownership of the land. Britain maintained that it would not arbitrate on the basis of what it termed the exaggerated claims of Venezuela.

**Cleveland Takes a Strong Stand.** The United States, to which Venezuela's appeal was directed, lent a sympathetic ear. To President Cleveland, it seemed as though powerful Britain was trying to bully weak Venezuela. He offered to act as arbitrator. Britain refused. In a bold note, sharply worded, Cleveland's secretary of state, Richard Olney, gave the reasons why the United States felt that it had a legitimate right to step into the *Venezuelan boundary dispute*. He argued that Britain had violated the Monroe Doctrine by making increased land claims in the Western Hemisphere and then refusing to arbitrate them. He added:

The United States is practically sovereign on this continent . . . Its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers.

Years later, Olney explained that he had had to use "words the equivalent of blows" to make Britain have more respect for the United States.

**Britain Asserts That the Monroe Doctrine Does Not Apply in This Case.** The British foreign minister's answer was expressed in polite language, but in a tone of superiority. In effect, the note said:

The Venezuelan boundary dispute is no business of the United States. Britain is not trying to set up a colony. It is not trying to impose a European system of government on any Latin-American republic. Therefore, Britain is not violating the Monroe Doctrine. In any case, the Monroe Doctrine is not international law.

**Sensible Minds Win Out Over Hotheads.** The British answer made Cleveland "mad clean through." He promptly indicated that

<sup>1</sup> Other disputes that were settled by arbitration as a result of the Treaty of Washington concerned fishing rights in the North Atlantic and a boundary agreement on the border between the United States and British Columbia, in the Puget Sound area. Another British-American dispute was settled by arbitration in 1893. The United States had protested the killing of seals by Canadians in the Bering Sea, where the United States claimed to have a monopoly.



## Territorial Expansion and Foreign Relations in the Late Nineteenth Century



1853

- Gadsden Purchase from Mexico
- Perry's first visit to Japan

1854

- Ostend Manifesto demands purchase or, if necessary, seizure of Cuba

1857

- Jarvis, Baker, and Howland Islands annexed

1861

- Trent affair



1867

- Alaska purchased
- Midway Islands annexed
- Senate rejects Seward's treaty to buy Danish West Indies
- French forces withdrawn from Mexico

1870

- Senate rejects Grant's treaty to buy Santo Domingo

1872

- Settlement of Alabama claims

1875

- Treaty of reciprocity with Hawaii



1887

- United States granted naval base at Pearl Harbor

1889

- Pan-American Conference meets at Washington

1891

- Blaine takes sides in civil war in Chile

1893

- Bering Sea fisheries dispute arbitrated



1895

- Venezuelan boundary dispute

1898

- Wake Island and Hawaii annexed
- Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines acquired as a result of the Spanish-American War
- Spain also required to give Cuba independence



1899

- United States and Germany divide Samoan Islands
- United States participates in first Hague Peace Conference
- Hay proposes an 'Open Door' policy for all nations in China

1900

- United States joins in suppressing Boxer Rebellion in China

the United States would, on its own, try to determine the accurate boundary in the disputed area. Once determined, Venezuela's rightful boundary would be protected, he warned, even if war resulted. In both the United States and Britain, war fever mounted. But sensible people in both countries felt that war would be senseless, especially between peoples speaking the same language and having so much else in common. A majority in the House of Commons criticized the British foreign minister for refusing to arbitrate.

*Problems Elsewhere Influence Britain to Arbitrate.* For these reasons and those that follow, Britain decided to arbitrate. In

North Africa, Britain and France were engaged in a dispute over the Sudan. In South Africa, Germany was showing sympathy toward the descendants of the original Dutch settlers, called Boers, with whom the British were having trouble. In the Far East, Britain and Russia were competing for concessions. Feeling friendless, British leaders thought that this would be a good time to build a firm friendship with the United States. The international court of arbitration, which finally settled the *Venezuelan boundary dispute* in 1899, awarded most of the disputed territory to Britain.

**The Venezuelan Boundary Settlement Is Vitally Significant.** When the Monroe Doctrine was first proclaimed, it could not have been maintained without Britain's support (page 224). But now the United States had grown so strong that the doctrine could even be used against Britain. The firm friendship that soon developed between these two countries was to prove valuable to both against autocracies and dictatorships in the twentieth century.

Olney's success in gaining arbitration convinced Britain and the world that the United States was the dominant nation in the New World. To maintain this dominant position, the United States greatly enlarged its fleet. But some of the large nations of Latin America viewed the dominant position of the United States with suspicion. They feared that Olney's words meant that the United States might try to boss them around. However, most small Latin-American nations were happy to see the United States rushing to the rescue of Venezuela.

### Efforts to Advance the Cause Of Pan-Americanism, and Obstacles to Its Success

Blaine Aims to Promote Trade and Good Relations Through Pan-Americanism. If he could have done so, James G. Blaine probably would have hung signs around the

Western Hemisphere reading: EUROPE, KEEP OUT! Blaine was secretary of state for President Garfield in 1881 and for President Harrison from 1889 to 1892. His foreign policy seemed to be based on the slogan "America for Americans!"<sup>1</sup>

**Why Blaine Wanted to Form a Federation of North and South American Republics.** Blaine had a grand plan for achieving "America for Americans." This was to create a loose union of the republics of North and South America. His hero, Henry Clay, had had a similar dream, back in the 1820's. In this federation, the United States would be the leader or "big sister."

What did Blaine think would be the benefits of such a federation? Blaine could see the day when there would not be enough customers at home for the tremendous quantities of goods pouring out of American factories. He hoped to create in Latin America a huge market for this surplus production. He was annoyed because Latin America bought most of its manufactured goods from Europe, especially from Britain. To him, this seemed most unfair, since the United States bought great quantities of such raw materials as hides, wool, coffee, and sugar from Latin America. And what was more, the vast majority of these goods were coming in free of duty.

Blaine hoped that his proposed federation would create such good Latin-American relations that the United States would be able to ease Europe out of Latin-American trade. He also hoped that such a federation would give the United States an opportunity to prevent wars among the Latin-American republics. Peaceful relations among these nations would not only promote trade but also strengthen their resistance to attack by foreign nations. Blaine hoped that, in time, the Latin-American republics would look to one another and to the United States for political

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<sup>1</sup> Blaine's concentration on the Americas did not prevent him from encouraging increased trade with, and expansion in, Far Eastern and Pacific areas.

co-operation, military protection, cultural contacts, and technical assistance, as well as trade. Working together in such ways was called *Pan-Americanism*. Today it is more commonly called *Inter-Americanism*. Blaine thought that Pan-Americanism would help Latin-Americans to think of themselves more and more as Americans, and would weaken the grip that Europe had had on them for so long.

**A Start on Putting Pan-Americanism into Practice.** Pan-Americanism got started at a conference held at Washington, D.C., in 1889, with delegates from nineteen republics attending and Blaine presiding.<sup>1</sup> Blaine recommended that the nations represented maintain peace with one another by arbitrating their disputes. He also urged that they increase trade with one another by making reciprocal tariff arrangements. The construction of a railroad connecting North and South America, the improvement of sanitation, the adoption of a uniform coin and a uniform system of weights and measures to make trading easier were among the many proposals discussed.

Not too much was accomplished. But the conference did establish a precedent for the calling of future Pan-American conferences (now known as *Inter-American conferences*). Some of these were to accomplish much more. And the conference did create an organization, which was later called the *Pan-American Union*.<sup>2</sup> Its purposes are to keep interest alive in Pan-Americanism and to keep all the republics informed on the problems, products, and ways of life in all their sister republics.

**Many Latin Americans Are Suspicious of Pan-Americanism Because of Past History. To**

many Latin Americans, Pan-Americanism seemed just a trick to enable the United States to dominate all of Latin America. They could not forget that after the Mexican War in 1848, the United States had annexed much Mexican territory. They remembered, too, that three American diplomats had recommended, in 1854, that the United States seize Cuba, if it could not get it any other way (page 357).

At first, when the Latin-American republics were infant republics, some Latin Americans had looked upon the Monroe Doctrine as a protection. By 1889, however, these republics felt much more grown-up. Some Latin Americans still welcomed protection. But many others were beginning to think that they should have a say as to where, when, and how the Monroe Doctrine should be used.

**Some Latin Americans Are Suspicious of Reciprocity.** Some Latin Americans felt that Blaine was using reciprocity as a club to force the Latin-American republics to buy more manufactured goods from the United States. Why did they feel this way? In 1890, Blaine had reciprocity clauses written into the McKinley Tariff (page 535). These clauses permitted some Latin-American raw materials, such as sugar, to enter the United States free of duty. Suppose, however, that a Latin-American nation did not reciprocate by lowering its tariffs on the manufactured goods of the United States. Then the President had the power to retaliate, by placing duties on its goods.

Nevertheless, several Latin-American nations did sign reciprocity agreements with the United States. Supporters of the high tariff in the Congress, however, succeeded in getting rid of reciprocity clauses entirely in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894. This convinced many Latin-American officials that the United States was not sincerely interested in reciprocity.

**Reasons Why Many Latin Americans Were Suspicious of Arbitration.** Many Latin Americans were convinced that Blaine was not even sincerely interested in arbitration. Why

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<sup>1</sup> Actually, this was not the first Pan-American conference. Bolivar, the Latin-American hero, had called one, back in 1826 (page 235).

<sup>2</sup> The peace-loving Andrew Carnegie paid the costs of constructing the magnificent Pan-American Union building in Washington, D.C. The Union is now subordinate to the *Organization of American States* (page 850).

did they feel this way? A number of times while he was secretary of state, Blaine had taken it upon himself to try to settle disputes between Latin-American nations. In no case did he succeed. And in some cases, he made matters worse. Arbitration to Blaine, in the eyes of many Latin Americans, meant his right to meddle in their internal affairs.

"Meddler" was mild compared to some of the names Blaine was called by many Chileans in 1891. In that year, a revolution occurred in Chile. The American minister to Chile, a Blaine appointee, sympathized with the would-be dictator against the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries won. From the new Chilean Government poured forth a torrent of abuse against Blaine and the United States. Nor did the new Government permit Chileans to forget that back in 1881, Blaine had championed the cause of Peru in a war with Chile.

One Chilean expressed his pent-up hatred by spitting in the face of an American sailor on shore leave in Valparaiso. In the barroom brawl that followed between American sailors and Chileans, two sailors were killed, more were wounded, and still more were jailed. The new Chilean Government refused Blaine's demands for an apology and compensation for the wounded and for the families of the dead. Blaine had to restrain an angry President Harrison, who indicated that he might even ask the Congress for a declaration of war.

Alarmed, Chile backed down, apologized, and paid the indemnity. Yet, in a sense, the United States was the real loser—on two

grounds. First, Latin Americans charged that the United States had no business interfering in a civil war in a foreign nation. Second, they condemned the United States as a big bully for using threats of force to make a small nation back down.

In general, intervention by the United States in Latin-American disputes aroused suspicion. Suspicion caused hesitation about arbitration. Arbitration was also hindered by suspicion and jealousy among the Latin-American republics themselves.

**European Nations Promote Hostility to Pan-Americanism.** European nations realized that if Blaine won his campaign for Pan-Americanism, they would lose much trade with Latin America. Plots were hatched and propaganda was circulated to defeat the program. Sometimes, when the United States favored the side friendly to it in a Latin-American civil war, Britain and Germany would support the opposing side. This is what happened in the Chilean civil war, for example.

**Differences in Heritage Between Latin Americans and North Americans Are a Problem for Pan-Americanism.** The ancestors of many Latin Americans had come from Spain or Portugal, and these two countries had strongly influenced their language, their religion, and their culture in general. Latin Americans felt, therefore, that they had little in common with most people in the United States. This made it difficult for Blaine to get Latin Americans to cut their ties with Europe and think in terms of "America for Americans."

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 23

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Maximilian affair	Matthew Perry	Venezuelan	Organization of
Benito Juárez	Pearl Harbor	boundary dispute	American States
British North	Pago Pago	Richard Olney	Chilean Revolution
America Act	Tutuila	Pan-Americanism	of 1891
"Seward's icebox"	Samoa	Pan-American	
Queen Liliuokalani	archipelago	Conference of 1889	
Sandwich Islands	<i>Alabama</i> claims	Pan-American	
Hawaiian	Treaty of	Union	
Reciprocity	Washington	inter-American	
Treaty		conferences	

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

- Concerning the Maximilian affair, tell (a) Napoleon's motives for starting it, (b) Napoleon's motives for ending it, and (c) its connection with the Monroe Doctrine.
- Sum up the reasons why most Americans after 1865 were convinced that isolationism was a wise policy.
- Prove that (a) patriotism and (b) economic factors motivated certain strong-minded expansionists after 1865.
- Give specific proof that Secretary of State Seward was an expansionist.
- For what reasons did it seem wise to Russia to sell Alaska?
- For what reasons was the treaty purchasing Alaska (a) at first opposed by the Senate and (b) finally ratified?
- Give the highlights in the historical background of American interest in the Hawaiian Islands.
- Give the (a) economic and (b) political motives of Americans in Hawaii who urged Hawaii's annexation by the United States.
- Explain Cleveland's attitude toward the annexation of Hawaii.
- Connect (a) the Philippine Islands and (b) Japan with American annexation of Hawaii.
- Trace the steps by which the United States annexed American Samoa.
- Describe the (a) origins of, (b) British attitude toward, and (c) results of the *Alabama* claims dispute.
- Connect with the Venezuelan boundary dispute (a) gold, (b) Olney, (c) the Monroe Doctrine, (d) war fever, (e) British foreign problems, and (f) arbitration.
- How did the Venezuelan boundary dispute affect American relations with other nations?
- Mention ways in which Blaine hoped that Pan-Americanism would benefit both (a) the United States and (b) Latin America.
- Give the (a) aims and (b) results of the Pan-American Conference of 1889.
- For what reasons was there not more enthusiastic Latin-American support of Pan-Americanism? Discuss fully.
- Give the (a) highlights and (b) significance of American intervention in the Chilean Revolution of 1891.
- Point out ways in which (a) European hostility and (b) the heritage of Latin Americans hindered the Pan-American movement.

## ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Suppose the United States had not stood firm in the Maximilian affair. What might have been the results?
2. To what extent might it be said that the United States was never really isolationist? Discuss fully.
3. What do you think was the most important reason for the isolationist spirit after the War Between the States? Give reasons for your choice.
4. Would you have agreed with Seward's program for expansion? Give reasons why or why not.
5. In what sense do those who poked fun at the purchase of Alaska remind one of those who poked fun at Fulton's *Clermont*? Explain fully.
6. What is the significance of the statement of Senator Sumner on the purchase of Alaska?
7. Do you believe that American annexation of Hawaii was inevitable? Give reasons for your answer.
8. Suppose that the United States had not annexed Hawaii. How do you think the history of (a) Hawaii and (b) the United States might have been affected?
9. The story of the international rivalry over Samoa has all the elements of an exciting, suspenseful movie. Point out reasons why.
10. Look at a map showing American possessions acquired by 1900. Draw three significant conclusions from your observation.
11. Do you think that Sumner was justified in the bill he wanted submitted to Britain for its role in the War Between the States? Give reasons.
12. It might have been harder to settle the *Alabama* claims by arbitration had the Americans and British not already established precedents for settling disputes by arbitration. Explain fully, giving examples.
13. Give your reactions to (a) Olney's words

in the Venezuelan boundary dispute or (b) Britain's answer.

14. Olney gave a new interpretation to the Monroe Doctrine. Explain.
15. Britain's willingness to arbitrate the Venezuelan boundary dispute was based upon enlightened self-interest. Explain this statement. How true is it?
16. Do you believe that the friendly settlement of the Venezuelan boundary dispute was more valuable to the future of (a) Britain or (b) the United States. Explain fully.
17. What do you think was the most important reason for (a) Blaine's promotion of Pan-Americanism and (b) the lack of enthusiasm toward it of many Latin Americans? Justify your choices.
18. What specific steps might Blaine have taken to arouse greater enthusiasm among Latin Americans for Pan-Americanism?
19. Suppose Pan-Americanism had been an overwhelming success from the start. How do you think world history might have been affected?

## ★ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Using different colors, indicate on an outline map of the world the foreign areas that European nations, Japan, and the United States gained control over in the late nineteenth century. Check several sources.
2. Contribute to a committee-made chart entitled "Foreign Crises Involving the United States from 1865 to 1893." In Column I, list the nations with which the United States was at odds. In Column II, indicate the time period involved. In Column III, indicate the cause or causes of the crisis. In Column IV, indicate its highlights. And in Column V, indicate its results. Consult the foreign affairs books recommended on page xv.

3. Compare the treatment of any incident dealt with in this chapter in at least three of the foreign affairs books recommended on page xvi. In your comparison consider (a) points emphasized, (b) fullness of treatment, (c) use of pertinent quotations and anecdotes, and (d) significant conclusions drawn.
4. Investigate any one of the following in the period during or after the War Between the States: (a) Spain's challenge to the Monroe Doctrine in Santo Domingo and Peru; (b) Fenian efforts to capture Canada; (c) the *Virginius* affair; (d) efforts of the United States to acquire bases in the Caribbean; (e) the Bering Sea fisheries controversy. Report on (a) why the matter was of concern to the United States and (b) what action the United States took, if any.
5. Make a time line tracing American controversies with Great Britain from victory in the American Revolution to 1900.
6. Write an imaginary page in the diary of (a) Maximilian's wife, Carlotta, or (b) Queen Liliuokalani.
7. Write the imaginary reactions of an average (a) Englishman on learning of Sumner's demands in the *Alabama* claims dispute, (b) American on learning of Napoleon's intervention in Mexico, (c) Japanese on learning that the United States had annexed Hawaii, or (d) Latin-American diplomat on learning of Blaine's aims for Pan-Americanism.
8. Map out the scenes for a play on any dramatic incident or affair discussed in this chapter.
9. Write an imaginary memorandum to Olney suggesting ways of calming Latin-American fears aroused by Olney's words in the Venezuelan boundary dispute.
10. For any of the controversies with foreign nations discussed in this chapter, make a pair of newspaper headlines—one such as might have appeared in an American newspaper and one such as might have appeared in a newspaper of the foreign nation involved.
11. On an outline map of the world locate every place mentioned in this chapter.
12. As a research project, find out and report on what historians generally think of (a) Seward or (b) Blaine as secretary of state.
13. Make a series of paragraph headings for an entire chapter on (a) the purchase of Alaska, (b) the annexation of Hawaii, (c) the acquisition of American Samoa, or (d) Blaine's Pan-American policies. Cite your sources of information.
14. It might be said that Townsend Harris deserved even more credit for opening up Japan to American trade than Matthew Perry. After investigating the role of both men, report on your conclusions.

## CHAPTER

# 24

### *Social and Cultural Progress and Problems Are Greatly Influenced by the Growth Of Cities, Industry, and Democracy*

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#### **Urbanization Resulting from Industrialization Creates Problems**

• Health Hazards and Eyesores in Cities • Cities Are Slowly Made Safer and More Healthful • New Means of Transportation Are Introduced • Jane Addams' Hull House Sets an Example • Special Children's Courts Are Created • Organized Charities Develop

#### **Education, Literature, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Music Progress**

• Education Expands, Especially in Quantity • Libraries Multiply • Newspaper Publishing Becomes Big Business • The Influence of Industrial and Agricultural Changes on Literature • The Work of Some Significant Authors • Some Proof That the Fine Arts Moved Slowly Forward, Beginning About 1880 • Some Outstanding Characteristics of Some Leading Painters, Sculptors, and Architects • The Level of American Musical Tastes Is Raised

#### **Some Other Social Developments of the Late Nineteenth Century**

• Millions Become Sports-conscious • Spectator Sports Become Big Business • The Theater Thrives in Attendance, But Not Much in Quality • Immigration Creates Problems, Especially in the Cities • Heavy Drinking, Especially in the Cities, Leads to an Intensified Temperance Crusade • The Fight for Women's Rights Continues

### **The Rapid Growth of Cities Brings About Great Changes In American Life After 1865**

Like magnets, the cities drew them. On they came by the millions. From farms in the United States and from farms all over Europe, men, women, and children flocked to

American cities. No migration in all history could compare in numbers with the trend toward urbanization that followed the War Between the States. In 1860, sixteen per cent of Americans lived in cities. By 1900, the percentage had doubled.<sup>1</sup> In relatively little

<sup>1</sup> In 1790, only five per cent lived in cities. By 1963, the figure had risen to seventy per cent.



time, many little villages had blossomed into big cities. And many a big city had grown even bigger. New York, for example, had become second only to London in size.

**Industrialization Leads to Urbanization.** With improved farm machinery and more scientific methods of farming, more and more food could be produced by fewer and fewer farmers. Meanwhile, the Industrial Revolution (Chapters 13 and 18) had created countless new job opportunities in the cities. The consequent migration from farm to city was further stimulated by such improved means of transportation as the railroad and the steamboat. Moreover, job opportunities in cities kept growing because raw materials could be brought in and manufactured goods shipped out so much more easily.

Migration from farm to city had taken place in other countries, too, as they became industrialized. A similar migration, but on a smaller scale, had taken place in the

United States during its First Industrial Revolution.

**Shameful Conditions in Slums.** "Foul cellars full of rubbish, dilapidated and dangerous stairs, plumbing pipes containing large holes emitting sewer gas throughout the houses, rooms so dark that one cannot see the people in them, cellars occupied as sleeping places, and pigs, goats, horses, and other animals kept in cellars, dangerous old firetraps without fire escapes."

So reporter and reformer Jacob Riis described the horrible conditions in the slums of New York City in the 1890's. The sunless, almost airless dwellings, called *tenements*, were frigid in winter and steaming hot in summer. Crammed full of as many tenants as the landlord could get into them, they were made even more crowded by the boarders tenants used to take in. Keeping clean was a major problem. The only sinks were in the dark and dingy hallways for the use of all the tenants. Those who wanted a bath usually took it in a tin tub in the kitchen. In these filthy pestholes, epidemics of contagious diseases killed off thousands. The tenants, usually poor wage earners, often immigrants, had to cut down on their food and medical care in order to pay the relatively high rents.

**Crime and Drunkenness Are Common.** Crime was so common in the slums that certain streets were known by such lurid names as "Murderers' Alley" and "Penitentiary Row." Drunkenness was common, too. Many a week's wages were squandered in a corner saloon. This widespread drunkenness has been blamed on the despair that many poor people felt not only about their living conditions but about their working conditions as well. People of all ages and both sexes would labor long hours in workshops and factories that were as miserable as the tenements in which they lived.

**The Problems of Water Supply, Waste Disposal, Air Pollution, and Proper Lighting Are Magnified in Cities.** A city's water supply was sometimes piped from the same rivers and lakes into which sewage was emptied

*Bandits' roost. What conditions do you think Jacob A. Riis was trying to expose when he took this photograph?*



and garbage dumped. Foul odors from open sewers and smoke from belching factory chimneys polluted the air. When rains came, the many unpaved streets were often turned into rivers of mud. When night fell, the flickering gas lamps in the streets gave off such dim light that thugs and pickpockets were in their element.

**Cities Are Generally Ugly and Congested.** In general, cities were vast eyesores. They were cluttered with telegraph and telephone poles connected by a maze of wires. A stable, a blacksmith's shop, or a slaughterhouse might be erected next to a fine residence. Nor did the monotonous rows of houses almost all alike, laid out on rectangular blocks almost all alike, add to civic beauty. Most cities were terribly congested. The horse-drawn streetcars were so slow that people tended to live crowded together in the heart of the city near their work.

**City Politics Often Contribute to the Ugly Side of City Life.** Better conditions might have been enjoyed by more people if there had not been so much political corruption in large cities. Too many large cities had their Tweed Rings (page 522). And many a taxpayer's dollar went into the pockets of political bosses, instead of into desperately needed city improvements.

**Cities Slowly Move to Faster Safety, Health, and the General Welfare of Their Inhabitants.** Nearly 300 lives, almost 18,000 buildings, and about \$200 million—this was the cost of the terrible Chicago fire, which practically destroyed the city in 1871. Chicagoans quickly got to work and rebuilt their city—this time not in wood but in stone and steel.

Other cities had their disastrous fires, too. Such fires meant that cities had to improve fire-prevention and fire-fighting methods. By the 1890's, to do the dangerous work of fire fighting, practically every city had hired full-time firemen, instead of depending upon volunteers (page 289).

Many reformers waged a war on slums. They lost battle after battle. Finally, just at the turn of the century, some minor victories

were won. New York passed a law requiring landlords of old tenements to provide fire escapes and to repair cellars, halls, and roofs. More housing laws followed, in New York and elsewhere. But a tour of almost any city today reveals that the war against slums is far from won.

City dwellers could feel a lot safer in taking a nightly stroll when the bright arc light replaced the flickering gas lamp in the streets of some cities during the 1880's. A little later, streets were lighted by electricity. City dwellers felt safer, too, when cities took steps to purify their water supplies. This helped to bring an end to the frequent epidemics of typhoid fever.

Other indications of increased civic responsibility were the building of many playgrounds, the creation of special children's courts, and the placing of charity on an organized basis. The special children's courts tried to prevent youthful offenders from becoming hardened criminals and to help them to become good citizens. The main object of placing charity on an organized basis was to see that those who received such aid were the truly needy.

**New Means of Transportation Are Introduced to Try to Keep Pace with Growing City Populations.** By the 1870's, New Yorkers were traveling to and from work on steam trains running on elevated tracks. The *el* (*el*) made it possible for many New Yorkers to move from the heart of the city to its outskirts. But this convenience had its drawbacks: cinders and soot from the locomotive would fall on pedestrians below. By the 1880's, many cities had introduced another convenient form of transportation, the electric trolley.

But as more and more farm folk and foreigners moved into the cities, what was formerly the outskirts became the city proper. In 1895, Boston, and in 1905, New York, built subways. The subway made it possible for city dwellers to get to their destinations quickly and, if they liked, to move their homes farther out to the new outskirts of the city.

By the turn of the century, a few score New Yorkers owned that new invention, the automobile. This was a clue to the shape of things to come. For in the twentieth century, to get away from the increasing congestion of the expanded city, more and more city dwellers moved their homes to far-flung suburbs, and drove to their work. Who knows? Perhaps the time will come when thousands of people from still farther-flung suburbs will commute to their work by plane.

**The Far-reaching Influence of Jane Addams' Hull House.** In 1889, the wealthy Jane Addams bought a large house in the slum district of Chicago. In this house, *Hull House*, she and some friends set up a program to help slum dwellers. Working mothers were helped by Hull House's nursery school and kindergarten. School children were helped by games, clubs, entertainment, and special classes. Hungry children were fed. Would-be artists, musicians, actors, and writers were given guidance. The intellectually minded were invited to take part in discussion groups. Immigrants, lonely in their new environment, were warmly welcomed and taught American ways.

Hull House's influence reached far beyond the slums of Chicago. The pressure it exerted influenced the Illinois legislature to forbid the employment of children under the age of fourteen and to make rules for improving conditions in sweatshops.<sup>1</sup> Its publicity persuaded many of the rich to take a deeper interest in the problems of the poor. Its success and that of the Henry Street Settlement, founded the same year in New York by Lillian Wald, inspired the setting up of many similar settlement houses around the nation. Hull House itself had been inspired by Jane Addams' visit to a settlement house in London, called Toynbee Hall. A strong believer in the brotherhood of man, Jane Addams also fought for women's rights and world peace.

## **Education Expands Especially in Quantity, And Especially in the Cities**

**Reasons Why Education Expanded After 1865.** Many parents stayed in the cities in the hope that if they didn't get ahead, their children would. Education was the key to this goal. And it was in the industrialized cities, with their great wealth, that the greatest expansion of free public education was taking place at this time. Immigrant parents were especially education-conscious. Having come from the class-conscious countries of Europe, they keenly appreciated the opportunities here for anybody to get ahead.

To preserve freedom, to weaken the influence of radical propaganda, to instill patriotism, to Americanize immigrants—these were some of the central aims of the expansion of public education after 1865. Such aims were much like the educational aims of the Jacksonian period (page 267). But in the late nineteenth century, people also asked: What new courses are being introduced to meet the needs of this period of great industrial and commercial expansion?

**Giant Steps Forward Are Taken in Pre-College Education.** Following are some statistics that tell the story of the tremendous expansion of education in the late nineteenth century:

- Only one kindergarten in 1873 (in St. Louis); more than 3,000 in 1900
- Fewer than seven million pupils in public elementary schools in 1870; more than fifteen million in 1900
- Fewer than 400 high schools in 1860 (more than half of these in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio); more than 6,000 in 1900 (scattered throughout the nation, especially in the cities)

By 1963, the United States was to have about 26,000 free public high schools. No other nation has provided free public high school education for so many of its people.

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<sup>1</sup> In sweatshops, working conditions were shockingly below standard.

**Giant Steps Forward Are Taken in Higher Education.** The Federal Government, through the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 (page 395), helped to make possible great progress in college and university education. Eventually, under this generous law, sixty-nine land-grant colleges, stressing industrial and mechanical education, were established. Millionaires, who had made their fortunes in the industrial boom following the war, also spent millions in founding or endowing universities. In no other nation, by 1900, were there so many universities affording a higher education to so many.

**In General, the Quality of Education Lags Behind Its Quantity.** Late in the nineteenth century, most elementary schools were still stressing memorization of information, instead of encouraging pupils to think. Whipping was the punishment for the unruly pupil. In 1900, the average annual pay for a teacher was only a little more than \$300. True, the dollar was worth much more in those days than now. But even for that time, the pay was so low that few men became teachers. And many women took teaching only as temporary work.

The three R's were still the core of the curriculum, with a little history and geography added. The textbooks used, such as McGuffey's *Readers*, were mainly reprints of those used early in the nineteenth century. Yet the stories pupils read in McGuffey's *Readers* had the merit of building character and promoting patriotism.

**Changes Loom on the Educational Horizon.** To Henry Barnard, as to Horace Mann (page 268), the welfare of the entire nation was more important than his own financial well-being. A rich man, Barnard spent all he had on urging the widest possible educational opportunity and better methods of teaching. He believed that schools should stress understanding of pupils and greater kindness.

Like Mann, Barnard had been influenced and inspired by the ideas of certain of Europe's most original thinkers on education. The Swiss Johann Pestalozzi and the German Friedrich Froebel, for example, had

taught that sarcasm and whippings have no place in the classroom. Pupils learn best, they believed, by doing things, rather than by sitting back and having facts poured into their heads. Herbert Spencer, an Englishman, had recommended the teaching of subjects that would help pupils to earn a better living and to be better citizens. When Barnard was appointed first United States commissioner of education in 1867, he tried to spread such ideas.

Another influential educator, John Dewey, began spreading his theories of education in the late nineteenth century. He, too, believed that pupils should "learn by doing." School, he said, should be "life, not a preparation for life." He urged greater experimentation and less stress on subject matter, greater freedom for the pupil and less domination by the teacher.

Dewey's views strongly influenced what has come to be called *progressive education*. Progressive education became quite popular in many American and foreign schools in the early twentieth century. In recent years, it has been the target of severe criticism. Its critics express the fear that schools that adopt progressive education sacrifice the many benefits of traditional education. They complain, for example, that pupils in progressive schools have so much freedom that confusion reigns and little learning takes place.

For a long time, Latin, Greek, and mathematics had been the core of the high school curriculum. But business needed typists, stenographers, bookkeepers, and workers with industrial skills. The high school curriculum was therefore expanded to meet these commercial and industrial needs. To train better-informed citizens, the curriculum was further expanded to include more history, civics, and geography. To enable graduates to use their leisure to enrich their lives, courses were also added in music and art.

The one-room schoolhouse was still very much a part of the rural landscape in 1900. Many of America's unsung heroines were the country schoolteachers, who taught every

subject at every grade level to pupils of all ages. From many a one-room schoolhouse came many a great American.

**Educational Changes on the College and University Level.** The quality of American college and university education for most of the nineteenth century was not very high. But by 1900, many American institutions of higher learning could compare favorably with the best of the age-old institutions of Europe. The college curriculum had long been much like that of the high school, except on a higher level. The few students who studied science did no laboratory experiments themselves. They merely watched the professor perform them. However, the expansion of industry and commerce forced colleges, like high schools, to introduce changes. More stress was placed on the

*A monument to Booker T. Washington. Find out in what ways the views of Negro leader William E. B. Dubois differed from those of Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute.*



sciences: natural, physical, and social. Modern languages began to be taught, while ancient Greek and Latin received less attention.

Now colleges began to permit students a wide choice of courses, instead of requiring them to follow a program mapped out by the faculty for all.<sup>1</sup> Now, too, more specialized technical colleges, such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, were being founded. The example had been set by such pioneer engineering colleges as Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, founded back in 1824 (page 270).

Meanwhile, many a college—Oberlin, for example (page 272)—was becoming coeducational, and more and more women's colleges were being established. At last, the long-time prejudice against college education for women was rapidly losing ground. And colleges for Negroes began to make their appearance with the founding of Howard University in 1867 (page 423).

**Graduate and Professional Schools Are Influenced by Similar European Schools.** In the undergraduate schools, but especially in the graduate and professional schools of American universities, European influence was strong. From Germany came the laboratory method in science and the seminar method in history. Graduate students studying under the *seminar method* do original research under the guidance of an instructor. Such seminar students in the social sciences try to approximate the laboratory method in the physical sciences. From Britain came the seeds of the case method in studying law. Using the *case method*, law students

<sup>1</sup> This innovation, called the *elective system*, was introduced at Harvard University by President Charles W. Eliot. President Eliot was one of the many outstanding university presidents of the time who revolutionized university education. He made entrance requirements more difficult, added graduate schools of applied science and business administration, and raised standards in the medical and law schools. In recent years, there has been a trend away from the elective system. More colleges are requiring pupils to take more required courses.

study many similar past cases to determine the basic legal principle on which such cases were decided.

From France to American medical schools came Louis Pasteur's germ theory of disease, and from Britain, Joseph Lister's ideas on the use of antiseptics in surgery. In the revolutionary improvements that took place in American medical schools in the late nineteenth century, the work of Pasteur and Lister became guiding principles.<sup>1</sup> Such ideas were brought back to America by the hundreds of American students who studied in European universities at this time.

**The Influence of American Higher Education on Education Elsewhere Increases Steadily.** By the twentieth century, thousands of students were to come to study in American universities not only from Europe but from all over the world. And many foreign universities were studying the knowledge accumulated and the educational methods used in America. Thus, educational influence, like so much else in life, travels a two-way street.

**Libraries Multiply, Especially in Cities.** A famous English commentator on American affairs, James Bryce, wrote in 1888 that in the United States "The average of knowledge is higher, the habit of reading and thinking more generally diffused, than in any other country." If Bryce was right, much credit should go to the nation's libraries. For by this time, thousands of public libraries, supported by taxation and open to all free of charge, had been established, especially in cities.

No one deserves more credit for America's library boom than the self-educated, book-loving Andrew Carnegie (page 431). In effect, Carnegie had promised the communities of America: I will build you libraries if you will agree to support them through taxation. In keeping his promise, Carnegie spent more than \$50 million.

**The Chautauquo Movement Expands, Especially in Rural Areas.** Many persons, most of them middle-aged or elderly, and of the middle class, had had little chance to take advantage of the many educational opportunities that were opening up. They wanted, therefore, to use their leisure or retirement to get the education they had missed. A program set up at Chautauqua, New York, in 1874 helped some such people to satisfy their yearning for learning. To Chautauqua each summer came throngs from all over the country. There, in big tents, they would listen to concerts and to lectures by writers, missionaries, scientists, humorists, and world travelers.

The Chautauqua movement for combining education and entertainment in a summer-camp atmosphere was extended to rural communities all over the nation. To further satisfy the yearning for learning, home-study correspondence courses in many subjects were set up by Chautauqua for the winter months.

### **Newspapers and Magazines Reach Millions of Readers, Especially in Cities**

**Sensationalism Increases the Circulation of Pulitzer's New York World.** "There is room in this great and growing city [New York] for a journal [newspaper] that is not only cheap, but bright, not only bright, but large, not only large, but truly democratic—dedicated to the cause of the people rather than that of purse-potentates—devoted more to news of the New than the Old World—that will expose all fraud and sham, fight all public evils and abuses—that will serve and battle for the people with earnest sincerity."

In 1883, when Joseph Pulitzer bought the *New York World*, he promised his readers that his newspaper would measure up to the standards he had thus spelled out. To make his newspaper cheap, Pulitzer dropped its price to two cents. To make it bright, he added colored comic strips, cartoons, blazing

<sup>1</sup> The improvements were revolutionary because, until about 1870, it took very little education to become a doctor. Written examinations weren't even given, for, as was pointed out, "A majority of the students cannot write well enough."

headlines, a sports section, and a Sunday supplement. To build a large circulation, he played up sensational stories on crimes, murders, and scandals. Somewhat similar tactics had been practiced earlier by James Gordon Bennett of the New York *Herald* (page 288).

To Pulitzer, the "purse-potentates" were the new rich class (*nouveau riche*), whose wealth was a by-product of America's business boom. Pulitzer's *World* and other sensational newspapers never let up ridiculing the ostentatious and extravagant antics of certain *nouveau riche*. In cartoons and prose, they would vividly describe a lavish banquet at which the guests were served on horseback, with the horses sharing their champagne, or another where \$100 bills were wrapped around cigarettes. They showed contempt for those *nouveau riche* of the New World who tried to buy titles for their daughters by marrying them off to poverty-stricken counts or barons of the Old World. They laughed at social climbers who attempted to appear aristocratic by imitating the "correct" dress and clipped speech of aristocratic Englishmen.

**Crusades Also Increase the Circulation of the World.** Pulitzer's *World* also carried on crusades in what Pulitzer believed was "the cause of the people." Readers wept as they read of the misery of the poor living in the slums. Reformers applauded when the *World* exposed dishonesty in politics and called for civil service reform. Populists and liberals in both major parties were delighted when it demanded a high income tax on high incomes and rigid regulation of monopolies. Newspapers like Pulitzer's, which practiced sensationalism to attract a big reading public, were called the *yellow press*. This name originated from one of the characters in a Pulitzer comic strip, who was always dressed in yellow.

Yellow journalism seemed profitable for Pulitzer's *World* and other sensational newspapers. By 1900, Pulitzer had built the circulation of the *World* from fewer than 20,000 to more than a million. However, other newspapers, such as the New York *Times*, which

were not sensational, also greatly increased their circulation at this time.

### **Free Schools and Certain Inventions Help Make the Newspaper Business Big Business.**

There were fewer than 400 daily newspapers in the United States in 1860. In 1900, there were more than 2,000.<sup>1</sup> More newspapers were bought because more people could read. More people could read because of the spread of free public education. Now there was mass production of newspapers for a mass reading public in the cities.

Helping to turn out cheap newspapers by mass production were such inventions as Hoe's improved rotary press (page 289) and Ottmar Mergenthaler's linotype machine. The linotype speeded up the printing process by making it possible for printers to set type by machine rather than by hand. The typewriter, the telephone, the telegraph, and the cable also helped to make the newspaper business a big business.

### **Standardization and Variety in the Newspaper Business.**

By the 1880's, some newspapers began buying out other newspapers. Soon there were giant *chain newspapers*, with branches in many different cities. By this time, too, hundreds of newspapers in all parts of the nation were being fed identical reports by such news-gathering agencies as the *Associated Press* (founded in 1848). Furthermore, the work of syndicated columnists might appear in hundreds of newspapers.

Yet some newspapers have managed to remain quite different from their competitors. For even though they may use reports from press associations and run some syndicated columns, they have their own special reporters and columnists, and, of course, present their own distinctive editorial positions. Moreover, one newspaper may be sensational and stress crime and scandal, while another may concentrate on important events in domestic and foreign affairs.

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<sup>1</sup> In recent years, this trend has been reversed. Mergers and bankruptcies have caused a sharp decrease in the number of newspapers.

through the wild Sierra Nevada mountain country, barroom brawls, love affairs between good girls and bad men and vice versa—all of this and more are described in such local-color stories of Bret Harte as "The Luck of Roaring Camp." Hard characters are usually portrayed by Harte as having soft hearts. This *heart-of-gold formula*, as Harte's technique has been called, was used by Harte and others in tale after tale, until it became quite stale.

*Local Colorist Eggleston Depicts the Middle West.* The headaches and heartaches of pioneers in the Middle West in frontier days became a favorite theme of many local colorists. The pioneer Middle Western local colorist was Edward Eggleston, author of *The Circuit Rider* and *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, among other novels. A circuit rider was a preacher who traveled on horseback from one churchless frontier community to another. His hardships and those faced by a backwoods schoolteacher on the Indiana frontier are realistically described by Eggleston. There is probably more down-to-earth history in these novels than in the history textbooks Eggleston also wrote.

*Local Colorists Page and Cable Depict the South.* Southern hospitality, contented slaves, Negro dialects, fox hunts, holiday festivals in the great house of the master—all this and much more are skillfully and affectionately described in *In Ole Virginia* and other books by Thomas Nelson Page. A yearning for pre-war plantation days shines through most of Page's writing. It was this local colorist's belief that "... the social life of the Old South had its faults. . . . But its virtues far outweighed them. . . . [That life was] the purest, sweetest life ever lived."

In the Deep South, a bored clerk named George Washington Cable spent his spare time reading old New Orleans newspapers, some dating as far back as 1800. Records of feuds between hot-blooded Creoles,<sup>1</sup> of their

duels over gambling debts and exciting ladies, of slave markets, of yellow fever epidemics, of pirates and pilots, of outlaws from Caribbean islands, of adventurers from many lands—all fascinated him. Cable translated his fascination into such stories as those in his collection entitled *Old Creole Days*.

*Local Colorist Sarah Orne Jewett Depicts New England.* To many, Maine and much of New England, after the War Between the States, seemed to be slowly decaying. Many young New Englanders had left to make their fortunes in the big industrialized cities. It had been many a day since many a New England seaport had seen big ships entering its harbor. To local colorist Sarah Orne Jewett, however, there was no place like New England. And to her, there were no people so heroic as those who remained behind to eke out a living from New England's rocky soil. One of her books, *The Country of the Pointed Firs*, is considered by some the finest of all the many fine local-color books of the period.

*Certain Writers Seek to Escape Materialism in Remote Times and Far-off Places.* Henry Adams felt that while progress in science and industry was racing along at the end of the nineteenth century, moral progress was lagging far behind. This helps to explain why, in one of his books, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, he praises the thirteenth century for its emphasis on the spiritual, rather than the material.

Rich, American-born Henry James spent most of his life in England. He felt that there, among aristocrats who had inherited their wealth, he would get away from the "incredible lack of culture" he considered characteristic of America's *nouveau riche*. In such brilliantly written novels as *The American* and *The Ambassadors*, James compares the uppercrust of society in Europe and America. These novels made the point that Europeans could use some of the driving vitality of Americans, and Americans could use some of the sophisticated culture of Europeans.

<sup>1</sup> A Louisiana Creole is a native-born descendant of the early French inhabitants.



Psychologically, this novel is a masterpiece in tracing the changing emotions of a raw recruit before, during, and after a battle. Crane himself suffered poverty and intolerance and died at the age of twenty-nine of tuberculosis. Yet in his short life, he wrote many stories and poems on such sordid subjects as the horrors of the slums and the evils of war and alcoholism. Called a genius, Crane was to have tremendous influence on many modern writers.

Like Crane, the great Southern poet Sidney Lanier suffered much poverty and pain in his lifetime and died young of tuberculosis. Idealistic and deeply religious, Lanier believed that poetry should point out that intolerance, greed, and cruelty are enemies of the basic principle of life: love of God and man. His masterpiece, the melodious, rhythmical "The Marshes of Glynn," declares:

By so many roots as the marsh grass  
sends in the sod  
I will heartily lay me a hold of the  
greatness of God.

Lanier believed that poetry and music were practically identical. He wrote: "Music is love in search of a word."

I never spoke with God,  
Nor visited in heaven;  
Yet certain am I of the spot  
As if the chart were given.

Emily Dickinson, who wrote these lines, daringly experimented in her poetry with unusual rhythms, rhymes, and figures of speech. Her compact verses, sharp images, hidden meanings, and impish humor have strongly influenced many a modern poet.

**Some Minor Writers Whose Books Became Best Sellers.** Most readers were not interested in serious novels or profound poetry. They wanted to be entertained. And books that entertained won the widest audience.<sup>1</sup> Mil-

lions read the paperbacked dime novels, usually Westerns, in which the hero was always a kind of superman. He was, basically, a good man, who could always get the better of any number of bad men.

*Ragged Dick* and *Luck and Pluck* were two of the more than 100 books written by Horatio Alger, Jr. All the Alger novels had as their heroes poor but honest boys who, overcoming overwhelming odds in a big city, become rich. Boys by the millions read them, always dreaming that the same thing would happen to them. Similarly, Martha Finley's *Elsie Dinsmore* series was read by millions of girls who hoped they would develop the noble and pure character of the main character.

## **The Fine Arts Make Little Progress In the 1860's and 1870's, But Move Forward About 1900**

**The Public Fails to Encourage Artists; Artists Tend to Be Imitative.** Art? What do I care about art? Artists and art lovers may have the time for such things, but I don't. In the Gilded Age, when there was such a mad rush to get ahead, this seemed to be the attitude of many Americans toward art. Furthermore, an original artist, who wanted to paint his subjects as his mind's eye saw them, rather than as his naked eye saw them, would have had a lot of trouble selling his paintings. For most of those people who were interested in paintings at all wanted them to look like photographs.

Apparently, few artists aspired to be original. Many of them went to study in Europe and imitated not the experimenters there but those who painted in the old traditional manner. Thus they seldom portrayed simple subjects from the American scene, such as a farmer, a factory worker, or children at play. Instead, sculptors and painters would often choose such subjects as ancient Greeks or Romans or medieval knights.

**Victorian Gothic Architecture Reflects the Desire for Display.** The architecture typical

<sup>1</sup> Examples were such novels as *The Virginian* by Owen Wister, *When Knighthood Was in Flower* by Charles Major, and *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* by John Fox.

of the times was a hodgepodge that imitated the medieval Gothic, with some Renaissance and other styles thrown in. This elaborate type of architecture was called *Victorian Gothic*, after Queen Victoria, who was reigning in Britain at this time.

Some members of the *nouveau riche* were convinced that one good way of showing off their wealth was to build a home bigger, showier, and more overloaded with a variety of ornamentation than their neighbors. Just as the wooden or brownstone exteriors of such homes were overdecorated, so the dim and dreary interiors were overcrowded with numerous knickknacks and with heavy over-stuffed furniture, upholstered in horsehair. In the spirit of such ostentation, it was fashionable to overload one's stomach with food and one's body with showy clothing.

**Public Encouragement Speeds Up the Progress of the Fine Arts.** In time, more people had more money and more leisure to spend on the arts. Some of these people, in their travels abroad, became interested in art. Some imported European art and artists, some even transplanted the contents of an entire castle, or the castle itself, stone by stone. Donations by such persons, contributions by other public-spirited citizens, and appropriations by city governments soon led to the establishment of excellent museums of fine arts in most of the important cities of the nation. Art schools and art courses in high schools and colleges also became more common.

**Experimentation in Painting Increases.** For a number of years, some French painters, such as Paul Cézanne, and some French sculptors, such as Auguste Rodin, had been experimenting with original techniques. Their work influenced a few American artists, in the late 1870's, to experiment along similar lines. Some such experimenters were called *impressionists*. Impressionists tried, among other things, "to represent scenes and objects as they first strike the eye, in their immediate and momentary effect, without attention to details." Impressionist painting usually appeals more to the emotions than to the intellect.

**The Portrait Painting of the Self-Exiled Sargent.** "Every time I paint a portrait I lose a friend," John Singer Sargent once declared.<sup>1</sup> Sargent was remarkably skillful in capturing personality. Early in his career, in 1881, Sargent painted one famous French beauty so much like her selfish self that, on seeing it, she went into hysterics. Nevertheless, some of the most aristocratic Europeans and wealthy Americans commissioned him to paint their portraits.

Most of Sargent's life his painting was traditional. But during two periods—one early in his career, and one late—he broke away from traditional portrait painting and painted impressionistic landscapes.

**The Self-Exiled Whistler Preaches 'Art for Art's Sake.'** James Whistler was born in America, studied in France, lived in England, and was greatly influenced in his painting by Diego Velázquez of Spain and the prints of Japan. Whistler preached "art for art's sake." By this he meant that it is not the duty of a painter in his painting to try to tell a story, or to arouse emotions, such as "devotion, pity, [or] love." Because his paintings and etchings were different, some even impressionistic, Whistler was accused by the famous English critic John Ruskin of "flinging a pot of paint in the public's face."

Whistler's so-called *Portrait of the Artist's Mother* shows his technical skill and his delicate arrangement of silver gray and black tones. Whatever Whistler's intentions, the painting has aroused in millions of hearts such emotions as "devotion, pity, [or] love." For it reminds many of how they feel about their own mothers.

**La Farge Is Inspired by Medieval Art and Modern Impressionism.** In medieval Europe, artists created stained-glass cathedral windows of stunning beauty. In late-nineteenth-century America, John La Farge created stained-glass church windows that compare

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<sup>1</sup> Sargent is usually classified as an American painter because he was born of American parents. But he was born in Italy and spent most of his life in England.



*Toilers of the Sea by Albert Ryder.*

favorably with these. La Farge was also known for his church murals and for the elements of impressionism that appear in some of his landscapes.

**Homer and Eakins Paint with Dramatic Realism.** Like La Farge, Winslow Homer, Thomas Eakins, and Albert Ryder were all born about 1840 and tended to stress native American themes in their paintings. Weather-beaten fishermen and sailors on the rocky coast of Maine, toil-worn farmers, rugged fur trappers, Caribbean islanders fighting a storm in the open sea—these were subjects in many of Homer's landscapes and seascapes. Such Homer paintings as *The Gulfstream*, *The Hurricane*, and *Undertow* show realism, vitality and dramatic appeal.

Prize fights, crew races, and hospital clinics are just a few of the down-to-earth subjects painted realistically by Thomas Eakins. His realism as a portrait painter cost Eakins clients. It was a rare person who would pay to have his portrait painted with all his scars, moles, or other blemishes showing.

**The Symbolism in Ryder's Paintings Is a Challenge to Many.** Two lonely, hazy figures in a little black sailboat on a dark sea, silhouetted against a moonlit sky, painted on a small canvas—this is Albert Ryder's fa-

mous painting *Toilers of the Sea*. To some, it symbolizes the loneliness of all men as they voyage through life. This ghostly painting is fairly typical of much of Ryder's work. Instead of depicting the obvious, the deeply religious and poetical Ryder was always reaching out to express the mysteries of life. He once said: "I am trying to find something out there beyond the place on which I have a footing."

Despite these outstanding painters, American painting as a whole was not outstanding until the twentieth century. Then, many were to find their inspiration in the work of such painters as Eakins (page 713) and Ryder.

**The Sculpture of Saint-Gaudens Provokes Deep Thought.** In a cemetery in Washington, D.C., is a bronze statue of a weary, sad figure, hooded and draped. Its sculptor was an Irish-born, French- and Italian-trained American citizen, who did his work in the United States: Augustus Saint-Gaudens. The statue is sometimes called *The Adams Memorial*, having been sculptured in memory of the wife of Henry Adams (page 518). The various interpretations that have been made of the meaning of this statue are evident in the names that have been given to it: *Grief*, *Death*, *Peace of God*. The famous Saint-Gaudens statue of Lincoln in Chicago, like many other Saint-Gaudens monuments and statues, brilliantly captures the personality of the subject.

**Sculptors Barnard, MacMonnies, French, and Borglum Continue Their Work into the Twentieth Century.** George Gray Barnard, a student of Rodin, sometimes sculptured statues that looked as if they were stepping out of blocks of roughly hewn stone. Frederick MacMonnies, a student of Saint-Gaudens, sculptured the Marne Battle Memorial in France and the bronze doors of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. In Washington, D.C., too, is Daniel Chester French's impressive bronze seated statue of Lincoln, in the Lincoln Memorial. Gutzon Borglum carved the faces of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt in the rock of Mount Rushmore,

South Dakota. Most of this sculptor's work was done in the twentieth century. In fact, all of these sculptors continued working past 1900.

**Architect Sullivan Teaches That Form Must Follow Function.** Its carrying capacity is more important to the driver of a truck than its form. In other words, it is wiser to have form follow function than to have function follow form. However, for many years, Americans thought less about the use to which a building was to be put than about its appearance. They continued to borrow architectural ideas from the ancient Greeks and Romans, from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Examples of such borrowers were the gifted late-nineteenth-century architects H. H. Richardson and R. M. Hunt. Richardson designed churches, libraries, railroad stations, and university buildings in the simpler Romanesque style, rather than in the ornate Victorian Gothic style. Hunt's huge mansions in French chateau style, designed for wealthy patrons, often had floors and stairways of marble and grotesquely carved woodwork.

But neither Richardson's nor Hunt's buildings could meet the requirements of the growing cities, with their ever-increasing populations. Needed were buildings that stretched upward, rather than outward. Romanesque buildings have thick walls, heavy rounded arches, and massive stone roofs. Obviously, if such buildings were constructed to any great height, they would collapse of their own weight.

**The Skyscraper Is a Distinctive American Contribution.** The high cost of city real estate, plus cheaper methods of making good quality structural steel, plus the perfection of the elevator made the skyscraper inevitable. Skyscrapers were originally supported not so much by heavy masonry as by a relatively light steel framework.<sup>1</sup> Thus they could be built to great heights. But if the telephone had not been invented, the skyscraper would

have been impractical. Imagine what would happen if thousands of messengers had to converge on every skyscraper every few minutes!

Throughout the world, the skyscraper has been recognized as America's greatest contribution to architecture. The man who did most to promote the idea of the skyscraper was the architect Louis Sullivan. It was he who hammered away at the idea that the form in which a building is constructed should follow the use to which it is to be put. This theory is called *functionalism*. The skyscraper illustrates it well.

**Native American Themes Are Long Considered Unworthy by Serious Musicians.** Many American concert artists altered their names to make them more European-sounding. Most American composers tried to imitate European ones. And European—especially German and Italian—conductors and concert artists were enthusiastically welcomed to the United States. All this shows how strong was the European appeal to the relatively few Americans who were interested in opera and orchestral music. Most Americans were much more interested in lonely cowboy tunes, mournful Negro spirituals, spirited mountain music, and folk songs in general (page 286).<sup>1</sup> Popular, too, were such gay tunes of the "gay nineties" as "After the Ball Is Over," "Sidewalks of New York," and "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." To the few who loved serious music, such folk songs and popular music were not worth listening to. And to the many who loved such music, opera and orchestral music were too highbrow.

**Some Developments That Helped to Raise the Level of American Music and American Musical Tastes.** However, as the nineteenth century was drawing to a close, more and more people were becoming interested in serious music. And American composers and

<sup>1</sup> Today's engineers, however, have figured out how to build skyscrapers with reinforced concrete, using relatively little steel.

<sup>1</sup> Jazz did not come into its own until the twentieth century. But it sprang from such nineteenth-century music as minstrel and vaudeville melodies, "cakewalk" songs, and the ragged beat of ragtime.



*What do you think the reactions of Thomas A. Edison would have been on seeing this picture? Explain.*

lovers of serious music were beginning to realize that much inspiration could be derived from the typically American themes in folk songs.

*Many Rich, Many Immigrants, and Many Women Spread an Interest in Serious Music.*

To numerous wealthy people goes much credit for the establishment of permanent symphony orchestras in many large cities. It was wealthy New Yorkers who were responsible for the building of the Metropolitan Opera House, which opened in 1883. To many immigrants from many lands goes much credit for bringing with them a taste for serious music. To many women of the middle class goes much credit for promoting enthusiasm for serious music. With the increasing prosperity of the nation, such women had more leisure. Far more women than men attended concerts and studied and taught music.

*A Foreigner Demonstrates to Composers the Great Possibilities in American Themes.* One woman, Jeanette Thurber, invited Anton Dvořák, the famous Czech composer, to become director of the National Conservatory of Music, which she helped to found. Dvořák expressed the spirit of American folk music in his composition *New World Symphony*. He also got his students to think of using American themes in their music.

For many years, the National Conservatory was tuition-free. Many of its graduates and those of the many other conservatories founded in many cities by 1900 became fine musical artists and teachers. By 1900, too, thousands of families were enjoying good music on records played by Edison's new invention, the phonograph.

*Composer MacDowell Makes Use of Some American Themes.* By the turn of the century, the United States had a composer who

was deemed worthy of high praise by such a European musical "great" as Franz Liszt. Most of the compositions of this composer, Edward MacDowell, were distinctly European in influence. However, a few, such as *To a Wild Rose*, in his *Woodland Sketches*, and *Indian Suite*, make use of American themes.

*Sousa, Composer of Marches, Is Strongly Nationalistic.* The "march king," as band conductor and composer John Philip Sousa was called, wrote many patriotic marches. Most famous perhaps is his stirring *Stars and Stripes Forever*. Sousa tried, as he said, to compose marches that would "make a man with a wooden leg want to step out."

### **Some Other Social Developments Of the Late Nineteenth Century**

**Millions of Americans Become Sports-conscious.** A batting average of 518 and fifty-nine homers was the record of George Wright in 1869. This member of the first professional baseball team, the Cincinnati

Red Stockings, organized in that year, was the first player to be elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, New York. After a bruising bare-knuckle bout of seventy-five rounds, John L. Sullivan, the "Boston Strong Boy," won the world's heavyweight boxing championship in 1889. The achievements of Wright and Sullivan were just two of many highlights in the sports-conscious period after the War Between the States.

*Some Interesting Characteristics of This Sports-conscious Period.* Practically every one of the many games in which Americans engaged at this time originated outside of America. For example, baseball developed out of rounders, and football out of rugby—both games British in origin. Basketball, first played at Springfield College, Massachusetts, in 1891, was one sport that was truly American-born.

As both spectators and participants, more and more women began taking an interest in sports. Croquet, bicycling, and roller skating, which became crazes at this time, gave

*Mention three aspects of American life in the late nineteenth century that are pictured here.*



men and women greater opportunities to meet, thereby inspiring romance. One popular song ran:

But the mallets and balls unheeded lay  
And the maid and the youth side by side  
sat they,  
And I thought to myself: "Is that eroquet?"

Pedaling a bielele while wearing a long, flowing skirt and many underskirts reaching to the ankles was no easy matter. This helps to explain why women in time began to dress more comfortably.

Tennis and golf, European-born, were played at this time, too, but not by many. Tennis was considered a game for sissies because players at that time gave the ball a gentle pat or tap, instead of stroking it with a powerful drive or smash. Golf was considered a game for the rich.

Other sports that got a foothold in the United States during this period included ice hockey, handball, cricket, and polo.

**Recreation Becomes Big Business.** By 1900, large crowds were watching professional baseball games. Prize fighting, too, was yielding its promoters fortunes. Yet, only a short time before, the sport had been considered so brutal that it had been illegal in every state. College football games drew such large crowds that many a college was able to finance expansion out of the gate receipts. In those days, football, played without headguards, was so rough that today's game seems tame by comparison. Human races (at track meets) and dog races, introduced in the 1870's, were also proving somewhat profitable.

Other profitable entertainment ventures were the many amusement parks being opened at this time, the Barnum and Bailey Circus, and the Wild West Show of "Buffalo Bill" Cody (page 462).

And today, of course, the recreation business is one of the biggest of big businesses. For the tensions of crowded city life, plus more leisure, plus more money have spurred more Americans to seek ways of relaxing and enjoying themselves.

**The Theater Thrives in Attendance, But Lags in Quality.** Vaudeville, with its comedians, acrobats, animal acts, and song-and-dance men, and burlesque were both popular in the late nineteenth century. Vaudeville was somewhat vulgar, and burlesque often very much so. Most plays were melodramas, frontier dramas, musical comedies, or sentimental "tear-jerkers."

A theatergoer who had seen one melodrama had pretty much seen them all. A typical melodrama would have as its heroine a sweet, pure girl, as its hero a noble and courageous youth, and as its villain a vile blackguard, often a blackmailer, who hissed through his black mustache. The aroused audience frequently hissed back.

Yet Shakespearean plays were revived, as well as such other old favorites as Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Rivals*. Many repertory companies<sup>1</sup> and many road companies kept interest in the theater alive, and helped to develop numerous talented actors. In improving stage lighting, scenery, and costumes, producer and playwright David Belasco helped to build sound foundations for the modern theater.

Even today there are many who have never had an opportunity to see professional players perform on the legitimate stage. There are few, however, even in the most remote areas, who have never seen a motion picture (pages 443, 725). A few even had the opportunity to see one in the 1890's, when the motion picture was born.

**Some Reasons for the Flood of Immigration After the War Between the States.** All his life he had lived in a little farm village in Europe. He had rarely ever traveled more than a few miles from home. Now he had torn himself away from his traditional way of life and time-tested friends to take ship for America. To make the voyage as profitable as possible, the shipowner had packed him into tight quarters with hundreds of

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<sup>1</sup> A repertory company is one in which the same cast acts many different plays in the same theater during a theatrical season.

other immigrants. He landed with only a few dollars in his pockets, with fear in his heart, and desperately lonely.

"He" has been given no name. He stands as a symbol of many millions of immigrants to the United States who faced the problems of adjusting to a new way of life in a strange land.

The following lines are from a nineteenth-century song. They express pretty well the attitude of the United States toward immigration during most of this century.

We have room for all creation and our  
banner is unfurled

Here's a general invitation to the people of  
the world.

In a sense, through advertising (page 460), specific invitations had been sent out to the people of the world—by factory owners, railroad companies, shipowners, and certain states. Factory owners wanted immigrants for cheap labor; railroad companies wanted to sell them land; shipowners wanted to get their passage money; and certain states wanted them in order to increase their population.

Immigrants accepted these invitations for a variety of reasons. Some wanted to get away from the terrible poverty in their homelands, where the pressure of ever-increasing population was making it ever harder to make a decent living. Some came so that they would not have to put in a few years of compulsory military service.

Many immigrants came for political reasons. For example, many Irish left their country because, among other reasons, they would not live under the British flag (page 278). And many Germans came because they saw no hope that the autocratic German Government would become more liberal (page 278).

Religious persecution increased immigration, too. Many Jews, for example, fled Russia because the Government made it hard for them to become landowning farmers, barred them from many occupations and from higher education, restricted them to

certain areas, and sometimes instigated riots against them.

Finally, as throughout American history, many immigrants came because in America there was no caste system or permanent class distinction.

**Some Reasons Why Discrimination Against Immigrants Increased Greatly.** "Why don't you foreigners go back to where you came from?" This kind of taunt against immigrants had been uttered by individuals and certain groups at various times, even early in American history (page 278). What explains the sharp increase in discrimination that took place late in the nineteenth century?

**Fear of Losing Jobs to Chinese Immigrants.** Resentment against the Chinese on the Pacific Coast developed rapidly during the middle 1870's. Up to then, the "general invitation" to come to America had included the Chinese. As we know, their back-breaking labor had helped to build the Union Pacific Railroad. But a depression in 1877, coupled with a poor harvest, hit California hard. Unemployment rose sharply. Those employed were afraid that they might lose their jobs to the Chinese, who were willing to do the hardest work for long hours at low pay, and live on little but rice.

**Fear That Chinese Immigrants Would Be Hard to Americanize.** Now, many began to ask with reference to the Chinese, can people so different from Americans in looks, speech, and habits ever become Americanized? Another source of concern to many was the fact that Chinese immigration showed no signs of slackening. One agitator, Denis Kearney, aroused crowds of unemployed by his fiery speeches, which always ended: "The Chinese must go!" Chinese laundries were set afire; homes in San Francisco's Chinatown were invaded, and employers who hired Chinese workers were threatened.

**The 'New Immigrants' Tend to Settle in Cities and Compete for Jobs.** In the middle 1880's, agitation against European immigration also began to mount. Why? Before this time, most immigrants had come from Northern and Western Europe, including many





*Hoodlums pelting Chinese immigrants on their arrival at San Francisco. Incidents similar to the one portrayed here have occurred countless times throughout world history. Explain. Give your reactions to this statement.*

English, Irish, Scottish, Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians. Now this immigration had declined somewhat. But Italians and Greeks, Jews and Poles, Hungarians and Bulgarians, Russians and Rumanians, Slovenes and Slovaks, Croats and Czechs were flocking to the United States in great numbers. This so-called *new immigration* from Southern and Eastern Europe alarmed descendants of early settlers and even immigrants who had been in the country a relatively short time themselves.

The United States, in the days of the *old immigration*, had been almost entirely agricultural. By the time the new immigrants arrived, it was on its way to becoming the greatest industrial nation in the world. And most of the new immigrants, unlike the old immigrants, took jobs in city factories. Labor unions were especially bitter at the competition from these ever-increasing numbers of immigrants. Being mainly unskilled, pov-

erty-stricken, and accustomed to Europe's lower standards, they were willing to work long hours for even the lowest wages—at even the most dangerous jobs. The bitterness of labor unions toward immigrants mounted when some employers used them as strike-breakers, and when union leaders saw how hard it was to organize them into unions (page 506).

*The New Immigrants Are Blamed for Spreading Radicalism and Creating Slums.* At one time, many employers had been so eager for immigrant laborers that they had brought them to the United States as contract laborers (page 504). But by the middle 1880's, some employers, too, were objecting to the flood of immigration. They accused immigrants of bringing to the United States radical European ideas, such as socialism and anarchism. Immigrants were also accused of being the ignorant puppets of corrupt city political machines (page 522). Most of the

new immigrants tended to settle in the slums of the big cities. Soon they were being blamed for the filth, epidemics, and crime so prevalent in slum areas.

**Old Immigrants Assert That New Immigrants Are Hard to Americanize.** To the older settlers, the new immigrants, whose language, customs, and appearance were different from their own, seemed odd. Many Americans feared that such immigrants, like the Chinese, would be harder to Americanize than the earlier immigrants. As proof, they pointed to the tendency of immigrants from a given area of Europe to settle in the same section of a city and to have little to do with older settlers, or even with immigrants from other areas. Some published their own foreign-language newspaper and founded churches where services were conducted in that language. The creation of such entities as "little Italies," "little Hungaries," and "little Polands" in American cities seemed to many no way to build a bigger and better America. Of course, many of the criticisms being made of the new immigrants had also been made of the old immigrants, upon their arrival in America.

**The United States Closes Its Doors to Certain Groups of Immigrants.** The agitation of men like Kearney, plus pressure brought by labor organizations, had its effect. In 1882, Chinese laborers became the first national group to be barred as immigrants (page 507). The Chinese Exclusion Act, which was originally limited to ten years, was renewed, and not repealed until World War II. In the twentieth century, as we shall see, the immigration of Japanese was at first limited, and later barred entirely, not to be permitted again until recently.

Another 1882 law barred the immigration of convicts, mental defectives, and paupers. Three years later, the law that permitted contract laborers to enter the nation was repealed (page 507). The Knights of Labor had protested because many contract laborers had been used as strikebreakers. In time, anarchists, alcoholics, and diseased persons were also barred from immigration. Thus,

because it barred groups considered undesirable, United States immigration policy in the late nineteenth century was called "selective."

The aim of the immigration laws for the past half-century or so has been to restrict immigration drastically. But in so severely restricting immigration the Government has also continued selecting the immigrants it considers most desirable. Thus "selective" and "restrictive" policies were to go hand in hand.

For example, a bill requiring immigrants to pass a literacy test was passed over President Woodrow Wilson's veto in 1917. Four earlier Presidents had been successful in vetoing similar literacy-test bills. The 1917 literacy-test law stated that no alien over sixteen would be admitted to the country unless he could read some language. Most persons in Northern and Western Europe had had a little educational opportunity. However, relatively few from Southern and Eastern Europe at this time had had any worth mentioning. To President Wilson, therefore, the purpose of the law was "restriction, not selection." The literacy tests, he said:

are not tests of quality, or of character or of personal fitness, but tests of opportunity. Those who come seeking an opportunity are not to be admitted unless they have already had one of the chief of the opportunities they seek, the opportunity of education.

**Immigration Helps to Give Variety and Vitality to American Life.** All Americans are either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants, with the possible exception of American Indians. Almost all immigrants, old and new, came to the United States for basically the same reasons. All saw in America a land of promise. Most had been farmers. Few had been skilled craftsmen, well-educated, or well-to-do. Thus, in spite of some differences between the old and the new immigration, the similarities were greater. Both groups have made great contributions to America, as America has made great contributions to both.



"In a Strange Land—Asking the Way."  
What thoughts must have been running  
through the minds of the women pictured  
in this 1874 illustration from Harper's  
Weekly?

**Unskilled as Well as Skilled Immigrants Have Enriched America.** It was mainly the exhausting toil of unskilled immigrants that built the nation's railroads, factories, and canals; mined its minerals; cleared its forests; and cultivated its soil. Some skilled immigrants have taught America much about furniture making, glassmaking, textile manufacturing, shipbuilding, and many other crafts. Some immigrants, gifted in music, art, literature, and science, have greatly enriched the culture of America.

In a sense, a person could take a trip around the world without leaving the United States. For in the United States can be found restaurants, newspapers, dances, theaters, festivals, and other aspects of the culture of most nationalities. All this has tended to make American civilization one of the most varied and exciting in all history.

Some Americans used to boast that America was a "melting pot." They meant that the many immigrants who entered the United

States soon rid themselves of their Old World culture and became pretty much uniform in their Americanism. Today, however, Americans boast that their civilization is not so much homogeneous as homogenized.

**How Immigrants Sometimes Help to Create Jobs.** It used to be said, and still is, that immigrants put Americans out of jobs. At various times and in some places, they have. But immigrants, by enlarging the market for American products, also create jobs. Moreover, many Americans have moved up to better jobs because immigrants have come in to do the unskilled work that they had been doing—and that has to be done. Some immigrants have created employment by opening new factories in special fields.

**Many an Immigrant Has Made Much Headway Toward Realizing the American Dream.** In America, many an immigrant has enjoyed freedom and prosperity. He has been able to send his children to college. Some of these have advanced in the professions and made names for themselves and America in the arts and sciences. And descendants of both old and new immigrants have fought bravely or given their lives on the battlefield.

**Few Would Recommend Unlimited Immigration Today.** Some have said that the United States has not been generous enough in opening its doors to immigrants. It is true that in the past fifty years or so, as we know, the United States has sharply restricted immigration (page 704). However, since the American Revolution, about forty-three million immigrants have been admitted. No other nation can match this record. In the light of all the problems that would result, very few would recommend an unlimited immigration policy for the United States today.

**Heavy Drinking, Especially in Cities, Leads to an Intensified Temperance Crusade.** During and after the War Between the States, heavy drinking of intoxicating liquors increased. Many of the states that had passed prohibition laws had to repeal them as unenforceable. They found that many persons had such a thirst for alcohol that they were

willing to break the law to get it. The saloon business boomed. A city with a population of a million might have as many as 5,000 saloons. Some saloons became hangouts for idlers, gamblers, and even criminals.

*The Prohibition Party, the WCTU, and the Anti-Saloon League Fight for Prohibition.* The trend toward heavy drinking caused temperance crusaders to work overtime. They blamed drunkenness for crime, poverty, idleness, broken homes, juvenile delinquency, and many other evils (page 274). In 1869, religious leaders were instrumental in forming the Prohibition Party. Most men *would* not vote for its candidates, and women *could* not. However, women supported the party in political campaigns, singing

I'll marry no man if he drinks!

In 1874, women organized the *Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)*. This group, under the leadership of Frances E. Willard, carried its campaign right into the saloons. There they would sing hymns and sometimes pray aloud that those drinking would soon be saved from the curse of drink. The WCTU, the Anti-Saloon League, formed in 1893, and many church groups were most influential in getting several states to adopt prohibition before 1900. By 1915, two out of every three Americans lived in communities where prohibition prevailed. But it prevailed in almost no large city. In most cities, liquor flowed freely.<sup>1</sup>

*The Fight for Women's Rights Continues.* Some American men complain today that women have not only caught up with men in opportunities, rights, and influence, but have even raced past them. More wealth in America, they point out, is in women's hands than in men's. Many an American man smiles only halfheartedly when he hears Europeans

or Asians say that, in America, "women wear the pants."

If there is any doubt about who "wears the pants" today, there was no doubt until recent years. For a long time, as we know, in spite of their many contributions, women had few rights. They gained some, but few, in the Jacksonian period (page 272).

*Why Women Gained Many More Rights After 1865.* With the expansion of industries and cities after 1865, women got jobs as stenographers and typists, telephone and telegraph operators, bookkeepers, salesladies, and factory workers. Some even opened their own businesses. Women, in slowly increasing numbers, were entering such professions as law, medicine, and the ministry.

As more women earned money, more of them felt independent (page 271). Some took the attitude: I don't need a husband to support me. Late marriages and spinsters became more common. As cities expanded, more and more girls gained an opportunity to get a free public high school education.

*This type of propaganda against the women's rights movement defeated itself. To what extent do you agree?*



<sup>1</sup> The Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, ratified in 1919, provided for nationwide prohibition. Fourteen years later, it was repealed by the Twenty-first Amendment.

As we know, colleges were also opening their doors to women. The combination of greater independence and better education resulted in the enlistment of many women in the fight for women's rights.

*Many Women Use Their Leisure to Good Advantage.* Married women whose husbands had prospered as business expanded no longer had to spend their days doing housework. This was the time when many new appliances were being introduced, such as hand-cranked washing machines and wringers, and foot-pedaled sewing machines. Better plumbing, bigger bathrooms, gaslighting, and central heating were now making the homes of the prosperous more comfortable. Prosperous housewives were now buying factory-preserved fruits and vegetables, instead of preserving them at home. Factories, too, were relieving them of dressmaking chores.

Many such women used their new-found leisure doing social service work or church work. Some became active in the women's clubs that were being founded at this time. In such clubs, women listened to lectures and discussed the great literature and civilizations of the past. Soon, however, they were discussing and acting upon the problems of the present. They organized campaigns for better housing and better schools, and against child labor and dishonest political machines. Before long, many of them had enlisted in the crusade to win women the right to vote.

*Susan B. Anthony Doesn't Live to See Her Glorious Victory.* "Is it a crime for a United States citizen to vote?" This is the question Susan B. Anthony put to a judge in 1872. This fighting feminist had broken the law by daring to vote. She was found guilty and fined \$100. "I will not pay a dollar!" she declared. She never did. For many years, she continued the fight for woman suffrage. Newspapers ridiculed her voice, her figure, and her cause. Hecklers tried to shout her down. Rotten eggs and tomatoes were hurled at her and her supporters. Male resistance to female insistence on the right to vote continued to be so strong that, by 1896, only Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho had granted woman suffrage. Wyoming, when a territory in 1869, had set the example.

As we shall see, an amendment to the Federal Constitution granting woman suffrage was adopted in 1920.<sup>1</sup> This amendment, the Nineteenth, has been called the "Susan B. Anthony amendment." But Miss Anthony, who died in 1906, didn't live to see it.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Not until after World War II ended in 1945 did France, Italy, and Japan, for example, grant woman suffrage. In Federal elections, Swiss women still do not vote.

<sup>2</sup> In her lifetime, this strong-willed suffragette had also fought for temperance, abolition of slavery, equal pay for women teachers, college education for girls, and property rights for women.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 24

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Jane Addams	syndicated column	Sidney Lanier	Gutzon Borglum
Lillian Wald	Mark Twain	Emily Dickinson	H. H. Richardson
McGuffey's Readers	local colorists	Horatio Alger, Jr.	R. M. Hunt
Henry Barnard	Bret Harte	Victorian Gothic	Louis Sullivan
John Dewey	Edward Eggleston	impressionists	functionalism
seminar method	Thomas N. Page	John S. Sargent	Anton Dvořák
case method	George W. Cable	James Whistler	Edward MacDowell
Chautauqua movement	Sarah Orne Jewett	John La Farge	John Philip Sousa
Joseph Pulitzer	Henry Adams	Winslow Homer	Cincinnati
<i>nouveau riche</i>	Henry James	Thomas Eakins	Red Stockings
yellow press	William Dean Howells	Albert Ryder	John L. Sullivan
Ottmar Mergenthaler	Edward Bellamy	Augustus Saint-Gaudens	David Belasco
chain newspapers	Charles Sheldon	George G. Barnard	old immigration
Associated Press	Hamlin Garland	Frederick MacMonnies	new immigration
	Stephen Crane		WCTU
			Susan B. Anthony

### ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

- For what reasons did so many migrate from farms to cities after 1865?
- For what reasons were cities in general unhealthy and unattractive at this time?
- Give specific proof that a sense of civic responsibility was growing stronger after 1865.
- Describe the progress made in city transportation by 1900.
- Tell specifically how the work of such women as Jane Addams and Lillian Wald made city life happier for many.
- Give examples of progress made in the late nineteenth century in (a) pre-college and (b) higher education.
- What were the main weaknesses in education in this period?
- Describe the influence on American education of (a) Henry Barnard, (b) Pestalozzi and Froebel, (c) Herbert Spencer, (d) John Dewey, (e) Charles W. Eliot, and (f) certain curriculum changes in the late nineteenth century.
- Prove that American higher education was strongly influenced by European higher education and vice versa.
- Connect with educational progress (a) the growth of public libraries, (b) the Chautauqua movement, and (c) increased newspaper circulation.
- Describe Joseph Pulitzer's (a) aims, (b) methods, and (c) influence.
- Describe some distinctive characteristics of the modern newspaper business.
- Show in what ways Mark Twain's (a) *Innocents Abroad* promoted nationalism, (b) *The Gilded Age* ridiculed materialism, and (c) local-color books pictured aspects of American life.
- What pictures of American life are given

- by such local colorists as (a) Bret Harte, (b) Edward Eggleston, (c) Thomas Nelson Page, (d) George Washington Cable, and (e) Sarah Orne Jewett?
15. In what ways was the writing of Henry Adams and Henry James different from that of the local colorists?
  16. Mention one distinctive characteristic of a book by (a) William Dean Howells, (b) Edward Bellamy, (c) Charles Sheldon, (d) Hamlin Garland, and (e) Stephen Crane.
  17. What distinguishes the poetry of (a) Sidney Lanier and (b) Emily Dickinson?
  18. Give examples of writing in this period that was not of the highest quality but that had widespread influence.
  19. For what reasons was American painting (a) not especially creative in the years immediately following the War Between the States and (b) more creative beginning about 1880?
  20. In what ways was Victorian Gothic architecture in tune with the times? Be specific.
  21. What was distinctive about the work of (a) any two painters, (b) any two sculptors, and (c) any two architects mentioned in this chapter?
  22. Prove that American music has been enriched by a variety of influences.
  23. Mention five highlights in the sports picture of the late nineteenth century.
  24. Prove that in the late nineteenth century (a) the American theater was not particularly distinguished but (b) foundations for good theater were being laid.
  25. Give reasons why, in the late nineteenth century, (a) certain Americans wanted immigrants to come here and (b) so many immigrants wanted to come.
  26. For what reasons were (a) Chinese immigrants and (b) new immigrants not welcomed by many Americans in the late nineteenth century?
  27. Beginning in the 1880's, what groups were barred from immigrating into the United States?
  28. Sum up some of the many ways in which (a) immigrants have enriched American life and (b) America has enriched the lives of immigrants.
  29. Tell specifically what various temperance groups did to achieve their aims.
  30. Give examples of the improved status of women after 1865.

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Do you believe that the growth of cities indicated that the over-all standard of living of the American people was rising? Give reasons.
2. We can be proud today of the progress made in eliminating evils that were characteristic of late-nineteenth-century cities. Explain fully whether you agree.
3. What suggestions would you have made in the late nineteenth century to promote the health, safety, and general welfare of city inhabitants?
4. Draw up a list of adjectives that you think would well describe a woman like Jane Addams.
5. Many at this time asked, in effect: Are there enough schools giving the right sort of education so that even the poorest child will have a chance to get ahead in life? For what reasons is this question basic at any time in a democracy?
6. If you were writing an article on late-nineteenth-century education, what would you entitle it? Give reasons why.
7. Give your views of the views of educators mentioned in this chapter.
8. What specific changes in the educational curriculum do you think were called for because of (a) industrialization, (b) increased immigration, (c) the growth of cities, and (d) the acquisition of foreign territory?
9. What arguments might be given (a) for and (b) against the elective system introduced by President Eliot of Harvard?
10. For what reasons does the Chautauqua movement seem inspiring?
11. Do you believe that Pulitzer's methods

- show the value of a free press? Give reasons for your answer.
12. Pulitzer prizes are awarded each year to, among others, journalists who have rendered distinguished service to the public. What specifically do you think should be the criteria for such awards?
  13. Of the writers mentioned in this chapter select three whose books you would like to read. Give reasons why in each case.
  14. Prove by examples that one might get much insight into American history by reading the works of writers mentioned in this chapter.
  15. Which books mentioned in this chapter do you think especially reflect the times? Give reasons in each case.
  16. Do you think that the increasing wealth of the country in the late nineteenth century had a good or bad effect on architecture and art? Give reasons for your answer.
  17. Of the painters mentioned in this chapter select three whose paintings you would like to own. Give reasons why in each case.
  18. The paintings of which painter mentioned in this chapter seem to you (a) most dramatic and (b) most thought-provoking? Tell why in each case.
  19. Functionalism in architecture is a natural outgrowth of an industrialized society. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
  20. Do you believe that the advantages of the skyscraper outweigh its disadvantages? Discuss fully.
  21. What developments were taking place in the late nineteenth century that might explain the greater interest in (a) folk songs in general, (b) serious music, (c) sports, and (d) the theater?
  22. The whole story of immigration arouses many emotions in many Americans. What emotions? Give reasons why in each case.
  23. What do you consider the main reason why (a) immigrants have come to the United States and (b) immigrants have been discriminated against?
  24. Do you believe the arguments given against the new immigrants are (a) valid or (b) invalid? Give reasons for your answer.
  25. Immigration has helped to make American civilization homogenized rather than homogeneous. In what ways has this benefited America?
  26. What reasons might explain why women especially took a deep interest in the temperance movement?
  27. For what reasons was it inevitable that women would gain more and more rights after the War Between the States?
- ★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. Imagine yourself mayor of a late-nineteenth-century American city. Write a report to the citizens on your suggestions for solving each of the problems facing your city. Indicate in your report the obstacles that will have to be hurdled in realizing your aims.
  2. After reading all or part of *How the Other Half Lives* by Jacob Riis, report to the class on what you consider the most tragic aspects of tenement life in a big city.
  3. Investigate several source books for quotations by or about (a) Jane Addams, (b) Joseph Pulitzer, or (c) Susan B. Anthony. Then write an essay telling what these quotations reveal about the individual's character and contributions.
  4. After research, write an article on the development or influence in late-nineteenth-century America of (a) the playground movement, (b) special children's courts, (c) organized charity, (d) the Chautauqua movement, (e) *Munsey's* magazine, (f) the yellow press, or (g) *McGuffey's Readers*.
  5. Make a chart or graph illustrating any trend or trends in the period from 1865 to 1900 in (a) education or (b) immigration. Consult, for example, the *World*



- Almanac, Information Please Almanac,* and encyclopedias.
6. In committee, gather information for producing a play on the "gay nineties" (1890's). Your committee-made report should include (a) sketches of the clothing and furniture of the period, (b) songs (see *Songs of the Gilded Age*, edited by M. B. Boni and others), and (c) whatever else the committee thinks would serve to make the period come alive.
  7. Debate: (a) That organization into chains, news-gathering agencies such as the Associated Press, and syndicated columns tend to make newspapers too standardized; (b) That Americans place too much emphasis on spectator sports; or (c) That the United States should admit very few immigrants.
  8. Obtain as many opinions as possible on the work of any (a) writer, (b) painter, (c) sculptor, (d) architect, or (e) musician mentioned in this chapter. Report on to what extent there is agreement in these opinions. Cite your sources of information.
  9. Study some late-nineteenth-century paintings or listen to some late-nineteenth-century music. Tell what appeals to you in what you have seen or heard. If possible, bring to class the art books or records on which you may have based your reactions.
  10. After studying illustrative material on social and cultural life of the late nineteenth century, write a report on how your study illuminates the period. Use picture books and as many other sources as possible.
  11. Investigate any one of the following and report on his (a) ideas, (b) interesting experiences, and (c) influence: (1) Theodore Thomas, (2) Phineas T. Barnum, (3) Frederick L. Olmsted, Sr., (4) Andrew D. White, (5) Henry George, (6) Edwin L. Godkin, or (7) Robert E. Peary.
  12. Select ten famous immigrants to the United States. Make a chart showing (a) when each came, (b) where from, and (c) his or her specific contributions to American life.
  13. Obtain as much information as possible about the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, held at Chicago. Write an article on what this teaches you about topics treated in this chapter.
  14. In *A Second Treasury of the World's Great Letters*, edited by W. Brockway and B. K. Winer, read either (a) "Henry Adams Looks Ahead at the Twentieth Century" or (b) "Rudyard Kipling Tells William James What Is Wrong with American Civilization." Write the reply you would have sent to the author had you been the recipient of his letter.
  15. From the *American Heritage* series, read (a) "In Defense of the Victorian House" (October, 1955); (b) "Dime Novels" (February, 1956); (c) "The Great Bicycle Craze" (December, 1956); or "Bonnet, Book, and Hatchett" (about Carrie Nation's fight for prohibition—December, 1957). List ways in which the article is enlightening and/or amusing.

## RECOMMENDED READING FOR UNIT FOUR<sup>1</sup>

Abell, E., comp., *Westward, Westward, Westward* (Watts). An anthology on the moving frontier, beginning with Boone.

Adams, R. F., *A Fitting Death for Billy the Kid* (University of Oklahoma Press). Punches holes in the legend of Billy the Kid.

Addams, J., *Twenty Years at Hull House*

<sup>1</sup> See also general bibliography on page xv.

- (Macmillan, Signet Classics PB<sup>1</sup>). A life dedicated to helping others.
- Allen, J. V., *Cowboy Lore: Songs of the West* (Naylor).
- Athearn, R. G., *Westward the Briton* (Scribner). Accounts by British travelers in the Rocky Mountains from 1865 to 1900.
- Beebe, L., and C. Clegg, *The American West: The Pictorial Epic of a Continent* (Dutton).
- Billington, B. A., *The Westward Movement in the United States* (Anvil PB).
- Blay, J. S., *After the Civil War* (Crowell). The United States in pictures from 1865 to 1900.
- Boni, M. B., ed., *Songs of the Gilded Age* (Golden Press).
- Botland, H., *High, Wide, and Lonesome* (Lippincott). A personalized picture of pioneer life.
- Buck, S. J., *The Agrarian Crusade* (Yale University Press). About farmers, their problems, and their organizations.
- Burlingame, R., *Machines That Built America* (Harcourt, Brace & World, Signet Key PB).
- , *March of the Iron Men* (Universal Library PB).
- Carnegie, A., *Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* (Houghton Mifflin).
- Cather, W., *My Antonia* (Sentry Editions PB). A novel of frontier life in Nebraska.
- Churchill, W., *Coniston* (Macmillan). A novel about political bosses, machines, and corruption after the war.
- Clark, T. D., *Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement* (Scribner). Rich in quotations and information about the last half of the nineteenth century.
- Cochran, T. C., *Basic History of American Business* (Anvil PB).
- Dick, E. N., *The Sod-House Frontier* (Johnsen). The problems of pioneers on the Great Plains.
- Dulles, F. R., *America Learns to Play* (Appleton-Century-Crofts). Traces the history of sports in America.
- , *Labor in America* (Crowell). For this period Chapters 6 through 10 are especially useful.
- Faulkner, H. U., *Politics, Reform, and Expansion 1890-1900* (Harper & Row).
- Ferber, E., *Cimarron* (Doubleday; Bantam PB). A novel about early settlers in Oklahoma.
- Flexner, E., *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Harvard University Press).
- Ford, P. L., *The Honorable Peter Sterling* (Hillary House). A novel of the Cleveland era.
- Frantz, J. B., and J. E. Choate, *The American Cowboy: The Myth and the Reality* (University of Oklahoma Press).
- Garland, H., *A Son of the Middle Border* (Macmillan PB). Tells about the harsh life experienced by the frontier families in the West.
- Ginger, R., *Altgeld's America* (Funk & Wagnalls). Deals with leaders in politics, law, education, architecture, and welfare work, among other fields.
- Glad, P. W., *The Trumpet Soundeth: William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy 1896-1912* (University of Nebraska Press).
- Gompers, S., *Seventy Years of Life and Labor: An Autobiography* (Dutton).
- Graham, S., and J. D. Lipscomb, *Dr. George Washington Carver* (Messner).
- Gurko, M., *The Lives and Times of Peter Cooper* (Crowell). About one who threw himself into many movements for improving life in America.
- Hacker, L., *American Capitalism: Its Promise and Accomplishment* (Anvil PB).
- Handlin, O., *The Uprooted. The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Little, Brown, Universal Library PB). A classic on immigration.
- Hendrick, B. J., *The Age of Big Business* (Yale University Press).
- Holbrook, S. H., *The Age of the Moguls* (Doubleday). About big businessmen.
- Horan, J. D., *The Great American West* (Crown). The West in pictures from the earliest explorers to the "Last West."

<sup>1</sup> PB means paperback.

- Howard, R. W., ed., *This Is the South* (Rand McNally). Depicts both the Old and the New South.
- , ed., *This Is the West* (Signet PB). About the courageous men and women who tamed the Wild West.
- Hoyt, E. P., *Jumbos and Jackasses: A Popular History of the Political Wars* (Doubleday). Mainly about national presidential nominating conventions.
- Ketchum, R. M., and others, ed., *American Heritage Book of the Pioneer Spirit* (American Heritage Publishing Company; Simon and Schuster). Both pictures and text stress the adventurous spirit that has always prevailed in the West.
- La Farge, O., *Laughing Boy* (Houghton Mifflin; Pocket Books PB). Life among the Navajos.
- Lavender, D., *Land of Giants: The Drive to the Pacific Northwest 1750-1950* (Doubleday). Individuals, companies, and countries compete dramatically for this prize.
- Lecch, M., *In the Days of McKinley* (Harper & Row).
- Longley, M., Silverstein, L., and S. A. Tower, *America's Taste 1851-1959: The Cultural Events of a Century Reported by Contemporary Observers in the Pages of the New York Times* (Simon and Schuster).
- Maass, J., *The Gingerbread Age: A View of Victorian America* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).
- Madison, C. A., *Critics and Crusaders: A Century of American Protest* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston; Ungar PB). About such crusaders as Henry George and Lincoln Steffens, among others.
- McGinnis, R. J., ed., *The Good Old Days* (Harper & Row). A picture book of America before the age of the automobile and big factories.
- Moody, J., *The Railroad Builders* (Yale University Press).
- Mumford, L., *The Brown Decade: A Study of the Arts in America 1865-1895* (Dover PB).
- Neider, C., ed., *The Great West* (Coward-McCann). Primary sources.
- Nevins, A., *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (Dodd, Mead). The era as well as the man.
- , *Hamilton Fish: The Inner Story of the Grant Administration* (Ungar).
- , *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise* (Scribner). Indicates the constructive role played by Rockefeller in helping to build modern America.
- , *The Emergence of Modern America 1865-1878* (Macmillan).
- O'Connor, R., *Gould's Millions* (Doubleday). Also includes some tintypes of Vanderbilt, Drew, Fisk, and others.
- Orth, S. P., *The Armies of Labor* (Yale University Press).
- , *The Boss and the Machine* (Yale University Press).
- Osgood, E. S., *The Day of the Cattleman* (Phoenix PB).
- Pelling, H., *American Labor* (University of Chicago Press PB). Brief and well-organized.
- Quiett, G. C., *Pay Dirt: A Panorama of American Gold Rushes* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).
- Riis, J., *How the Other Half Lives* (Sagamore Press; American Century PB). A sensitive naturalized American is shocked at the conditions he finds in the slums of his adopted country.
- Rölvagg, O. E., *Giants in the Earth* (Harper & Row). A novel about Scandinavian immigrants in the West.
- Ross, N. W., *Westward the Woman* (Knopf). The heartaches of heroic women in the taming of the West.
- Sandoz, M., *The Cattleman* (Hastings House). About the cattle kingdom in general.
- Schaefer, J., *Shane* (Houghton Mifflin; Bantam PB). A novel about friction in the cattle kingdom.
- Schlesinger, A. M., Sr., *The Rise of the City 1878-1898* (Macmillan).
- Schmitt, M. F., and D. Brown, *The Settlers' West* (Scribner). Stresses some tragic aspects of Western life.

Shannon, F., *American Farmers' Movements* (Anvil PB).

———, *The Farmers' Last Frontier 1860-1897* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston)

Stegner, W., ed., *The Rise of Realism in American Fiction 1850-1900* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston PB)

Still, B., ed., *The West. Contemporary Records of America's Expansion Across the Continents 1607-1890* (Capricorn PB)

Stone, I., *Men to Match My Mountains Opening of the Far West 1840-1900* (Doubleday)

Swanberg, W. A., *Jim Fisk* (Scribner) A lively account of a notorious character and his times.

Taft, R., *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West 1850-1900* (Scribner)

Thompson, H., *The New South* (Yale University Press) From 1865 to 1914

Tinkle, L., and A. Maxwell, ed., *The Cowboy Reader* (Longmans, Green) The cowboy as viewed by many writers.

Washington, B. T., *Up from Slavery* (Doubleday; Bantam PB) The story of the former slave who founded Tuskegee Institute.

Webb, W. P., *The Great Plains* (Grosset & Dunlap, Universal Library PB). A masterful and stimulating presentation, worthy of its subject

Werner, M. R., *Bryan* (Harcourt, Brace & World).

Wharton, E., *The Age of Innocence* (Random House). A novel that pictures New York society in the Gilded Age. Winner of the Pulitzer prize for fiction in 1921.

Winkler, J. K., *Incredible Carnegie* (Doubleday).

———, *Morgan the Magnificent* (Vanguard Press)

Wister, O., *The Virginian* (Macmillan; Pocket Books PB). A romance in the Wyoming cattle country in the late nineteenth century.

Wittke, C. F., *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (Prentice-Hall).

Woodward, C. V., *Origins of the New South 1877-1913* (Louisiana State University Press).

Yellon, S., *American Labor Struggles* (Harcourt, Brace & World). Includes, for example, the Haymarket and Homestead affairs.

# U N I T F I V E

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## THE GREAT EXPERIMENT: INTEREST IS INTENSIFIED IN PLAIN PEOPLE AT HOME AND IN EXPANSION OVERSEAS

25

A Progressive Movement Sweeps  
Cities, States, and the Nation

26

The United States Proves  
It Has Become a World Power

## CHAPTER

# 25

### *A Progressive Movement Sweeps Cities, States, and the Nation*

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#### **What Progressives Were For and Against**

• Muckrakers Expose Corruption in Politics, Labor, and Business • Progressives Try to Give Voters a More Direct Voice in Government • Cities Experiment with New Forms of Government • Progressives Help to Promote Social Justice

#### **Republican Presidents Roosevelt and Taft Promote Progressivism**

• Roosevelt Demands a 'Square Deal' for All, Special Privileges for None • His Role in the Coal Strike of 1902 • His Administration Acts to Curb Trusts, Regulate Railroads, Protect Consumers, and Conserve Natural Resources • The Taft Administration Expands Roosevelt's Progressive Program, But Antagonizes Progressives Anyway • Roosevelt and Ardent Progressives Form the Progressive Party • The Election of 1912: Three Candidates with Fairly Similar Progressive Platforms

#### **President Wilson, a Democrat, Promotes Progressivism**

• Wilsons' 'New Freedom' Aims to Put the Weak upon Equality with the Strong' • Wilson Fights for a Lower Tariff, Gets the Congress to Improve the Banking and Currency System and to Pass Antitrust Legislation • The Laborer and the Farmer Make Gains • Wilson Wins Re-election in 1916, But the Progressive Movement Weakens

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### **Some of the Progressive Movement's Personalities And Principles**

'Golden Rule' Jones Exemplifies the Reform Wave in Cities. Wealthy Samuel M. Jones was elected mayor of Toledo, Ohio, in 1897. His election was brought about by the powerful backing of a local political machine and

some of his fellow businessmen. To his surprise, Jones soon found out that he was expected to show his appreciation for this support by granting special privileges to a streetcar company. He refused. In the next election, these former supporters turned against him. But the people re-elected him anyway.

In running his business, and in running

the city, Jones put his religious principles into practice. For this reason, he was nicknamed "Golden Rule" Jones. At about this time, several other cities were blessed with ethically minded mayors similar to Jones. One of these, another wealthy Ohio businessman, Tom Johnson, introduced so many reforms as mayor of Cleveland that one writer called him "the best mayor of the best-governed city in America."

**Robert M. La Follette Exemplifies the Reform Wave in the States.** A major goal of such reform mayors was to prevent political machines tied up with favor-seeking businessmen from dominating city governments. But city political machines were often in league with state political machines. As a result, the reform spirit that first swept cities soon spread over certain states. In Wisconsin, for example, Robert M. ("Battling Bob")

*"Battling Bob" La Follette. "La Follette is a crank; if he thinks he can buck a railroad company with five thousand miles of line, he'll find out his mistake. . . ." So said a railroad lobbyist, angry because La Follette had opposed granting extensive lands to railroads for other than transportation purposes. See The Heritage of America, edited by H. S. Commager and A. Nevins, for the results of this controversy.*

La Follette fought the state political machine, which was allied to railroad and lumber corporations. In spite of strong opposition from his own political party, La Follette was elected governor in 1900. He was re-elected in 1902 and 1904, and represented Wisconsin in the United States Senate from 1906 to 1925.

The laws passed in La Follette's administration as governor have come to be called the *Wisconsin Idea*. One law, passed in 1903, took the nomination of candidates for office out of the hands of political bosses and bossed conventions and placed it in the hands of *all* a party's members. This was done by secret ballot in a special nominating election held some time before the general election. This device, known as the *direct primary*, made it possible for reformers hated by political bosses to be nominated.

Other Wisconsin laws curbed the privileges of railroads and streetcar, gas, and electric companies by making them subject to strict regulation by state commissions. Children were protected by a child labor law; workers suffering injuries, by a workmen's compensation law; taxpayers, by a fairer tax system; and future generations, by conservation of natural resources.

#### **Presidents Are Also Imbued with the Reform Spirit of the Early Twentieth Century.**

Theodore Roosevelt became President after McKinley was assassinated in 1901. Both Republicans Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, who succeeded Roosevelt, and Democrat Woodrow Wilson, who succeeded Taft, were imbued with the spirit of reform that swept the nation from 1900 to 1917. Such political leaders, and people from every walk of life who shared this reform spirit, came to be called *progressives*, and their crusade for reform, the *progressive movement*. Many of the principles of the Populists (page 493) were adopted by the progressives. It is interesting, however, that many conservatives who had opposed the Populists became leaders in the progressive movement.

**What Progressives Were For and Against.** Progress—great progress—has been made by



the United States in the past. Even greater progress can be made in the future, but only if America clings to the principles that have guided its past progress. So reasoned progressives, most of whom were members of the middle class. The principles that progressives in general considered basic to American progress were equal opportunity for all, with special privileges for none; encouragement of individual initiative, freedom of enterprise, and uncurbed economic competition; and faith in the decency and intelligence of the average man, with a corresponding desire to give him more voice in his government.

These principles, progressives warned, were being threatened. Progressives blamed big business for: practicing unfair methods of competition that were stifling freedom of enterprise, bringing about high tariffs and discriminatory railroad rates; wasting the nation's natural resources, and forming alliances with political machines to gain political and economic power. Many progressives also blamed "big labor" for interfering with traditional American economic principles.

As a result of all these abuses, progressives argued, individual initiative was being discouraged, rather than encouraged, and the average American was getting less, rather than more, voice in his government. Progressives feared that unless this situation was corrected, many dissatisfied Americans might turn to such radical movements as socialism (page 601).

In describing the progressive movement, authors have used such phrases as: "the spirit of the American Dream"; "the ideals of the Declaration of Independence"; "the goals of Jefferson and Jackson"; "the influence of Grangers, Greenbackers, Liberal Republicans, and Populists"; and "the application of Christian morality." Let us see to what extent the progressives' methods and achievements measured up to the idealism of such phrases.

**Some Means by Which Progressives Hoped to Correct Abuses.** To restore competition and thus bring about greater equality of opportunity in business, progressives urged that

the Government regulate big business. They also advocated legislation to protect farmers, wage earners, and consumers. To give voters a more direct voice in government, progressives called for many political reforms, such as new types of city government and the direct primary. They hoped to inspire voters to take a more active and a more intelligent part in politics, thereby lessening the power of political machines. Out of such increased voter participation would, they hoped, come legislation curbing or ending industrial accidents, the employment of women and children for long hours at low pay, and the sale of contaminated food and poisonous drugs, as well as alcoholism, crime, and slums.

**Another Side to the Progressive Movement.** Many progressives felt a sense of superiority toward peoples of other lands. This helps to explain their opposition to immigration from lands other than those from which their own ancestors had come. It also helps to explain why many of them felt that the United States ought to rule over colonial peoples.

Some so-called progressives merely mouthed progressive principles in order to win votes. Some were not progressives at all, but radicals who tried to stir up class strife. And even some true progressives, in their eagerness to arouse the people to support reform, exaggerated some abuses or evils. Some unfairly damaged reputations. Many downgraded the contributions of big business.

### **The Writings of Muckrakers Arouse Public Demand for Reform During the Progressive Era**

**Steffens Exposes the Shame of Cities.** A series of articles called "The Shame of the Cities" appeared in *McClure's* magazine in 1902. Its author, Lincoln Steffens, reported that in city after city that he had investigated, citizens were being cheated by grafting political bosses, who were being bribed by favor-seeking business interests. Actually,



Steffens contended, the citizens, through their lack of concern with how their city governments were being run, were cheating themselves.

**Unfair Competition, Corrupt Labor Leaders, Corrupt Stock Market Manipulators, and Poisonous Patent Medicines Are Exposed.** Practically every major abuse in American life was probed, exposed, and protested by some crusading writer of this progressive period. In her *History of the Standard Oil Company*, Ida M. Tarbell sharply criticized the business tactics whereby pressure was brought on politicians and railroads to get special privileges. Dishonest labor leaders who cheated union members were exposed in Ray Stannard Baker's *The Reign of Lawlessness*. Corrupt stock market manipulators were the target of Thomas Lawson's *Frenzied Finance*. And Samuel Hopkins Adams condemned the false advertising of poisonous patent medicines in *The Great American Fraud*.

**Many More Abuses Are Revealed by the 'Literature of Exposure.'** Frank Norris' novel *The Octopus* accused railroads of political and economic domination over wheat growers and sheep ranchers in the Far West. Books were written, too, deploring the filthy conditions in meat-packing plants (page 604), denouncing certain life insurance companies and certain judges for unscrupulous practices, and waging war on all kinds of trusts.

**Muckraking Writing Is Generally Accurate, But Sometimes Distorted.** In general, such crusading writers considered it their mission to shock the public into righting the wrongs under attack. In general, too, the magazines for which many of them wrote, such as *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Munsey's*, demanded that their articles be carefully researched. Thus their work was usually accurate. Yet their concentration on abuses tended to give a distorted impression of the condition of American society as a whole.

Once, impatient with this concentration on the ugly side of things, President Roosevelt labeled such writers *muckrakers* (filth-

rakers). The name stuck. Yet, like other progressives, Roosevelt recognized how important to the progressive movement were the muckrakers' exposures. And, as we shall now see, in his administration, as in those of Taft and Wilson, much of the legislation muckrakers urged was enacted.

## **Progressives Spur Changes to Make Government Everybody's Business**

"Throw the rascals out!" cried public-spirited citizens aroused by the writings of muckrakers. Some "rascals" (corrupt politicians) *were* thrown out as reform waves swept over some cities and states. But before long, in many a city and state, the "rascals" were back in again. Why? Many voters thought that once they got their reform candidates elected, their job was done. What they failed to realize was that the political boss and his well-organized political machine were even then busy preparing for the next election.

**Primaries Are Introduced to Give Voters a More Direct Voice in the Nomination of Candidates.** Progressives decided that the way to keep the "rascals" out permanently was to give voters a more *direct* voice in the government. Obviously, voters would have a more direct voice if as many of them as possible could take part in nominating candidates. Toward this end, the direct primary was introduced, and, by 1917, had been adopted by almost all the states. It was expected that candidates thus directly nominated would, if elected, be independent of political bosses. Previously, a would-be candidate who was not "in" with the "insiders" of the political machine had little chance of being nominated.

As we know, candidates for President are nominated by party delegates at national conventions. For a long time in all states, and even today in many states, the party delegates were selected by powerful political leaders. To give all the party members some voice in the nomination of Presidents, some

states adopted what is called the *presidential preferential primary*. At such a primary, the party members choose delegates to the national convention of their party. They may also indicate their preference of candidates for the Presidency. In some states, the delegates are pledged to vote for the candidate who wins the primary.

**The Initiative and Referendum Are Introduced to Give Voters a More Direct Voice in Lawmaking.** Obviously, voters would have a more direct voice in their government if as many of them as possible participated in actual lawmaking. Toward this end, progressives introduced certain forms of direct democracy, called the *initiative* and the *referendum*. Both originated in Switzerland.

The initiative operates something like this. An individual or group draws up a bill and secures signatures from a certain percentage of the voters. Then the bill is submitted either to the state legislature or to the voters directly at a regular or special election. Thus the initiative enables voters to propose laws.

The referendum gives voters an opportunity to accept or reject bills already passed by the state legislature. Usually, a certain percentage of the voters must sign a petition to get a certain bill referred to the voters at an election. In most states, proposed amendments to the state constitution must be submitted to a referendum. South Dakota, in 1898, was the first state to adopt the initiative and referendum. Within about ten years, some twenty states, mainly in the West, were giving voters such a direct voice in the government.

**The Recall Is Introduced to Give Voters an Opportunity to Remove Unsatisfactory Officials Before Election Time.** Obviously, voters would have a more direct voice in their government if as many of them as possible could take part in the removal of an inefficient or dishonest officeholder without waiting for election time. The progressives suggested a way by which the voters might do so. They proposed that as soon as a certain percentage of the voters had signed a pe-

tition against a certain official, an election be held to decide whether to remove the official or retain him in office. This device, also a form of direct democracy, is called the *recall*. Although about a dozen states—mainly in the West—and hundreds of cities have adopted the recall, it is rarely used.

**Efforts to Make Elections More Honest.** When a voter votes secretly, no political boss can check up on how he votes. Voting was made secret when the *Australian ballot* (secret ballot) was introduced. By 1900, it was in use in almost all the states.

Candidates with plenty of money could carry on much more effective campaigns than candidates with limited financial resources. Furthermore, wealthy individuals or corporations might contribute huge sums to the campaign funds of candidates they counted on for favors. To equalize opportunities for candidates, and to curb possible corruption, many states passed *corrupt practices acts*. These acts made it illegal for any candidate to spend more than a certain amount of money on a campaign, or for individuals or corporations to contribute more than a certain amount to a candidate's campaign fund.

**The Seventeenth Amendment Provides for Direct Election of United States Senators.** *The Treason of the Senate* was a shockingly sensational series of muckraking articles. It labeled many United States senators puppets of particular trusts. Its author, David Graham Phillips, mingled truths, half-truths, and gross exaggerations. It is true that some senators at the time were so closely linked with certain business interests that they were called such names as "lumber senators," "steel senators," and "sugar senators." It is also true that much bickering and bargaining took place in state legislatures when senators were being chosen. As we know, the Constitution gave state legislatures the right to choose United States senators.

In general, the senators chosen were highly intelligent men. But Populists, progressives, and many others felt that they didn't really represent the people. They therefore urged the direct election of senators by the people.

Phillips' propaganda won converts to this cause. In 1913, the cause was won with the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment.

**The Nineteenth Amendment Recognizes That Government Is Women's Business, Too.** If women were given the right to vote, there would be more decency and less corruption in government. So argued many progressives. If women had the vote, the saloon would be voted out of existence and drunkenness would drop. So argued many prohibitionists.

Building upon the achievements of the nineteenth-century woman suffrage movement (page 584), progressives, prohibitionists, and others continued the long struggle into the twentieth century. Finally, in 1920, women ceased to be second-class citizens with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment.

Female voters have proved to be neither superior nor inferior to male voters. Higher standards of morality in politics would seem to depend much more on a voter's intelligence and character than upon his or her sex.

### **Cities Experiment with New Forms Of Government to Promote Businesslike Efficiency**

**Some Cities Try the Commission-type Government.** Galveston, Texas, was struck by a tidal wave and hurricane in 1900. About 6,000 people were killed and millions of dollars worth of property was destroyed. The city's mayor-council-type government seemed unable to cope with the crisis. As a result, the council was replaced by five commissioners. This *commission-type* government proved so efficient that, within a few years, hundreds of other cities had adopted it.

In the commission-type government, each commissioner takes charge of a particular department. In theory, each is a specialist in the work of his department. The fact that there are only five commissioners to vote for should, according to the theory, make for intelligent voting. If inefficiency or corrup-

tion crop up in a department, the voters know whom to blame. However, commissioners are sometimes elected not so much for their expert ability as for their popularity. And sometimes the five commissioners are at loggerheads, thus slowing up the work of the government.

**Some Cities Try the City Manager-type Government.** Dayton, Ohio, was almost submerged by a flood in 1913. The city's mayor-council-type government found the emergency too much to cope with. Like Galveston, Dayton replaced the council with a small elected commission. But then a further step was taken. The commission hired a city manager, who was to be responsible to it. The plan worked so well that soon hundreds of cities adopted the *city manager-type* government. City managers are experts, often college-trained for their jobs. They are usually free from political ties. They are expected to run a city as an efficiency expert would run a big business.

For one reason or another, some cities have grown dissatisfied with these newer forms of city government and have returned to the old mayor-council type. But clearly of more importance than the form of civic government is the extent of civic pride.

### **Progressives Aid the Fight To Promote Social Justice**

Progressives preached that it was irreligious and inhumane for government to neglect the poor and weak and the welfare of its people in general. Progressives' pressure on government helped to get policies adopted to make Americans healthier and happier.

**What Was Done to Make Children Healthier and Happier.** What policies in regard to children did the pressure of progressives help bring about? Milk was inspected. Public clinics advised mothers on baby care. School children were given medical and dental examinations. Many parks, playgrounds, and settlement houses were opened. All but one state, by 1914, had prohibited the employ-



*This 1911 photograph of a boy worker in a glass factory might have been used effectively by progressives. In what ways?*

ment of children younger than fourteen. Many states had made it illegal to employ children under sixteen in dangerous jobs or for nightwork. Education expanded so much during the progressive era that high school enrollment doubled.

**What Was Done for the Welfare of Women in Particular.** The welfare of women was another concern of progressives. During this period, day nurseries were established to care for the children of working mothers. By 1908, several states had prohibited the employment of women for more than sixty hours a week. Some states passed laws granting financial relief to mothers with dependent children.

**What Was Done for Wage-Earning Men and Women in General.** A serious industrial accident is always a blow to the worker and his family. But until the progressive era, it was a major tragedy. It often meant that the

breadwinner's family would have to go hungry for a long time. Rarely did the average wage earner make enough to save for such emergencies. By 1920, however, most states had adopted *workmen's compensation laws*. Such laws require the employer to be insured so that an injured employee will receive medical care, and his family, income, while he is disabled. The more accidents a factory has, the higher are the insurance rates its owner must pay. This provides him with an incentive to exercise extreme care in protecting his employees. Thus workmen's compensation laws have tended to reduce accidents. So also have state laws providing for factory inspection.

Gradually, more and more wage earners were also given the protection of minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws.

**What Else Was Done to Make Americans Healthier and Happier.** Cleaning up the

slums and promoting better housing became the concern of many more Americans. So did the fight against drunkenness. And more and more adults took advantage of the increasing opportunities for adult education.

## **President Theodore Roosevelt Popularizes, Dramatizes, and Advances the Progressive Crusade**

**The Striking Personality of Theodore Roosevelt.** ". . . Please excuse me from making a long speech. I will do the best I can. But there is a bullet in my body. It is nothing." These words were spoken by Theodore Roosevelt after an attempt had been made to assassinate him. Roosevelt was one of the most dramatic Presidents in American history. His easily caricatured, animated looks, his vigorous outlook on life, and his enthusiasm for reform in the many political offices he held kept him constantly in the headlines. So accustomed was he to being the center of attention that his daughter is said to have remarked that her father had to be the bride at every wedding and the corpse at every funeral.

With eyes flashing behind his steel-rimmed spectacles, and prominent teeth clenched behind his drooping mustache, Roosevelt would hurl forth such words as:

. . . Our country calls not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. Nothing in this world is worth having or doing unless it means effort, pain, difficulty. . . .

This strenuous life, which he recommended as the only good life, was the only life Roosevelt himself ever lived. As a boy, he strengthened his weak body by taking long hikes and engaging in all kinds of gymnastics. At Harvard, he worked strenuously, but unsuccessfully, to become the university's lightweight boxing champion. After college, on his ranch in South Dakota, he rode, hunted, and lassoed steers with a cowboy's skill.

Roosevelt lived a strenuous mental life, too. He was an insatiable reader. The biographies, histories, literary criticism, essays, and editorials he wrote would make a small library in themselves. Before the many-sided Roosevelt's life was over, he had also fought as a soldier, hunted big game in Africa, and explored rivers in Brazil. Wealthy himself, Roosevelt said:

. . . I despise him [the man with money] if he does not treat other things as of more importance than mere money getting; if he does not care for art, or literature, or science, or statecraft, . . .

## **Roosevelt Displays His Enthusiasm for Reform in His Pre-Presidential Career.**

Roosevelt's wealthy friends warned him that politics and politicians were vulgar and that decent people should steer clear of both. But Roosevelt was determined, as he phrased it, "to try to help the cause of better government."

As a member of the New York State legislature, Roosevelt made enemies of machine politicians by introducing progressive reforms. As a member of the Civil Service Commission under Republican President Harrison and Democratic President Cleveland, Republican Roosevelt antagonized politicians by resisting their efforts to use influence to get their friends jobs. As police commissioner of New York City, he used to roam the streets at night to check up on policemen. He called his two years (1895-1897) as police chief "a grimy struggle." He had, expectedly, met vigorous resistance from those who profited from police corruption.

As assistant secretary of the navy under McKinley, Roosevelt sometimes acted as if he were the secretary himself. Anticipating a war with Spain, he did much to build up the navy's efficiency. When the war broke out in 1898, he resigned and helped lead a regiment in the fighting (page 629).

Returning home a hero, Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. His independence in attacking corruption and in-



cowboy      Historian      Police Commissioner      Naval Secretary      Rough Rider      Governor of New York      Vice President      President      Peacemaker      Knight

*A cartoon on Theodore Roosevelt captioned with a line from Shakespeare "And in his time a man plays many parts" What other Presidents were many-sided in their interests? Give proof.*

Introducing progressive legislation made the machine politicians in his party, especially Boss Platt, eager to kill him politically. They thought they were doing so when they arranged for him to be nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the McKinley ticket in 1900. The Vice-Presidency had long been considered a political "graveyard," since Vice-Presidents had little responsibility and were consequently out of the limelight. Thus, being nominated for the Vice-Presidency was considered the equivalent of being "kicked upstairs."

McKinley's sponsor, political boss Mark Hanna (page 496), had opposed Roosevelt's nomination on the ground that if the Republican ticket won, there would be "only one life between this madman and the White House!" In 1901, less than a year after the Republican victory, that "one life" was snuffed out by the bullet of a crazed assassin. Thus the forty-three-year-old Roosevelt, to the horror of machine politicians and many conservative businessmen, became President of the United States.

What horrified the conservative businessmen about Roosevelt's assuming the Presidency was the prospect that he would attack big business. Let us examine Roosevelt's views to see whether or not their fears were justified.

**As President, Roosevelt Demands a 'Square Deal' for All and Special Privileges for None.** "I stand for the square deal. . . . I mean not merely that I stand for fair play

under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and reward." This *Square Deal* policy of Roosevelt's required that capital, labor, and every other segment of society be treated fairly. His endorsement of "equality of opportunity and reward" showed that the President had enlisted under the banner of the progressives. Besides believing in social justice for its own sake, Roosevelt believed that progressive reforms would curb sharply the spread of socialism. This spread he blamed on ". . . the dull, purblind folly of the very rich," whom he accused of using their wealth for vulgar display and of resisting reforms. To Roosevelt, socialists were "undesirable citizens," who "discredited the labor movement" and encourage "bloodshed and violence."

**Radical Movements Cause Alarm by Advocating the Class Struggle and the Destruction of Capitalism.** During Roosevelt's time in office, a radical organization called the *Socialist Party of America*<sup>1</sup> and a still more radical organization called the *Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)* were organized. Both believed that a perpetual strug-

<sup>1</sup> The Socialist Party of America was a combination of late-nineteenth-century socialist groups. It was strongly influenced by European socialist parties and by such American writers as Edward Bellamy (page 571) and such British writers as H. G. Wells.

an equal opportunity for each American citizen to get his fair share of benefit from these resources, both now and hereafter." Thus Gifford Pinchot, a leading supporter of conservation during Roosevelt's administration, summed up the meaning of conservation.

*The Nation's Natural Resources Are Long Wasted.* In conquering the continent, Americans had shown little concern for conservation. The general attitude was: Why bother to save a tree or a buffalo, when trees and buffaloes are in such abundant supply? Why bother to enrich the soil by rotating crops, when it is so much easier to move on to new soil farther west? Why worry about wasteful methods of mining coal, oil, or metals, when there is such a wealth of all? Why worry about our posterity (descendants)? There'll be plenty of natural resources left for them, too.

But by 1900, about seventy-five per cent of the nation's forests had been chopped or burned down. The destruction of forests and the overgrazing of pasture lands had led to soil erosion, to the choking of rivers, and consequently to floods. Some of the most valuable water-power sites in the nation had been sold to private companies for very little. Much of the nation's mineral wealth was in the hands of a small number of corporations, less concerned about future generations than about making a good return on their investments.

*Roosevelt's Great Role in the Conservation Movement.* Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley had played a part in the conservation movement by setting aside forest reserves, using a law passed in 1891. But it was the dynamic President Roosevelt who really got the conservation movement moving. Roosevelt considered conservation an essential part of his crusade against "bad" trusts, some of which he condemned for gobbling up the nation's natural resources. To him, too, conservation was the key to posterity's prosperity.

Much formerly desert land in many Western states is today fertile farmland. The *Newlands (Reclamation) Act*, passed in 1902

with President Roosevelt's backing, helped to make it so. In line with this act, these lands were made fertile by water from irrigation projects. Such projects were paid for by money received by the Government from the sale of public lands. One such irrigation project was the Roosevelt Dam on the Salt River in Arizona, completed in 1911. Among the many later dams owing their origins to the Newlands Act are the Grand Coulee on the Columbia River and the Hoover Dam on the Colorado.

To try to conserve what was left of America's forest and mineral wealth, Roosevelt withdrew from public sale many more millions of acres of public lands than any previous President. National parks, bird refuges, game preserves, reforestation,<sup>1</sup> projects to make rivers more navigable, and the retention of water-power sites for future use were all realized or promoted under Roosevelt's conservation program. Strong opposition to this program came from powerful groups, including some big mining and lumber companies, and groups seeking water-power sites.

Roosevelt made many state governors converts to conservation when he invited them to attend a conservation conference at the White House in 1908. Back home, many of the governors speeded up state conservation movements.

Yet the conservation battle is still far from won. Many still remain unconcerned about future generations. Their attitude is similar to that of those nineteenth-century opponents of conservation, who used to ask: "What's posterity ever done for us?"

*Roosevelt, One of the Most Popular of Presidents, Fails to Satisfy All Progressives.* "What's the use of reading the papers now that Theodore is gone?" a famous historian asked sadly, after Roosevelt's death in 1919. He was expressing the feeling of millions about this man who had so dominated the

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<sup>1</sup> The planting of more trees to replace those cut or burned down.

news and whom they had loved so much. To these millions, Roosevelt had shown by his attack on the "bad" trusts, his demand for railroad legislation, his support of the Pure Food and Drug Act, and his popularization of conservation that he was on their side.

Some progressives insisted, however, that Roosevelt always spoke more boldly than he acted. They pointed out that there were more trusts and more powerful trusts after he left office than when he took office. They asked, in effect: If he was a 100-per-cent progressive, why did so many big businessmen support him for re-election in 1904?

Roosevelt's attitude was that many progressives wanted to go too far. He called them "a lunatic fringe." He summed up his middle-ground policies when he said: "I want to let in light and air, but I do not want to let in sewer gas." Moreover, he was forced by practical politics to adopt a middle ground. Most members of his party in the Congress would not have supported the extreme policies some progressives demanded. He often had to compromise to get as much as he did.<sup>1</sup>

There were hints in Roosevelt's writings and speeches that he believed progressivism should reach out even beyond America. He once said:

The world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy, and, oh my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country and of seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind.

### **Taft Advances the Progressives' Program, But Antagonizes Them Anyway**

Jovial, kindly, 350-pound William Howard Taft did not especially want to be President. But his wife and brother thought he should

be. As governor of the Philippines and as secretary of war in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, he had proved his remarkable talent for getting along with people, as well as his great administrative ability. Of him, Roosevelt said that he had "the most lovable personality I have ever come in contact with."

Roosevelt also felt that Taft, if elected, would carry out his progressive program. So powerful was Roosevelt's control of his party that he was able to get Taft nominated on the first ballot at the Republican Convention in 1908.<sup>2</sup> The Democratic candidate that year was William Jennings Bryan, running for the third time.

Roosevelt's record and personality helped elect Taft. So did prosperity. After Taft's inauguration, Roosevelt took off for Africa to hunt lions, elephants, "rhinos," and "hippos." "Good luck to the lions!" was a toast said to have been offered by Roosevelt's enemies.

**The Taft Administration Continues and Expands Roosevelt's Progressive Program.** Twice as many trusts were prosecuted in Taft's one term as President as in Roosevelt's nearly two terms. Far more power was given the ICC under the *Mann-Elkins Act* of 1910 than had been given it under the Hepburn Act of Roosevelt's administration.<sup>3</sup> Under the 1910 act, the ICC regulated not only railroads but telephone, telegraph, cable, and wireless companies. The ICC was also granted the power to revise rates and to suspend rate increases. Railroads were forbidden to acquire competing lines. The long-and-short-haul abuse (page 445) was effectively curbed. Although express companies protested, a parcel post service was established. Although banks protested, postal savings banks were created.

<sup>1</sup> President Jackson had shown similar power in dictating the choice of his successor, Van Buren, in 1836.

<sup>2</sup> Actually, the Mann-Elkins Act was put through the Congress by much more aggressive progressives than Taft. Taft preferred a milder law.

<sup>3</sup> Bold or not in domestic affairs, Roosevelt certainly was bold in foreign affairs (Chapter 26).



The merit system in the Federal civil service was extended to include more positions. Conservation was promoted when Taft withdrew oil lands from public sale. He was the first President to do so. Efforts were made to promote the welfare of miners and of women and children in industry. It was while Taft was in office, in 1912, that Arizona and New Mexico entered the Union, both with progressive state constitutions. It was at this time too, that the Sixteenth (income tax) Amendment and the Seventeenth (direct election of senators) Amendment were proposed by the Congress. Both went into effect in 1913.

**Aggressive Progressives Consider Taft's Progressivism Too Mild.** Taft, who was a moderate progressive, supported these measures, some with more enthusiasm than others. But he wasn't progressive enough to suit a more aggressive group of progressives in his party, called *insurgents*.<sup>1</sup> (Roosevelt had defined an insurgent as "a progressive who is exceeding the speed limit"!) The insurgents bitterly opposed a conservative group in their party, called the *Old Guard*.

**Taft's Tariff Stand Antagonizes Progressives.** As time passed, Taft tended to move closer and closer to the camp of the Old Guard. One evidence of this was the stand he took on the tariff. Progressives and the people in general blamed the high tariff for the high cost of living. And they blamed the trusts for pressuring senators into passing high tariffs that protected big business. This explains the anger that swept the country when the Old Guard pushed through the very high *Payne-Aldrich Tariff*. Nor did the anger decrease when people learned what meaningless items had been placed on the list of those to be free of duty: sea moss, canary bird seed, skeletons, turtles, and leeches!

Taft had tried to get the framers of the

tariff to reduce some duties. A few were reduced. When, in its final form, the tariff turned out to be very high, many hoped that Taft would veto it. When he signed it, insurgents called him a traitor to progressive principles. In the farm belt, Taft praised this tariff as "the best bill the Republican Party ever passed." To farmers, who had long felt that high tariffs favored manufacturers over them, the statement seemed insulting.

**Taft's Stand in a Conservation Controversy Antagonizes Progressives.** Gifford Pinchot, who had been appointed chief of the United States Forest Service by Roosevelt, was dismissed by Taft. Progressives were infuriated. They said that the dismissal proved that Taft was an enemy of conservation.

What were the facts behind Pinchot's dismissal? As we know, President Roosevelt had withdrawn from public sale certain water-power sites. Taft's secretary of the interior, Richard Ballinger, doubted the action had been legal. He therefore reopened the sites for sale. Pinchot then proclaimed that Ballinger's action was a sellout of public property to monopolists for private gain. He wrote a letter to insurgent Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver condemning Secretary Ballinger. Taft, after an investigation, decided that Ballinger had acted legally. He dismissed Pinchot for breaking a rule requiring subordinates in the Executive Department to make complaints to their superiors, rather than to members of the Legislative Department. This *Ballinger-Pinchot controversy* widened the split in the Republican Party between the insurgents, who backed Pinchot, and the Old Guard, which backed Ballinger.

**Insurgents and Democrats Combine to Undermine Autocratic Speaker Cannon.** "Uncle Joe" Cannon stood like a gun aimed at progressive legislation. To Cannon, an extreme member of the Old Guard, such legislation was just another form of radicalism. As Speaker of the House, he had tremendous power, which he used to curb or kill such legislation. As chairman of the Committee on Rules, he could decide the order in which

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<sup>1</sup> Many of the insurgents in the Senate were from Western farm states, including La Follette of Wisconsin, William E. Borah of Idaho, and Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana.

bills would be voted on. Since the Speaker had the power to appoint all committees, he could make sure that Old Guard Republicans were in a majority on all committees. And it is committees that decide which bills are to be "killed" in committee and which are to be reported out for discussion on the floor of the House. Since the Speaker could decide which congressman had the floor for discussion, Cannon could ignore congressmen who wished to speak in behalf of progressive legislation.

Highly indignant at Cannon's dictatorial use of these powers, a combination of insurgents and Democrats rebelled against him. In 1910, they put through a resolution stripping the Speaker of his power to appoint members of the Committee on Rules, which was made elective.<sup>1</sup>

President Taft personally had little liking for Cannon. But he feared that if he did not back Cannon and the Old Guard, his party might go to pieces. Actually, of course, his backing of Cannon increased insurgent dislike of Taft. It also aggravated the hostility between insurgents and the Old Guard.

**How Taft's Personality and the Times Help to Explain His Troubles as President.** "It is now a year and three months since I assumed office and I have had a hard time. . . . I have been conscientiously trying to carry out your policies but my method of doing so has not worked smoothly." This almost pathetic confession came to Roosevelt in Europe in a letter from Taft. Probably almost any President succeeding Roosevelt would have had "a hard time." For Roosevelt's was a magnetic personality. Taft was mild-mannered, wanting in showmanship, and cautious in coming to decisions. In spite of its many progressive measures, the Taft Administration, lacking the style of its predecessor, just did not seem to fire the imagination of the people. Nor did Taft seem to have much skill in leading his party, either in or out of the Congress.

Furthermore, the nation at this time was in the mood for far more progressive changes than the moderately progressive Taft was willing to support. In the Congress, the progressive bloc demanding changes was far stronger than it had been under Roosevelt. All in all, there seemed to be a feeling that the Old Guard had been in control of politics too long, and that it was time for a change.

**Roosevelt Joins the Insurgents in Rebelling Against Taft and the Old Guard.** The following ditty, popular in 1910, expresses the call for help sent out by insurgents to Roosevelt abroad:

Teddy, come home and blow your horn,  
The sheep's in the meadow, the cow's in  
the corn  
The boy you left to 'tend the sheep  
Is under the haystack fast asleep!

The insurgents wanted Roosevelt to come home and lead a progressive crusade to take control of the Republican Party from Taft and the Old Guard. Roosevelt *did* "come home," in June, 1910, after hunting wild game in Africa and being entertained royally by kings in Europe. Almost at once, he expressed disappointment with Taft's policies as President. Taft, to Roosevelt, seemed to be carrying out Roosevelt's policies, but "on a stretcher." Then, in the midterm elections in 1910, the Democrats won control of the Congress. This was further evidence to Roosevelt that Taft's Old Guard policies were ruining the Republican Party.

It was in this year that Roosevelt delivered a famous speech in Kansas, in the heart of the farm belt. He used a new phrase, the *New Nationalism*, to describe his progressive program, more progressive even than the Square Deal. He urged that the national Government initiate bold social and economic reforms for the benefit of all the people, instead of leaving such action up to the states. Property, he declared, must be "the servant and not the master of the commonwealth." Kansans had heard many of the ideas expressed in this speech from Populist orators in the past.

<sup>1</sup> The following year the Speaker lost his authority to appoint members of other committees.

Encouraged by progressives, Roosevelt announced, in February, 1912, that he was a candidate for the Republican nomination. "My hat is in the ring, the fight is on, and I am stripped to the buff!" he proclaimed in characteristically Rooseveltian style. Until then, Taft had expressed bewilderment and sadness at his old friend's hostility. Now he declared: "I have been a man of straw long enough. Even a rat in a corner will fight." He called the progressives "neurotics" who were trying to "pull down . . . representative government."

*Roosevelt and the Insurgents Secede from the Republican Party and Form the Progressive Party.* "Naked theft!" "Fraud!" cried the insurgents when Taft won renomination on the first ballot at the Republican Convention in 1912. Taft supporters controlled the convention machinery. Therefore, almost every dispute as to whose delegates should be seated—those pledged to Taft or those pledged to Roosevelt—was won by the Taft men.<sup>1</sup>

Enraged, the insurgents seceded from the Republican Party and formed their own, the *Progressive* ("Bull Moose") *Party*. The name "Bull Moose" was derived from Roosevelt's habitual description of himself as feeling "as strong as a Bull Moose." The almost religious zeal of the insurgents was expressed by Roosevelt thus:

We fight in honorable fashion for the good of mankind. . . . We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord.<sup>2</sup>

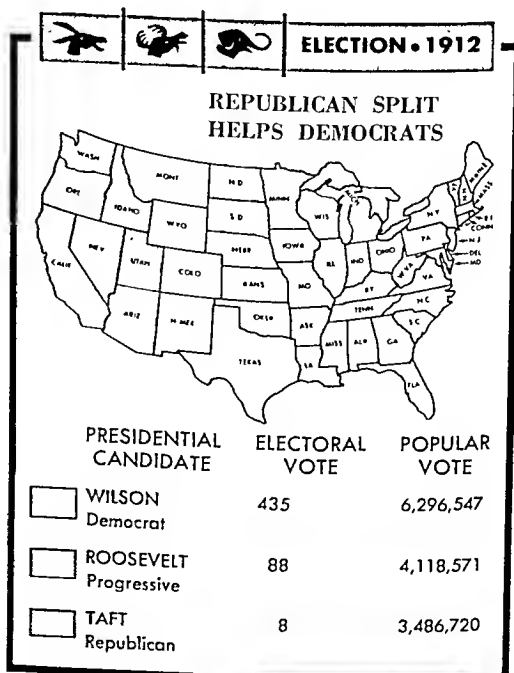
"Onward, Christian Soldiers!" sang his inspired supporters when Roosevelt was nominated for the Presidency on the Progressive ticket. At the convention Roosevelt condemned both the Republican and Democratic Parties as "boss-ridden and privi-

lege-controlled." The Progressive platform promised to break up what it called "the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics." It demanded the direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall, woman suffrage, a lower tariff, abolition of child labor, protection of women in industry, a "living wage," an eight-hour day, and conservation. Government loans to farmers, a ban on the use of the injunction in strikes, and even stricter regulation of trusts and railroads were also demanded.

## The Election of 1912: Three Candidates with Fairly Similar Progressive Platforms

No candidate who has been associated with "the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class" should be nominated. This was the decision of the Democratic National Convention in 1912. The man the delegates chose was Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey.

Actually, the Democratic platform was not very different from the Progressive platform.



<sup>1</sup> This same tactic had been used by Roosevelt supporters in getting Taft the nomination in 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Armageddon, according to the Bible, is the scene of the last great battle between the forces of good and evil.

The Republican platform, too, included many traditional progressive principles. All three demanded, for example, an end to the abuses of trusts. On the tariff, the Democratic platform went much further than the other two. It demanded a tariff for revenue only, calling a high protective tariff a heavy burden on farmers and laborers. On recommending more direct democracy, such as the recall, the Progressive platform went much further than the other two.

**Some Highlights of the Election of 1912.** The secession of the Progressives from the Republican Party made Wilson's victory practically a certainty. This certainty was expressed thus by one prominent Republican: "The only question now is which corpse gets the most flowers." Wilson did win a majority of electoral votes, but only forty-two per cent of the popular vote. Together, Roosevelt and Taft polled more than a million more popular votes than he. Of the two political "corpses," Roosevelt got "the most flowers," polling about twenty-seven per cent of the popular vote to Taft's twenty-three per cent. To the surprise of many, the Socialist candidate, Eugene V. Debs, polled about 900,000 votes. The sixty-nine per cent of the popular vote polled by Wilson and Roosevelt, both, in the broad sense, progressives, indicates how strong a progressive current was flowing throughout the nation.

### **Wilson's 'New Freedom' Calls For 'Regulated Competition' to 'Put the Weak upon Equality with the Strong'**

**What Manner of Man Wilson Was.** Both of Wilson's grandfathers, as well as his father and father-in-law, had been clergymen. This helps to explain Wilson's feeling that life is serious and that man is placed on earth to promote righteousness. Often Wilson was so convinced of being right that he was impatient with opponents and unwilling to compromise.

Dedicated to democracy, Wilson had great faith in the common man. An eloquent

speaker, he was no demagogue who tried to sweep his listeners off their feet with emotional appeals. Instead, in beautiful, concise language, which had almost the rhythm of poetry, he appealed to their reason and idealism. Although the people in general admired and respected him, they could not seem to warm up to him. His undramatic, dignified, and somewhat cold manner helps to explain why.

A brilliant scholar and professor, Wilson was a specialist in history and government. His study of government had convinced him that the President should be the leader both of his party and of the nation. He believed that it was the President's duty to tell the Congress what laws were needed and to use all his powers to get such laws passed. Such strong Presidents as Lincoln, Jackson, and Roosevelt would have agreed with Wilson that "the Presidency is an office in which a man must put on his war paint!"

**Wilson's Pre-Presidential Career Shows a Dedication to Progressive Principles.** The political boss in New Jersey had offered Wilson, then president of Princeton University, the Democratic nomination for governor in 1910. The political machine calculated that it would stand a good chance of winning in this reform era with such an idealistic candidate. The machine also thought that once the victory was won, Wilson, inexperienced in politics, would be its puppet. To the politicians, professors in general were impractical and naive.

Wilson accepted the nomination, but upon being elected he proved a shocking surprise to the machine. He smashed its power and made himself master of the Democratic Party in New Jersey. Supported by the people, he persuaded the state legislature to put through bills for a direct primary, workmen's compensation, school reforms, regulation of public utilities, and curbing of corrupt political practices. This legislation, passed in not much more than a year, won Wilson a nationwide reputation as a progressive. It also helped to win him the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1912.

**What Wilson Meant by the 'New Freedom.'**  
". . . evil has come with the good. . . We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human costs of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. . . . The great government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people."

Thus President Wilson implied in his First Inaugural Address that he was dedicated to reforms in the interests of the people. At the same time, he pledged the "fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right."

In many speeches during the campaign, Wilson had pointed out what he considered the roots of the "evil" that had accompanied "our industrial achievements." Big business, he had said, had grown so big that the small businessman didn't have a chance. If big business grew any bigger, even the Federal Government would be dominated by it, he had warned. The way to avoid such a danger, he had suggested, was to destroy monopoly by promoting fair competition and punishing unfair competition. "The men who have been ruling America must consent to let the majority enter the game," he had said. Wilson had called these ideas for bringing back the old days of more equal economic opportunity for all the *New Freedom*. In many ways Wilson's New Freedom resembled Roosevelt's New Nationalism.<sup>1</sup>

To end special privileges, to promote greater freedom of enterprise, and, all in all,

to bring about the New Freedom, Wilson mapped out a specific program in his First Inaugural Address. Immediately after his inauguration, he launched it with vigor.

**Wilson Gets the Congress to Pass the First Low Tariff Since the War Between the States.**  
The Congressional visitors' gallery was packed on April 7, 1913. The joint session of the Congress waited expectantly. Then the President appeared.

**Wilson Makes a Personal Appeal to Congress and the People for a Lower Tariff.**  
President Wilson began reading his special message. Every previous President, except Washington and John Adams, had sent written messages to the Congress to be read by clerks, instead of delivering them in person. But Wilson felt that his personal appearance was one way of showing that he intended to be a leader in promoting legislation. He also hoped that the publicity thus gained would win the people's support for his message.

The message urged the Congress to lower the tariff. Wilson maintained that lowering the tariff would help prevent monopolies from developing. It would, he declared, compel American producers "to be efficient, economical, and enterprising" in order to compete successfully with foreign producers. He anticipated that if the United States lowered its tariff to foreign goods, foreign nations would do the same to American goods.

**The Bitter Battle Over the Tariff.** To prevent lowering of duties on products they were interested in, corporations hastily sent scores of lobbyists to Washington. Pressure was also brought to bear on congressmen, as one commentator has put it, "by telegram, by letter, . . . by interviews, by threat, by entreaty, . . . by newspaper criticism." Immediately Wilson warned the people that pressure groups were trying to pressure the Congress so as to "overcome the interests of the public for their private profit." He personally sought out doubtful congressmen to persuade them to vote for a lower tariff. Some congressmen were persuaded to vote "Yes" by certain Cabinet members, who

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<sup>1</sup> Their viewpoints on trusts were at first somewhat different. Roosevelt felt that since trusts were inevitable, all the Government could do was to regulate them strictly. Wilson felt that if the Government insured competition, trusts would have a hard time developing. But even this difference disappeared within a few years.

promised them Federal jobs to distribute to their supporters.

*Some Highlights of the Relatively Low Underwood-Simmons Tariff.* The Administration's forces prevailed and the lowest tariff since the War Between the States, the *Underwood-Simmons Tariff*, was passed in the fall of 1913. In it, duties on nearly a thousand articles were reduced. Many were even placed on the free-of-duty list. It was felt that the companies producing these articles were so powerful that they could compete with foreign products without protection. Yet, all told, the Underwood Tariff was still basically a protective tariff, even though it reduced the cost of goods to the general public.

It was feared that the tariff reductions would mean a reduction in revenue. Therefore, a graduated income tax was included in the Underwood Tariff to make up for this anticipated loss. The Sixteenth Amendment, recently ratified, made such a tax possible. The tax, a low one, ranged from a minimum of one per cent on incomes of more than \$3,000 to a maximum of six per cent on incomes of \$500,000 or more. This was in keeping with the thinking of Progressives that the rich should bear a heavier tax burden.

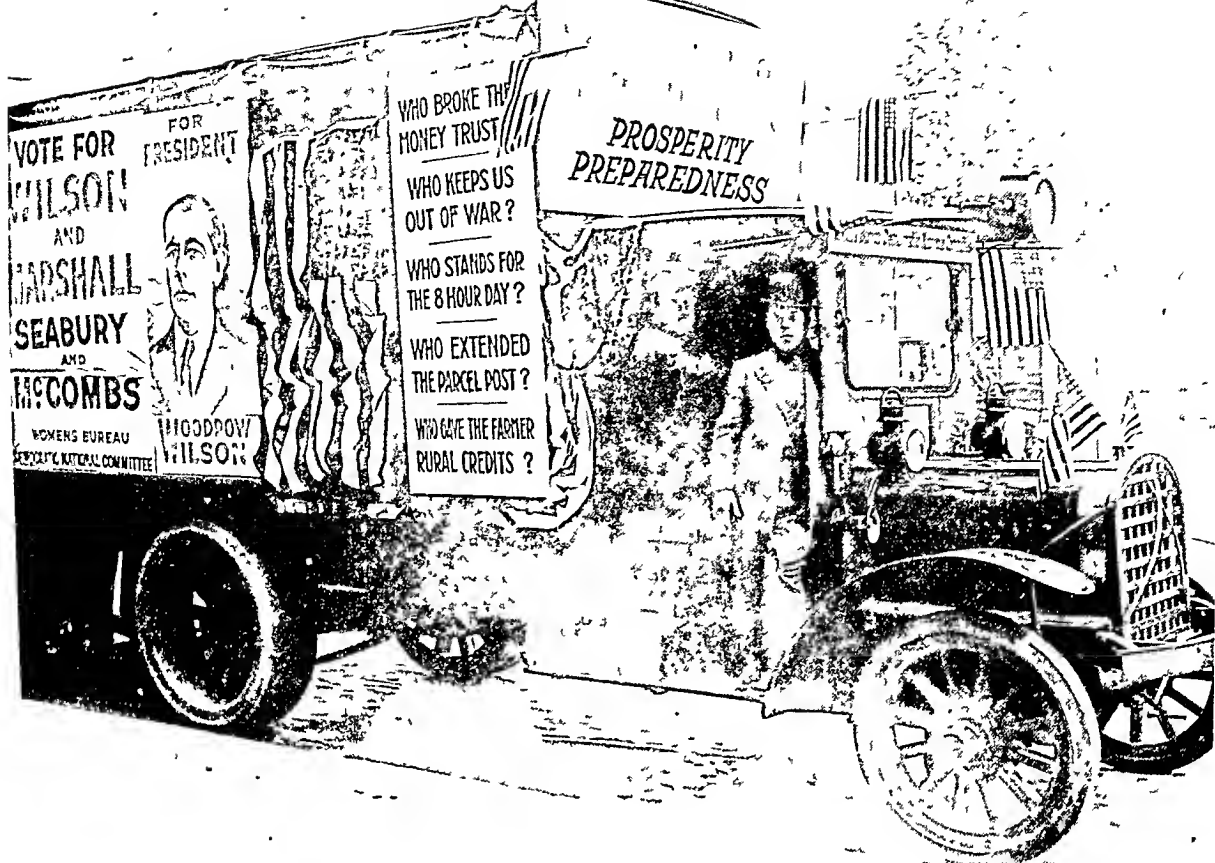
*Wilson Gets the Congress to Improve the Banking and Currency System.* If most of the nation's regiments refused to co-operate with other regiments in emergencies, the consequences obviously would be disastrous. If most of the nation's regiments were concentrated in a few areas, even though other areas might be threatened, the strategy obviously would be unwise. If, in emergencies, the size of the army could not be expanded, the defensive set-up obviously would not make much sense. Finally, if there was no general staff to co-ordinate the activities of all the regiments, the military machine obviously might collapse. To a great extent, the National Banking System (page 391), set up during the War Between the States, suffered from similar weaknesses.

*What Was Weak About the National Banking System.* As a rule, each bank in this

system was entirely independent of other banks. To understand how dangerous this was, let us examine a basic banking principle. As everybody knows, banks make money by lending money. Therefore, most of the deposits that have been made with them are out on loan. No bank on its own, no matter how sound, could pay off all its depositors if they all wanted their money at the same time. Therefore, if a good proportion of a bank's depositors all wanted their money at the same time, the bank, even though sound, might have to close its doors. This might cause a loss of confidence and depositors might create similar "runs" on other banks. But if other banks had come to the rescue of the first bank, the "run" might have been stopped dead in its tracks.

Still another weakness of banking before Wilson's Presidency was the tendency of banks in small towns and country districts to deposit their reserves in big city banks. As a result, businessmen and farmers in rural areas found it difficult to get loans. The city banks would often lend the money to brokers, who would lend it to customers to buy stocks. This sometimes encouraged excessive speculation. Sometimes, too, when harvest time came, country banks would call on the city banks for their deposits in order to lend them to farmers. In turn, brokers would demand the money they had lent to customers. If many customers had to sell their stocks at the same time to get the money, a stock market panic might result. Such panics weakened business confidence and sometimes helped to cause nation-wide depressions.

The failure of the currency to expand or contract to meet the needs of business was another defect of the National Banking System. In short, currency was inelastic. A good portion of the currency had been issued with Government bonds as backing. When business was good and there was need for an expansion of the currency, the bonds were high in price. Banks did not like to buy bonds at such high prices. Therefore, the amount of money in circulation contracted just when it should have expanded. At such



*A Wilson campaign truck If you had been making the poster for this campaign truck, what other questions would you have asked?*

times, when there was a tremendous demand for money and an insufficient supply of it, banks charged high interest rates. This had long been one of the farmer's most bitter grievances (page 481).

In 1907, a financial panic occurred, caused in part by these defects in the banking and currency system. This highlighted the need for reform.

*Wilson Recommends Banking Reforms, But Opinions Differ on the Form They Should Take.* Wilson, the former schoolmaster, appeared before the Congress in June, 1913 and delivered a lecture on what ought to be done to build a better banking and currency system. He demanded that changes be brought about so as to encourage individual enterprise and initiative."

Opinions differed as to what these changes

should be. Many big-city bankers wanted a giant banker-controlled central bank, whose directors would act as a kind of general staff for banks throughout the nation. Bryan Democrats and many progressive Republicans felt that too much money and control of credit was already concentrated in the hands of a few bankers. They feared that the proposed bankers' plan would create a still greater money trust, with the bank's directors completely monopolizing the nation's finances. Such a bank, they warned, would, through its financial power, wield great political power. Bryan wanted banking decentralized and banking and currency completely controlled by the Government.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> How much Bryan's ideas resembled those of Jackson when he refused to recharter the Second United States Bank (page 251)!

*The Federal Reserve Act Compromises Different Opinions on Banking Reforms.* A compromise between the viewpoints of big-city bankers and men like Bryan was reached when the Congress passed the *Federal Reserve Act* of 1913. Under this act, the nation was divided into twelve districts, with a Federal Reserve Bank in each. Every national bank was required to join the Federal Reserve Bank and to buy stock in it. Other banks were permitted to join provided they, too, bought stock.

Just as a bank performs many services for individuals, so a Federal Reserve Bank performs services for its member banks. Thus a Federal Reserve Bank is a bankers' bank in that it deals with banks, not individuals. A board of directors manages each Federal Reserve Bank. However, acting as a kind of general staff for the twelve Federal Reserve Banks was a *Federal Reserve Board*. Its members originally included the secretary of the treasury, the comptroller of the currency, and five (later six) appointees of the President.<sup>1</sup>

In what way is the Federal Reserve System a compromise? Although the Federal Reserve Banks are privately owned by the member banks, they are publicly supervised by a Government agency, the Federal Reserve Board. Although there is decentralization in that there is a Federal Reserve Bank for each of twelve different districts, there is centralization within each district and in the over-all supervision by the Federal Reserve Board.

*How the Federal Reserve System Corrected Defects of the National Banking System.* All member banks are required to keep a good percentage of their reserves in the Federal Reserve Bank of their district. Thus reserves are mobilized to help individual banks in an emergency. It is also possible

for a Federal Reserve Bank needing additional funds to call on the reserves of another Federal Reserve Bank.

Just as an individual may borrow money from a bank, so a bank may borrow money from a Federal Reserve Bank. An individual borrows money by giving his promissory note, or other form of commercial paper, to a bank. The bank extends credit to him for the amount on the note, minus a small bank charge, called a *discount*. Similarly, the bank may borrow on this commercial paper by *rediscounting* it at a Federal Reserve Bank. The Federal Reserve Board can, to some extent, control credit in the nation by raising or lowering the rediscount rate. If the rediscount rate is raised, the bank may raise its discount rate. This may then discourage borrowing by individuals. The reverse is also possible. It is possible, too, for one Federal Reserve Bank to rediscount commercial paper for another. This makes it easier for a Federal Reserve Bank in a farm area, for example, to get needed funds at harvest time when a bank in another area may not need funds so much.

The Federal Reserve System has also created a more elastic currency. This currency, the *Federal Reserve Note*, is backed in part by commercial paper. When business is good, more commercial paper is brought to the Federal Reserve Bank for rediscounting. Using this as partial backing, the Federal Reserve Bank can issue more Federal Reserve Notes. The reverse is true when business is bad.

*Wilson Gets the Congress to Pass Anti-trust Legislation to 'Kill Monopoly in the Seed.'* In spite of Roosevelt's and Taft's attempts to "bust" trusts, there were more trusts when Wilson took office than ever before. Wilson was worried because, as he said:

The man with only a little capital is finding it harder to get into the field, more and more impossible to compete with the big fellow.

In person again, he asked the Congress to pass laws to prevent trusts from developing.

<sup>1</sup> Beginning in 1935, the secretary of the treasury and the comptroller of the currency ceased to be members of the Federal Reserve Board. At the same time, the Board was officially renamed the *Board of Governors*. Its original name, however, continues to be widely used.



rather than to punish or destroy them after they had developed.

**A Watchdog Over Unfair Business Practices Is Created: The FTC.** The Congress responded to Wilson's request in 1914 by creating the *Federal Trade Commission (FTC)* and by passing the *Clayton Antitrust Act*. The FTC watches out for violations of the antitrust laws. It seeks to curb such "unfair methods of competition" in interstate commerce as false advertising, false claims to patents, false talk or threats against competitors, and adulteration or mislabeling of products. The FTC may order a company to "cease and desist" some such practice. Most companies do so. If a company refuses, the FTC may appeal to a Federal court. In practice, the FTC accomplishes most of its work not by going to court but by consultation with companies.

**The Clayton Antitrust Act Is Designed to Strengthen the Sherman Antitrust Act.** The terms of the Sherman Antitrust Act had been rather general (page 489). The Clayton Antitrust Act, on the other hand, declared *specific* business practices illegal if they "lessen competition or . . . tend to create a monopoly. These were some of the specific practices forbidden:

- Price cutting to freeze competitors out of business
- Basing a contract on the condition that a buyer will not do business with the seller's competitors
- Purchasing by a company of the stock of a competing company in order to lessen competition or to create a monopoly
- Creating interlocking directorates, in which the directors of one big corporation serve as directors of other big corporations in the same type of business.

In practice, however, the specific Clayton Act was not much more effective than the general Sherman Act. In interpreting its specific clauses, judges tended to favor big business. In any case, more and more people

were coming to feel that big business was inevitable and highly beneficial.

**Labor Makes Some Gains in Wilson's Presidency.** The Hatter's Union declared a strike in 1902 against the Loewe Company, hat manufacturers of Danbury, Connecticut. The union urged a nation-wide boycott of Loewe hats. The company then sued the union and won. The Supreme Court decided, in this *Danbury Hatters' case*, that the boycott was a conspiracy in restraint of trade and therefore in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The union was required to pay triple damages. The homes, furniture, and bank accounts of many of its members were seized to pay this fine.

Labor unions were sorely grieved by such court decisions and by the frequent use of the injunction against them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But the grief turned to joy as a result of certain provisions of the Clayton Antitrust Act. One provision declared that "labor is not a commodity or article of commerce." Therefore, it went on to state, labor unions were not to be prosecuted under the Sherman Antitrust Act. The Clayton Act added that courts were not to grant injunctions in labor disputes "unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property." Strikes, peaceful picketing, and boycotts were declared legal.

So delighted was labor leader Gompers with these provisions that he praised the Clayton Act as the "Magna Carta of Labor." Gompers, however, was too optimistic. For many a judge continued to issue injunctions against strikers and to ban boycotts. Such a phrase as "irreparable injury to property," for example, could easily be interpreted by these judges so as to justify injunctions.

**Seamen Gain.** Until fairly recently, merchant seamen of most nations were treated little better than prisoners. The Congress of the United States broke with this tradition in 1915, when it passed the *La Follette Seamen's Act*. Under this act, desertion ceased to be a crime. The act required that seamen be given better pay and better food. No longer was it permissible for tyrannical cap-

tains to practice brutality against their crews.

**Railroad Workers Gain.** Railroad workers, hit by rising prices, threatened a nationwide strike in 1916. This shocked and alarmed the nation. World War I had already been raging for two years. The United States was trying to stay out of the war, but it was preparing, in case it should be drawn in. Businessmen and farmers were doing a huge amount of business with certain of the warring powers. A railroad strike would hold up the preparedness program and cut down on the business. To prevent the strike, Wilson persuaded the Congress to pass the *Adamson Act*. This law provided an eight-hour day and overtime pay for workers on railroads engaging in interstate commerce. Wilson's opponents attacked the Adamson Act. They called it a surrender to the union and a bid for labor support in Wilson's drive for re-election in 1916.

**Some Other Reasons Why Labor Was Pleased with Wilson's Presidency.** Ordinarily the American Federation of Labor did not endorse any political party. But in 1912 it had supported the Democratic candidate, Wilson. When the Department of Labor was set up as a separate department in the Cabinet in 1913, Wilson appointed a union man as first secretary of labor. Twice efforts were made while Wilson was in office to ban child labor producing goods carried in interstate commerce. Both of the child-labor laws were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

**The Farmer Gains in Wilson's Presidency.** To have to pay interest rates sometimes as high as ten or twelve per cent on short-term loans ruined many a farmer. In fairness to the farmer, the Congress, in 1916, established twelve *Federal Farm Loan Banks*. Through these, farmers could obtain long-term loans at interest rates of five or six per cent.

Specialists were sent into farm areas to give farmers the latest information on scientific agriculture. Rural areas were aided in improving roads with grants of Federal funds. Federal funds were also granted states to be used in establishing free agricultural

courses (and industrial and home economics courses, too) in schools below college level. The *Smith-Hughes Act* of 1917, which thus encouraged agricultural education, provided that the individual states match the Federal grant, dollar for dollar. In fact, much of Federal farm aid was based upon this matching principle.

## **Wilson Wins Re-election in 1916, But the Progressive Movement Weakens**

The Progressive Party nominated no candidate in the election of 1916. Roosevelt supported the Republican candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, a Supreme Court justice who was a former progressive governor of New York (page 669). Some members of the former Progressive Party voted for Hughes and others for Wilson.

A split between Old Guard Republicans and progressive Republicans in California helped cost Hughes this very close election. Also helping Wilson win was the belief of voters that he would be able to keep the United States out of World War I, which was raging at this time. Wilson's victory was due, too, to the wartime business boom and the progressive legislation passed to help wage earners, farmers, small businessmen, and consumers.

However, by the time the United States entered World War I, in 1917, Wilson and the Congress had turned away from concentration on domestic legislation. The nation became so deeply involved in winning the war that the progressive movement grew steadily weaker. As we shall see, the war tended to breed cynicism, disillusionment, and an impatience with reform and reformers. This helps to explain why the 1920's were a time of conservatism, in which much of the progressive legislation of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson was ignored or nullified. Nevertheless, progressive ideas did not die, as we shall see.

## The Progressive Movement Sweeps Cities, States, and The Nation

1897

- 'Golden Rule' Jones elected Toledo's mayor

1898

- South Dakota first state to adopt the initiative and referendum

1900

- Galveston, Texas, adopts commission-type government

1901

- Theodore Roosevelt succeeds to Presidency after McKinley's assassination

1902

- McClure's magazine starts publishing muckraking articles
- Newlands (Reclamation) Act passed
- Theodore Roosevelt demands 'Square Deal' for all
- Roosevelt intervenes in coal strike
- Maryland first state to adopt workmen's compensation law

1903

- Wisconsin adopts direct primary
- Department of Commerce and Labor created
- Elkins Act outlaws railroad rebates
- Oregon adopts ten-hour-day law for women in industry

1904

- Theodore Roosevelt elected President
- Northern Securities Trust ordered dissolved
- Steffens' *Shame of the Cities* published

1906



- Sinclair's *The Jungle* published
- Pure Food and Drug Act passed
- Meat Inspection Act passed
- Hepburn Act extends authority of ICC
- Burke Act aims to improve lot of Indians

1908

- White House conservation conference
- Oregon applies recall to all state officials
- Taft elected President

1910




- Mann-Elkins Act places telephone, telegraph, cable, and wireless under control of ICC
- Speaker of House stripped of certain powers
- Roosevelt's 'New Nationalism' speech
- Postal Savings System established
- Start of Ballinger-Pinchot controversy

1912

- Progressive Party nominates Theodore Roosevelt
- Wilson campaigns on 'New Freedom' platform

1913

- Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments ratified
- Lower Underwood-Simmons Tariff adopted
- Federal Reserve System set up
- Dayton, Ohio, adopts city manager-type government

 1914	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smith-Lever Act promotes agricultural education</li> <li>• Clayton Antitrust Act passed</li> <li>• Federal Trade Commission created</li> </ul>
1915	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• La Follette Seamen's Act passed</li> </ul>
1916	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adamson Act grants railroad workers eight-hour day</li> <li>• Wilson re-elected</li> </ul>
1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Smith-Hughes Act promotes vocational education</li> </ul>
1920	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nineteenth Amendment ratified</li> </ul>

## The Significance of the Progressive Movement as a Whole

They just don't seem to have enough stamina. This is a common criticism made of American reform movements in general, including the progressive movement. Dunne's Mr. Dooley put it this way:

As a people . . . we're the greatest crusaders that iver was—fr a short distance. . . . But the trouble is, th' crusade don't last after the first sprint!

The progressive movement of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson depended too much upon a handful of inspired leaders, instead of upon great masses of Americans. This has been true of many reform movements.

Many unsympathetic Government officials failed to enforce progressive laws. Many such laws were declared unconstitutional by conservative judges.

"Naive" is what critics call progressives for thinking that the people can win control of politics from the political machine. Who can deny, they say, that political bosses are still very much in power, in spite of the initiative, referendum, recall, direct primary, direct election of senators, and other instruments for giving the people more voice in the government? Who can deny, either, that some who latched on to the progressive movement were fanatics who were interested only in advancing some extreme idea?

However, many discontented Americans might have turned radical had it not been for the reforms put through by progressives. The progressives' stress on equality of opportunity, their battle with bad government, and their war on poverty helped to prevent this turning. Unlike radicals, progressives did not try to stir up class hatred against the rich. In fact, many rich men were leaders in the progressive movement.

Progressives stimulated city and state governments to show a deeper interest in the welfare of all the people. More and more laws were passed to improve working conditions, recreational facilities, and health and educational standards. It is true that the initiative and other such innovations have been far from perfect in practice. But, all in all, politics during and after the progressive movement was a lot cleaner than during the Gilded Age.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 25

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

"Golden Rule" Jones	David G. Phillips	Hepburn Act	Progressive ("Bull Moose") Party
Tom Johnson	commission-type government	Upton Sinclair	New Freedom
Robert M. La Follette	city manager-type government	Harvey Wiley	Underwood-Simmons Tariff
Wisconsin Idea	workmen's compensation laws	Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906	Federal Reserve Act
direct primary	Square Deal	Meat Inspection Act	Federal Trade Commission
progressive movement	Socialist Party of America	conservation	Clayton Antitrust Act
Lincoln Steffens	IWW	Gifford Pinchot	Danbury Hatters' case
Ida M. Tarbell	sabotage	Newlands Act	La Follette Seamen's Act
Frank Norris	general strike	Mann-Elkins Act	Adamson Act
muckrakers	"Big Bill" Haywood	insurgents	Federal Farm Loan Banks
presidential preferential primary	coal strike of 1902	Old Guard	Smith-Hughes Act
initiative	Northern Securities case	Payne-Aldrich Tariff	Charles Evans Hughes
referendum	rule of reason	Ballinger-Pinchot controversy	
recall	Elkins Act	"Uncle Joe" Cannon	
corrupt practices acts		New Nationalism	

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Give examples of (a) political and (b) economic legislation included in the Wisconsin Idea.
2. Tell specifically what the progressives were (a) for and (b) against.
3. The progressives believed that much could be done through political action. Prove.
4. On what grounds were some progressives criticized?
5. Mention five muckrakers, giving the names of their books and the objects of their attacks in each case.
6. Describe four devices designed to give voters more direct voice in selecting candidates and in legislation.
7. For what reasons did progressives promote (a) the Seventeenth Amendment and (b) the Nineteenth Amendment?
8. What features of the (a) commission-type and (b) city manager-type governments appealed to many cities?
9. What programs did progressives urge to promote the welfare of (a) children, (b) women, and (c) wage earners in general?
10. Mention five ways in which Theodore Roosevelt displayed good character traits prior to his becoming President.
11. Point out similarities and differences in the (a) views and (b) methods of the Socialist Party of America and the IWW.
12. Concerning the coal strike of 1902, give (a) its causes, (b) the role of George F. Baer, and (c) the significance of President Roosevelt's action.

13. Describe Roosevelt's (a) attitude toward trusts, (b) actions he took against trusts, and (c) influence on the Supreme Court with respect to trusts.
14. Show specific ways in which the Interstate Commerce Commission was strengthened in the early twentieth century.
15. Give (a) reasons for the passage of the (1) Pure Food and Drug Act and (2) Meat Inspection Act, and (b) the provisions of each.
16. Concerning conservation, give (a) reasons why it was long overdue and (b) contributions to it made while Roosevelt was President.
17. For what reasons did Roosevelt's Square Deal program (a) please so many people but (b) fail to please some progressives?
18. Give specific examples to prove that President Taft, too, was a progressive.
19. On what issues and for what reasons were some progressives dissatisfied with President Taft?
20. Describe the origins of the Progressive Party of 1912.
21. Sum up the platforms of the (a) Progressive, (b) Democratic, and (c) Republican Parties in 1912.
22. What were some memorable features of the election of 1912?
23. Show that Wilson had proved himself a progressive even before he became President.
24. Outline the highlights in Wilson's (a) fight for a lower tariff and (b) program for banking reform.
25. *Show specifically how each provision in the Federal Reserve Act was designed to correct a defect in the National Banking System.*
26. Describe the (a) functions of the Federal Trade Commission and (b) provisions of the Clayton Antitrust Act.
27. Describe the measures taken by the Wilson Administration to aid (a) laborers in general and (b) farmers.

28. Give reasons (a) why Wilson won reelection in 1916 and (b) why the progressive movement weakened shortly after the election.
29. Sum up (a) some common criticisms of the progressive movement and (b) its major contributions to American life.

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Mention three things the people might do to get more officials in high office like "Golden Rule" Jones and Tom Johnson.
2. If you were to propose an "idea" for your city or state such as La Follette proposed for Wisconsin, what would your suggestions be?
3. Which groups would you expect to (a) favor and (b) oppose the ideas of progressives? Give reasons in each case.
4. "Men with the muck-rake are often indispensable to the well-being of society, but only if they know when to stop raking the muck." Express your thoughts on this statement by Theodore Roosevelt.
5. "The real cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy." "The cure for the ills of democracy is not more democracy but more intelligence." Give your opinions of these two opinions.
6. What do you consider the major flaw in (a) each of the devices designed to give voters more direct voice in the government or (b) each of the types of city government?
7. For what reasons was Theodore Roosevelt the delight of journalists and cartoonists?
8. To what extent did Theodore Roosevelt's domestic policies as President measure up to his Square Deal program? Explain fully.
9. For what reasons do you think the (a) Socialist Party of America and (b) IWW alarmed many?
10. Give your reactions to the roles of (a) the strikers, (b) George F. Baer, and

(c) President Roosevelt in the coal strike of 1902.

11. Do you think that Peter Finley Dunne was fair in making the comment he did about Roosevelt as a trust-buster? Give reasons.
12. For what reasons do you think that no pure food and drug act or meat inspection act was passed earlier than 1906?
13. In the past fifty years or so, "the United States [has] shifted from being a 'have' to a 'have-not' nation in [many] natural resources." In what ways could this shift affect the future of the United States and its people?
14. There was much to commend in Taft's (a) personality and (b) record in office. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
15. It might be said that in many ways President Taft was the victim of hard luck. In what ways?
16. If you had been eligible to vote in 1912, which candidate would have been your choice for President? For what reasons?
17. Compare the (a) personality and (b) pre-presidential career of Woodrow Wilson with those of Theodore Roosevelt.
18. Which groups do you think would have (a) favored and (b) opposed President Wilson's domestic policies?
19. To what extent did Woodrow Wilson's domestic policies measure up to his New Freedom program? Explain fully.
20. "The President is at liberty both in law and conscience to be as big a man as he can; his capacity will set the limit." The Government should be "put at the service of humanity." (a) What is the significance of each of these statements by Woodrow Wilson? (b) What do they tell you about Wilson?
21. If President (a) Roosevelt, (b) Taft, or (c) Wilson had asked you on his deathbed, "Have I played my part well in life?", how would you have answered him?
22. Give as much evidence as you can that the progressive movement is still alive.

### ☆ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Investigate the career of any one of the following progressive mayors or governors: (a) Samuel M. "Golden Rule" Jones, (b) Tom Johnson, (c) Brand Whitlock, (d) Seth Low, (e) Robert M. La Follette, (f) Hiram S. Johnson, (g) Albert B. Cummins, (h) Charles Evans Hughes, (i) "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, (j) William Simon U'Ren, or (k) any other progressive mayor or governor. In your report indicate (1) the man's aims, (2) the obstacles he faced, and (3) the extent of his achievement of his aims.
2. Draw a cartoon or write a verse on what you consider the major theme of the progressive movement.
3. Make a chart on the muckrakers in which you indicate in parallel columns (a) their names, (b) the names of their muckraking books, (c) the evils they sought to expose, and (d) your proposals to correct such evils.
4. Read any muckraking book of this period. Then write a review, giving specific reasons why you would or would not recommend the book to others.
5. As a committee research project, investigate the use of the initiative, referendum, recall, and direct primary. The committee report should sum up their virtues, their weaknesses, and suggestions for making each more effective.
6. As a committee research project, investigate areas where the various types of city government have been tried. The committee report should sum up how successful the form of government has been, reasons why some cities have given it up, and what recommendations have been made for improving each type of city government.
7. Compile a list of interesting quotations from President (a) Theodore Roosevelt, (b) Taft, or (c) Wilson. Then write an

## CHAPTER

# 26

### *The United States Proves It Has Become a World Power*

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#### **The United States Shifts from Isolationism to Increased Expansionism**

• Causes, Highlights, and Results of the Spanish-American War • The Philippines: From Military Occupation to Self-Government to Independence • Puerto Rico Progresses Through Self-Help and American Help • Alaska and Hawaii: From Territories to States • Cuba: From Occupation to Protectorate to Independence

#### **United States Policy in the Caribbean and Toward Mexico**

• A Panama Canal Is Realized Through a Panamanian Revolution • Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine: Stepping In to Keep Other Nations Out • Dollar Diplomacy: More for Defense Than for Dollars • Canal Rights Are Bought in Nicaragua • Virgin Islands Are Purchased • Wilson's Strong Measures Toward Mexico

#### **The United States Is Drawn More and More into Far Eastern Affairs**

• The United States Promotes the Open Door Policy in China • Roosevelt's Mediation Ends the Russo-Japanese War • American Resentment Toward Japan Increases • Roosevelt Makes a Partial Retreat from the Open Door Policy • Taft's Dollar Diplomacy Fails to Open China's Door Wider • Wilson Shifts from Opposing to Supporting Dollar Diplomacy in China • Later Efforts to Keep China's Door Open

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The great nations are rapidly absorbing for their future expansion and their present defense all the waste places [underdeveloped or so-called backward areas] of the earth. . . . As one of the great nations of the world the United States must not fall out of the line of march.

Thus did the strongly nationalistic and expansionist Senator Henry Cabot Lodge express the thinking of millions of Americans in 1895. How it would have delighted the strongly nationalistic and expansionist Senators Seward and Blaine (Chapter 23), had they been



alive, to see the shift from isolationism to increased expansionism!

## Some Reasons for America's Increased Expansionism

**Nationalism Inspires Expansionism.** What had caused people who had been so lukewarm toward the acquisition of Alaska and the competition for Hawaii and Samoa to dream of a big American empire? By the 1890's, the United States was a well-populated, powerful, industrialized nation. Americans had seen highly industrialized and strongly nationalistic European nations seizing underdeveloped overseas areas. The main aims of such nations were to get raw materials for their factories, markets for their surplus products, fields for investing their surplus capital, and strategic naval bases. Like Lodge, nationalistic Americans felt that the United States must fall into "the line of march" for overseas territory. They feared that otherwise it might become a second-rate nation.

**Belief in the Darwinian Theory Spurs Expansionists.** At this time in the United States, Darwin's theory of evolution (page 433) was a favorite topic of discussion. Many people began to believe that the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest must apply to nations, too. Navy Captain Alfred T. Mahan wrote a series of books in which he pointed out how the United States might equip itself to become the fittest. According to his theory, no nation has ever been powerful without strong naval power. Naval power, to Mahan, meant more than many battleships. It meant a powerful fleet of merchant vessels, numerous coaling stations, and colonies around the world. Mahan's ideas played a big part in encouraging a fierce naval race in Europe. And they played a big part in getting the United States to increase the size of its navy. His ideas also convinced many of the need for acquiring overseas territory.

**Disappearance of the Frontier Speeds Up Expansion.** In 1890, it was announced that

the United States no longer had a frontier (page 473). Now that the United States was developed to the Pacific, many Americans were thinking of developing underdeveloped areas in the Pacific. To do so, and to carry on trade with such areas, required the building of a bigger navy. For that navy, and for merchant ships, too, to get quickly from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a canal through narrow Central America was needed. And to protect such a canal, more naval bases in the Caribbean Sea would have to be established.

**Expansion Wins Support from Same Businessmen, Labor Leaders, and Missionaries.** By the 1890's, it seemed to some that the domestic market was not large enough; that some domestic raw materials were not adequate, and that surplus capital was piling up in abundance. Some businessmen, formerly lukewarm about expansion overseas, now became enthusiastic about it. Expansion overseas, they now felt, would mean a bigger market for their surplus products, needed raw materials, and fields for investing their surplus capital. Actually, none of these was at this time as much needed by the United States as by the relatively poor European nations.

Some labor leaders felt that overseas expansion would create more jobs. Enthusiastic, too, were many Americans who felt that the United States had a moral duty to spread the blessings of American democracy overseas. No less enthusiastic were many missionaries who saw in overseas expansion an opportunity to convert many to Christianity.

All of this helps to explain why, in the 1890's, the spirit of manifest destiny was once more sweeping the nation.

**Most Americans Are Not Imperialists at Heart.** There was, however, a strong tide of opinion flowing in the opposite direction. When the United States acquired territory in the Caribbean and the Pacific as a result of a war with Spain in 1898, opposition to the acquisition was very strong. When the Government practiced certain imperialistic policies in the early twentieth century, there was again strong opposition.

## **The Spanish-American War: A Little War with Very Big Results**

In the dark of night, from hideouts in the mountains, or from huts in little villages, Cuban guerrilla rebels slipped out. They burned sugar plantations and sugar refineries, blew up railroad trains, and assassinated people loyal to the Spanish. How to cope with such tactics, or even to identify the guerrillas and their sympathizers, had the Spanish rulers of Cuba baffled.

General Valeriano Weyler, sent from Spain, thought he knew how. He set up heavily guarded camps surrounded by trenches and fenced in by barbed wire. He ordered all Cubans in revolutionary provinces to move into these camps at once. Those who did not were assumed to be rebels and shot on sight. Of the 400,000 men, women, and children crammed into these *concentration camps*, more than half died of starvation, disease, or brutal treatment.

**Causes of the Cuban Revolution Against Spain.** This Cuban revolution against Spain, which broke out in 1895, was the latest in a long series of uprisings staged by the Cubans against Spain's tyrannical rule. Cubans resented the fact that a small minority of Spaniards owned a great deal of Cuba's wealth, while the great majority of Cubans were not much better off than medieval serfs. Year after year, only a tiny proportion of the heavy taxes collected from the poverty-stricken Cubans was spent on improving Cuban education, sanitation, or transportation. The major proportion went to Spain, to Spanish officials in Cuba, many of whom were corrupt, and to the support of the army on the island.

The world-wide depression that began in 1893 hit Cuba's tobacco and sugar industries hard. Furthermore, the McKinley Tariff had raised duties on tobacco. This had reduced the number of American customers for Cuban tobacco. The tariff had also done away with the duty on raw sugar, encouraging Cuban sugar planters to grow far more sugar cane. Then the United States, in its Wilson-

Gorman Tariff, placed a very high duty on raw sugar. Down went the price of sugar and, with it, down—lower than ever—went the Cuban standard of living.

**Why the United States Had Long Been Interested in Cuba.** Cuba is on the very doorstep of the United States. Some Americans, even early in the nineteenth century, were afraid that it might fall into the hands of an enemy. Some Southerners wanted Cuba as another slave state (page 357). Some from all sections wanted the island in hopes of increasing America's Cuban trade. And some wanted it as a naval base to protect the canal the United States was thinking of building through Central America.

**Why the United States Became Increasingly Involved in the Cuban Revolution.** By 1898, Americans had \$50 million invested in Cuba, mainly in sugar, tobacco, transportation, and mines. And annual Cuban-American trade amounted to twice that amount. The chaos created by the Cuban revolution was inflicting severe losses on American businessmen, since much of the property being destroyed by the guerrilla rebels was American-owned. The rebels hoped that American businessmen would be so anxious to see this destruction stopped that they would prevail upon the United States Government to intervene in support of the rebels. Of course, the rebels also hoped that the destruction they were causing would cause Spain to lose so much income that it would be glad to get out of Cuba.

Some Cubans who had become naturalized American citizens propagandized for the rebels and shipped them guns and volunteers. Sensational American newspapers—the yellow press (page 568)—made the most of this propaganda. At this time, two such newspapers, William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and Pulitzer's *New York World*, were in a race to win readers from each other. To do so, each tried to outdo the other in printing tales of the atrocities committed by the Spanish in the concentration camps. Bad though these atrocities were, the *Journal* and the *World*, with screaming head-

lines, faked pictures, and exaggerated stories, made them seem much worse.

Blood on the roadsides, blood in the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood! . . . Is there no nation wise enough, brave enough and strong enough to restore peace in this blood smitten land?

This message was wired from Cuba by a *World* correspondent in 1896. For all this bloodshed, the Spanish Government and the general whom the yellow press nicknamed "Butcher" Weyler were blamed. The bloodshed caused by the Cuban rebels was practically ignored. An epidemic of war fever spread throughout the United States. To many Americans, Spain seemed a cowardly big bully abusing a helpless little underdog.

**Why Many Americans at First Opposed War with Spain.** There have always been a large number of Americans who oppose war with any nation, unless our own nation should be attacked. Furthermore, neither President McKinley nor the bankers and businessmen of the nation wanted war with Spain. Most of them felt that Cuba would be more stable under continued Spanish control than under control of the rebels. They also feared that a war might hurt business, just when the United States was recovering from the depression of 1893. Patiently, President McKinley tried, through negotiation with Spain, to avoid war. Impatiently, the then assistant secretary of the navy, Theodore Roosevelt, charged that McKinley did not have "the backbone of a chocolate éclair!" Yet patience seemed to be paying. In 1897, the Spanish Government called General Weyler home and tried to adopt a more moderate policy toward the rebels.

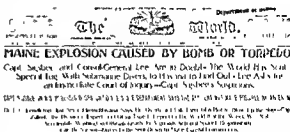
**Why Many Americans Swung Over to Support of War with Spain.** Then two things happened that gave added ammunition to the yellow press, and swept the United States into a war with Spain.

**Undiplomatic Diplomat De Lôme Insults President McKinley.** Early in 1898, the *New York Journal* published a tactless personal letter written by Spain's minister to the

United States, Dupuy de Lôme. In the *De Lôme letter*, President McKinley was described in essence as a weak and cheap politician and publicity seeker. Spain apologized and De Lôme resigned. How the Cuban sympathizer who had stolen the letter from the Havana post office and turned it over to the *Journal* must have rejoiced! For the incident fanned the flames of American fury against Spain.

**A United States Battleship Is Blown Up.** Less than a week later, on February 15, 1898, the American battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor. Two hundred and sixty sailors perished. The ship's captain wisely cautioned that "public opinion should be suspended until further report." But the yellow press refused to wait for an investigation into the cause of the disaster. In blazing headlines, these newspapers stirred up their readers by proclaiming that Spain had sunk

*The front page of the New York World two days after the blowing up of the Maine. There were those at the time who cautioned against sending the Maine or any other American battleship to Cuba, even on a "courtesy visit." Why?*



<sup>1</sup> Newspapers that agitate for an aggressive military policy are called the *tingo press*, and individuals who do so are called *tingos*.

The pressure for war by the yellow press<sup>1</sup> and the public had impelled many congressmen to demand war. This combined pressure

and control of the island to its people." United States would "leave the government clear that as soon as order was restored, the had no intention of annexing Cuba. It declared that the United States *Amendment*, stated that the United States to force them out. Another part, the *Teller* the authority to use American armed forces armed forces from Cuba, the President had stated that if Spain did not withdraw its laration of war. One part of the resolution a joint resolution that was virtually a declaration of war. On April 19, 1898, the Congress passed later, on April 19, 1898, the Congress passed referred to Spain's concessions. A few days Cuba." In making this request, he scarcely the government of Spain and the people of and final termination of hostilities between authority to use armed forces "to secure a full Kinley asked the Congress to give him an- About War with Spain. Nevertheless, Mc-

**The Peace-loving McKinley Helps to Bring About War with Spain.** Nevertheless, McKinley asked the Congress to give him authority to use armed forces "to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between Cuba." In making this request, he scarcely referred to Spain's concessions. A few days later, on April 19, 1898, the Congress passed a joint resolution that was virtually a declaration of war. One part of the resolution stated that if Spain did not withdraw its armed forces from Cuba, the President had the authority to use American armed forces to force them out. Another part, the *Teller Amendment*, stated that the United States had no intention of annexing Cuba. It declared that as soon as order was restored, the United States would "leave the government and control of the island to its people."

the slogan of millions. Although several investigations have been made, to this day no one really knows who was to blame for the sinking of the *Maine*. But the fierce passions aroused by the yellow press in blaming Spain had the desired effect. Three weeks after the sinking, the Congress unanimously appropriated \$50 million for national defense.

McKinley's Last-ditch Efforts for Peace Appear Successful. As the clamor for war mounted, McKinley continued his efforts for peace. Abolish the concentration camps. Grant the rebels an armistice. Let the United States mediate the dispute. This was the gist of his demands on Spain. Spain hesitated. Finally, the American minister in Spain wired McKinley that Spain had yielded to his demands. He stated that he felt quite sure that Spain even would grant Cuba its independence.

<sup>1</sup> Approximately 5,500 Americans died in the Spanish-American War. Of these, fewer than 400 died in battle, and the rest of dysentery, yellow fever, malaria, and typhoid fever.

FEATURED IN THE CAST: Commodore George Dewey, who ignored the mine fields rumored

"The Stars and Stripes Forever" Old Town Tonight"; "There'll Be a Hot Time in the by soldiers." Theme song sung

MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT: Theme song sung by soldiers. "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight"; military bands playing "The Stars and Stripes Forever"

LOCATE: Colorful tropical setting midst palm trees and jungles of the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico

from his scenario department:

Americans? a producer might ask. Here is the sort of brief report he might get back

Spanish-American War appeal to millions of Americans? a producer might ask. Here is the sort of brief report he might get back

American Victory. Would a movie on the Spanish-American War appeal to millions of Americans? a producer might ask. Here is the sort of brief report he might get back

the United States Jubilant Over the Speedy American Victory. Would a movie on the Spanish-American War appeal to millions of Americans? a producer might ask. Here is the sort of brief report he might get back

Spain is Shocked, the World Surprised, and the United States Jubilant Over the Speedy American Victory. Would a movie on the Spanish-American War appeal to millions of Americans? a producer might ask. Here is the sort of brief report he might get back

Fortunately, Spain was even more poorly prepared than our army.

The United States Enters the War with a Poorly Prepared Army and a Well-Prepared Navy. Soldiers outfitted in heavy woolen uniforms to fight in tropical Cuba . . . is-sued guns long outmoded . . . fed meat so bad that it was called "embalmed beef"; camp sanitation so poor that far more died from disease than in battle; confusion so widespread that many soldiers couldn't find their regiments; many untrained and many aged officers—all this and more tells how poorly prepared the United States Army was for war. The Navy, on the other hand, was well-prepared, and its personnel well-trained.

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*The pursuit at Santiago. Faced with Admiral Cervera's choice at Santiago Harbor, what would you have done? Why?*

to be protecting the entrance to Manila Bay in Spain's Pacific possession, the Philippines, sailed in, and blasted the Spanish fleet to bits without losing a man (May 1, 1898)

The energetic Theodore Roosevelt, who resigned his post as assistant secretary of the navy to become lieutenant colonel of the *Rough Riders*, a special regiment of volunteers, including cowboys, Indians, college athletes, and frontier marshals, *Rough Riders*, against withering Spanish fire, charged up Kettle Hill on foot and joined the assault to capture San Juan Hill, overlooking the port of Santiago, Cuba (July 1 and 2, 1898) Admiral Pascual Cervera, who, instead of attacking the Atlantic coast, as anticipated, sailed into Santiago harbor, with American forces holding the hills overlooking the

harbor, had the choice of surrendering or trying to run the blockade of American ships outside the harbor, for the honor of Spain, tried to do the latter, but didn't have a chance, his fleet destroyed by the naval forces of Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield S. Schley, casualties 323 Spaniards killed and 151 wounded, one American killed and one wounded, touching scene. Captain J. W. Philip of battleship *Texas* suggests to men: "Don't cheer, boys. The poor devils are dying" (July 3, 1898)

General Nelson Miles, who invaded Spain's island Puerto Rico, met little resistance from Spaniards, Puerto Rico's capture described by Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley as "Gin'ral Miles' gran' picnic and moonlight excursion"

General Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of Filipino rebels against Spain even before the Spanish-American War; aided American forces in the capture of the city of Manila in the Philippines on August 13, 1898, the day after Spain had acknowledged defeat

**FADEOUT:** Enthusiastic welcome to returning soldiers and sailors, who in this ten-week war had won all the battles

### **Some of the Big Results of This Little War.**

Upon taking office, McKinley had said that he was opposed "to all acquisitions [of territory] not on the mainland." In December of 1898, he signed the Treaty of Paris ending the war with Spain. In it, the United States acquired Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and the Philippines and Guam in the Pacific. For the Philippines, the United States paid Spain \$20 million. And Spain recognized Cuba's independence. Soon the United States established a *protectorate*<sup>1</sup> over Cuba (page 637).

Later on, explaining his switch from opposing the annexation of the Philippines to favoring it, McKinley said:

I walked the floor of the White House night after night . . . ; and I . . . prayed Almighty God for light and guidance . . . And one night late it came to me this way—

1. that we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable;
2. that we could not turn them over to France or Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable;
3. that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was; and
4. that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them. . . .

**Why Some Favored Annexing Territory from Spain.** Most of the enthusiasm for the Spanish-American War had sprung from sincere sympathy for the oppressed Cubans. Imperialism had very little, if anything, to do with it. But when the war was over, millions of Americans, like President McKinley, and for many of the same reasons, were convinced that even annexing the far-off Philippines was wise. Businessmen saw in the Philippines new markets, new sources of raw materials, and a steppingstone to the vast markets of Asia. They were fearful that the imperialistic European powers, which had for some time been seizing spheres of influence in China, would monopolize Asia's trade. Military men saw in the fine harbors of the Philippines valuable naval bases. Many Americans felt sure that if the United States quit the Philippines, Great Britain, Japan, or some other great power would take them over. Besides, they were proud to see the American flag waving even over distant islands.

**Why Some Opposed Annexing Territory from Spain.** But many Americans stuck staunchly to their pre-war anti-imperialistic stand. They asked such questions as:

Aren't we violating the Declaration of Independence when we take control of a people without their consent? If we went to war to free the Cubans, why are we annexing the Philippines, thousands of miles from our shores? Isn't it embarrassing to have the Filipinos revolting against us, as they formerly did against Spain? Isn't it going to be difficult to defend such a distant possession? May we not get involved in wars with other nations having possessions or spheres of influence in the East? Won't all this mean a bigger army and navy and heavier taxation?

Anti-imperialist William Jennings Bryan was the Democratic candidate in the presidential election of 1900. Bryan was even more badly beaten by McKinley than he had been in the election of 1896. The McKinley victory would seem to have indicated that the majority of the voters favored imperialism. However, there was a wave of prosper-

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<sup>1</sup> A protectorate is an area that surrenders much of its control over its foreign affairs to a stronger nation. However, a protectorate retains its own flag and much of its control over its internal affairs.

ity in the nation at the time. And, as a rule, voters do not like to change administrations when things are going well.

#### Some Reactions of Other Nations Upon

#### Realizing That the United States Was a

#### World Power. What with Alaska, Wake and

#### Midway Islands, Hawaii (annexed during

#### the war), the territories acquired from Spain,

#### and American Samoa (annexed right after

#### the war), the United States was in posses-

#### sion of a great empire. Britain was one na-

#### tion that had recognized, even before the

#### Spanish-American War, that the United

#### States had become a world power (page

#### 555). During the war, Britain showed great

#### respect for the United States. A high British

#### official even went so far as to propose that

#### the two great English-speaking nations form

#### a permanent Anglo-Saxon alliance. This

#### seemed especially desirable to some British

#### in the face of the growing might of Britain's

#### rival, Germany.

#### Germany and Japan also recognized that

#### the United States had become a world power.

#### Both acted as though they thought the

#### United States had no business taking over

#### the Philippines and expanding in the Pacific.

#### But neither nation boldly challenged its do-

#### ing so.

#### The acquisition of Puerto Rico and the

#### protectorate over Cuba worried many Latin-

#### American nations. They feared that expan-

#### sion so close to their own borders might be a

#### threat to them

#### Some Other Important Results of the

#### Spanish-American War. Complete isolation-

#### ism never has been, nor ever can be, prac-

#### ticed by any nation. Until the Spanish-

#### American War, American foreign policy was

#### of the United States into this war, and the

#### empire it acquired at this time, seemed to in-

#### dicate that the nation was bidding farewell

#### to isolationism.

#### Fride in the victories of the United States

#### did the need to protect the new possessions.

#### of an even bigger navy after the war. So

#### Navy during the war stimulated the building

#### Did head-hunters in the Philippines have

#### the right to trial by jury American-style? Did

#### the Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, and people of

#### other overseas possessions have the right to



Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders atop San Juan Hill "they were so few. It seemed as if some one had made an awful and terrible mistake One's instinct was to call them to come back." Thus Richard Harding Davis, a famous newspaper correspondent, described the charge of the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill

United States Army led to the establishment of a general staff and to a tightening up of the entire army organization.

#### Some Embarrassing Constitutional Questions on the Subject of Overseas Possessions.

ship goods to the United States free of duty? Such questions troubled many Americans after the Spanish-American War. The United States Constitution guarantees a trial by jury. It also guarantees that no tariff duties can be charged on goods going from state to state in the United States. Now that the American flag was flying over the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and other overseas possessions, did not such guarantees apply to their peoples, also? In other words, did the Constitution follow the flag? It seemed a little absurd to give head-hunters the same civil and political rights that Americans in the United States were guaranteed. But it seemed un-American not to. Furthermore, many American businessmen would have objected vigorously if all duties on all goods coming from all overseas possessions were eliminated.

The President and the Congress, in their regulations for the overseas possessions, acted as though the Constitution did not follow the flag. This issue was tested before the Supreme Court in a number of cases, known as the *Insular Cases*. In general, usually by five-to-four decisions, the Supreme Court decided that it was up to the Congress to decide what parts of the Constitution followed the flag, and when they did. As we shall now see, overseas possessions gained more and more self-government, complete independence, or statehood. Thus this whole issue in time ceased to be a practical problem.

### **Some United States Policies Toward Its Empire: Self-Government, Independence, Statehood**

**The Philippines Progress from Military Occupation to Self-Government to Independence.** Filipino bitterness against the United States at the end of the Spanish-American War was intense. For the Filipinos, governed so long by autocratic Spain, were bitterly disappointed. They had helped the democratic United States fight Spain because they expected their independence when the

fighting ended. However, when it was clear that the United States intended to hold the Philippines, they turned their guns and knives against the American army of occupation. This Philippine rebellion against the United States began in 1899 and lasted two years. It was led by Emilio Aguinaldo. The rebels resorted to guerrilla warfare and savage atrocities, including torture of captured prisoners to get information. So did American soldiers in retaliation. Baffled and maddened by rebel tactics, they did something Americans had condemned "Butcher" Weyler for doing earlier in Cuba: They set up concentration camps. In men and money, suppressing this rebellion was more costly to the United States than the Spanish-American War.

**Why Granting Immediate Self-Government to the Philippines Was Considered Unwise.** "The Philippines are ours, not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government." So President McKinley expressed his aims for the Philippines, even while the rebellion was raging. The obstacles in the way of achieving these aims were overwhelming. What obstacles? In these more than 7,000 tropical islands, more than 6,000 miles from San Francisco, scores of different languages and dialects were spoken. While most of the seven million Filipinos were Roman Catholics, and a small number Moslems, about five per cent were pagans. The various groups, mainly Malaysians, but also some whites, Mongoloids, and Negroes, did not feel that they had much in common. As a carry-over from Spanish rule, most of the land was owned by relatively few big landlords and worked by poverty-stricken, illiterate peasants. Finally, the crushing of Aguinaldo's rebellion had left a legacy of hatred that was not easy to erase.

**How the United States Aided the Philippines.** To what extent did the United States succeed in achieving President McKinley's aims? The Philippines for Filipinos—this seemed to be the guiding principle of William Howard Taft (page 607), appointed by



President McKinley to be first civil governor of the Philippines. Genuinely interested in the welfare of the Filipinos, Taft almost immediately gave them a voice in the government. Under Taft and his successors as governors, diseases such as smallpox and cholera were wiped out, and leprosy was checked. Illiteracy was reduced sharply. As English became almost a common language, various groups found it easier to communicate with one another. As standards of living improved, many Filipino children grew to be healthier and taller than their parents. Railways and highways, telephone and telegraph lines, electric-power projects and pure water supply systems were built. A large market in the United States was opened for such Philippine products as sugar, tobacco, rice, coconut oil, and hemp. This was made possible by the fact that no duty was charged on Philippine products entering the United States.

The Filipinos were pleased by the progress being made. But what they wanted most was independence. In the Jones Act of 1916, which granted them much more self-government, it was implied that independence would be the next step. By the 1930's, some Filipinos were wondering whether complete independence would be wise. Independence might mean that the United States would place tariff duties on Philippine goods. If that happened, the Philippines, so dependent upon the American market, might suffer economic ruin.

*Some Reasons Why Philippine Independence Was Speeded Up.* However, by the 1930's, many Americans were among the biggest boosters of Philippine independence. More and more Americans had come to the conclusion that it was not the American way to control people against their will. Among the most vigorous supporters of Philippine independence were sugar and tobacco planters in the United States and American owners of sugar and tobacco plantations in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. Such Americans wanted to see the Philippines outside the American tariff wall so that there would be less Philippine competition for American

markets. Labor groups boosted Philippine independence because they wanted to see the free flow of Filipino workers to the United States stopped.

Furthermore, American trade with the Orient had not increased, as many had anticipated it would when the Philippines were annexed. In the depression days of the 1930's, many American taxpayers saw that it cost the United States more to hold the Philippines than it had ever derived from them.

In 1931, the Japanese had invaded Manchuria. It seemed obvious that they had imperialistic ambitions throughout the Orient. Some Americans feared that to defend the far-off Philippines, in case of war with Japan, would be extremely costly. Perhaps it would even be impossible. And those who hated war feared that holding the Philippines would provoke a war with Japan.

*Independence Is Granted in the Tydings-McDuffie Act, But Ties Remain Strong.* Such feelings explain why the Tydings-McDuffie Act was passed in 1934. The act guaranteed Philippine independence after a short waiting period. On July 4, 1946, the Philippines were declared independent. The new nation adopted a constitution modeled on that of the United States. But independence did not cut the close economic and military ties between the two countries (page 838).

*Puerto Rico Makes Progress Through Self-Help and American Help.* "We come, not to make war, but to bring protection . . . to promote prosperity, and to bestow . . . the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government." This was the promise made by General Miles when he landed in Puerto Rico in 1898. Two years later, the United States substituted a civil government for the military government it had set up in Puerto Rico.

*Puerto Rico: From Military Occupation to Commonwealth.* As the years rolled on, the United States gradually granted more and more self-government to the Puerto Ricans. In 1952, with the approval of the United States Congress, Puerto Ricans drew up a constitution of their own, modeled on that of

the United States. This constitution promoted Puerto Rico to a commonwealth with virtual self-rule. Yet, under this constitution, Puerto Rico remains voluntarily associated with the United States in many ways. It shares with the United States common citizenship, common foreign policy, common defense, common currency, common customs duties, common ideals of democracy, and certain common laws passed by the United States Congress.

Thus Puerto Rico is not a republic, not a United States possession, not a colony, and not one of the states of the United States. In a sense, it is "a new kind of state."

**Why Most Puerto Ricans Seem Satisfied with Commonwealth Status.** Most Puerto Ricans do not seem to want their commonwealth to become a state within the United States, or to become completely independent of the United States. Why? Although Puerto Ricans are proud of being citizens of the United States, they are also proud of their cultural heritage from Spain. Statehood, many fear, might mean that the culture of the United States would gradually erase this Hispanic heritage. This explains why, in Puerto Rican schools, although English is taught, Spanish is stressed. Furthermore, if Puerto Rico were to become a state, Puerto Ricans would have to pay income taxes to the United States Government. Duties on goods imported into Puerto Rico from foreign nations, as well as excise taxes on goods produced within Puerto Rico, now go to Puerto Rico. If Puerto Rico were a state, such taxes would go to the United States Government.

**Why Some Puerto Ricans Would Prefer Statehood.** Some Puerto Ricans would like Puerto Rico to become a state of the United States. They argue that then Puerto Ricans would have two senators and about six members of the House of Representatives to speak for them in the Congress. They would also have the right to vote in presidential elections.

**Why Few Puerto Ricans Desire Independence.** Independence would put Puerto Rico outside the tariff wall of the United States.

This would seriously reduce the market for Puerto Rico's industrial and agricultural products. Independence would also mean that Puerto Rico would have the heavy expense of maintaining armed forces for its own defense. Then, too, United States immigration laws would apply to Puerto Ricans.

**Puerto Rico Serves as a Model for Other Underdeveloped Areas Wishing to Become Developed.** When General Miles invaded the island in 1898, he found the Puerto Rican population illiterate, undernourished, disease-ridden, and poverty-stricken. What were some of the reasons for this? Puerto Rico has a large population, but its small area has few natural resources. For many years it depended too much on one crop, sugar, for a livelihood. Whenever the price of sugar in the world market dropped, so would the standard of living of Puerto Ricans.

**Some Early Efforts of the United States to Help Puerto Rico.** Almost as soon as the military occupation ended, too, were tariff barriers between the United States and Puerto Rico. Then began a flow of Puerto Rican products to the United States: sugar, tobacco, coffee, rum, and fruits. The United States also helped by building roads, schools, and hospitals. It waged war against such widespread diseases as tuberculosis, hookworm, and malaria. But the problems of Puerto Rico were so great that progress was slow. And in spite of relief measures by the United States, the depression of the 1930's only made matters worse.

**'Operation Bootstrap' Raises the Puerto Rican Standard of Living.** Three cents a dozen—this is what Puerto Rican women were receiving for hemming handkerchiefs in their homes. Ten cents an hour—this is what Puerto Rican peasants were receiving for cutting cane on big sugar plantations, many of them American-owned. The leader of a new political party (formed in 1938), Luis Muñoz Marín, carried on a crusade to end this shocking situation. Muñoz succeeded in getting the big plantations limited to no more than 500 acres. Small amounts of land were thereby made available to landless peasants.

poor Puerto Ricans every year leave for the United States, mainly for New York City. There is just not enough land, nor are there enough jobs, for Puerto Rico's large—and fast growing larger—population. Nevertheless, Muñoz, who became Puerto Rico's first elected governor<sup>1</sup> in 1948, and has thus far been re-elected three times, is optimistic. He predicts that under such programs as Operation Bootstrap, Puerto Ricans, by 1975, will have as high a standard of living as people in the United States had in 1950.

**Alaska and Hawaii: From Territorial Outposts to States of the United States.** Gold was discovered in 1896 in the Klondike, a region in northwestern Canada on the Alaskan border. Gold was discovered a few years later in Nome and Fairbanks, Alaska. Mad gold rushes followed. Up to this time, most Americans had had very little interest in Alaska. They still thought of it as "Seward's icebox" (page 548). Although annexed in 1867, not until 1912 was Alaska made an organized territory. Then Alaskans gained the privilege of electing a two-house legislature. The governor, however, continued to be appointed by the President of the United States.

Hawaii, in which, as we know, Americans had had a long-time interest, was annexed in 1898. Only two years later, it became an organized territory, also with an appointed governor and a two-house elected legislature. After many years of seeking statehood, first Alaska and then Hawaii officially became states in 1959.

Giant Alaska is twenty per cent of the size of all the other states combined. Tiny Hawaii is one per cent of the size of Alaska. Yet Hawaii's population of 600,000 is three times that of Alaska. Alaskans are mainly Eskimos, Aleuts (on the Aleutian Islands), Indians, and whites. Hawaii's population is made up mainly of Japanese and white Americans. But it also includes persons of

Hawaiian, Philippine, Chinese, Puerto Rican, and Korean ancestry.

Their strategic location makes both new states important in the defense of continental United States: Alaska on the shortest polar air route to Northern Europe and Asia; Hawaii in the heart of the Pacific. Both get much of their income from the military installations on their territory and from the spending of the uniformed personnel and civilians employed by the armed forces. Both, because of their great natural beauty, expect to attract more and more tourists through the years.<sup>1</sup>

**Alaska Is Called 'America's Last Great Frontier.'** Many look upon Alaska as a land of great promise. Thirty-one of the thirty-three strategic materials that are all-important to industry and defense are to be found there. Most of these minerals are still in the ground, waiting for enterprising businessmen to develop them. Alaska's vast resources in timber, fur-bearing animals, and river sites for electric-power projects have scarcely been tapped.

**Why Few Have Taken Advantage of Alaska's Great Possibilities.** Poor transportation has handicapped Alaska. It has only a few miles of railroad and only a few paved roads. Construction of these facilities has been seriously hampered by the vast area, rugged mountains, thick forests, and the frozen ground in the northern inland areas. Alaska's only auto route to the contiguous United States is the Alaska Highway via Canada. Alaska must import most of its food and other necessities, which must be brought in by ship or plane. Since Alaska's production of goods to ship out is so small, ships and planes have to charge high fares in both directions to make a profit. High fares mean high prices in Alaska. In order to pay the high prices, employees demand high wages. Since the costs of production would thus be high, investors have hesitated to de-

Puerto Rican governors had been appointed President of the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Much of Hawaii's income also comes from sugar, pineapples, and livestock.



*Dr. Walter Reed. The story of the conquest of yellow fever by Reed and others should be an inspiration not only to medical researchers but to all of us. For what reasons?*

velop industries in Alaska. But with Alaska's great possibilities, prospects are bright for its future, now that it is a state.

**Hawaii Makes Progress, in Spite of Certain Problems.** Hawaiian islanders have a standard of living even higher than that of many states on the mainland. They are proud of their libraries, churches, and fine schools and university. There is little friction among the many different peoples living there.

Yet Hawaii has a serious problem: land. Although Hawaii is made up of about twenty islands, about eighty per cent of the people live on the island of Oahu. More

than half of all Hawaiians live in the capital city, Honolulu, on Oahu. Land on the island is so expensive that many a mainlander who goes there to settle soon returns home. Hawaii wishes that more people would settle on its other equally beautiful islands.

A further problem is that so many things have to be shipped to Hawaii from the mainland that its cost of living tends to be high.

**Cuba: From Military Occupation to Protectorate to Independence.** During the war, yellow fever had killed hundreds of American soldiers. In 1900, a United States Army medical group conquered yellow fever, after

proving that the disease was carried by the stegomyia mosquito. Much credit for this achievement is due several individuals. A Cuban doctor, Carlos Finlay, twenty years earlier had advanced, but not proved, the mosquito theory. Dr. Walter Reed headed the army medical group. Drs. Jesse William Lazear and James Carroll, during the experiment, were bitten by the deadly mosquito, and died as a result—Lazear almost immediately and Carroll a few years later. Credit should also go to two rank-and-file soldiers who volunteered for the experiment, J. R. Kissinger and J. J. Moran.

While under American military occupation, Cuba benefited in many other ways. For this, much credit should go to General Leonard Wood, Major William C. Gorgas, and the American taxpayer. Wood and Gorgas worked wonders in building foundations for a better life for Cubans. The sick were cared for and the poor were clothed and fed. Cuba's yearly death rate was cut in half. Havana, once a pesthole, was made beautiful and sanitary. Throughout the country, roads, railroads, sewers, schools, and hospitals were built.

*How the Platt Amendment Defined the Relationship of Cuba to the United States.* In spite of these benefits, Cubans did not want foreign soldiers governing their country. American authorities encouraged self-government by permitting the Cubans to draw up their own constitution. This constitution, modeled on that of the United States, was completed in 1901. American troops were withdrawn from Cuba the following year,<sup>1</sup> when an appendix was added to Cuba's constitution. This appendix, insisted on by the United States, is called the *Platt Amendment*.

Here are some pledges that Cuba made to the United States in the Platt Amendment:

- Cuba would not make any treaty that

would interfere with its independence in any way.

- Cuba would not incur with any foreign country any debt so large that it would be difficult to repay. (The United States wanted thus to prevent any foreign power from using indebtedness as an excuse for intervening in Cuba.)
- Cuba would sell or lease to the United States sites needed for coaling or naval stations.
- Cuba would consent to intervention by the United States in Cuba if it was necessary to preserve Cuban independence or to preserve order there.

Thus the Platt Amendment made Cuba a protectorate of the United States. Using the power granted it, the United States sent troops into Cuba four different times to preserve order and to protect American investments.

*American Trade with and Investments in Cuba Increase.* The guerrilla warfare in the Cuban rebellion against Spain had practically destroyed Cuba's sugar industry. Its chances of revival after the Spanish-American War seemed poor. For it could not compete with the beet sugar industries of Europe, which had Government financial backing. Nor could it compete with Puerto Rican and Hawaiian sugar, which could be sold in the United States free of duty. However, in 1903, the United States rescued Cuba's sugar industry. It lowered by twenty per cent tariff duties on Cuban sugar, and on other Cuban products, too. Reciprocity, Cuba made reductions ranging from twenty to forty per cent in its tariff on American products.

It wasn't long before the United States was buying most of its sugar from Cuba's greatly expanded sugar industry. Before long, too, Americans had invested huge sums in Cuba's sugar and tobacco plantations, railroads, public utilities, and many other businesses. Many Latin Americans asserted that such investments were another example of "Yanqui imperialism." Their purpose, they

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<sup>1</sup> This was a big surprise to cynics abroad and at home who had predicted that once the United States got into Cuba, it wouldn't get out.

said, was to drain Cuba of its resources for the benefit of Americans.

The world-wide depression of the 1930's caused widespread suffering in Cuba. Cuba might have suffered less if its economy had been less dependent on the growing of sugar cane. The hardship suffered, as on other occasions, was a main cause of another Cuban revolution—this one in 1933. Some Americans urged the United States to send in troops, under the Platt Amendment, to preserve order and protect American investments. Instead, the next year the United States canceled the Platt Amendment (page 780). It retained, however, the right to maintain a naval base at Guantánamo Bay, near Santiago.

The cancellation of the Platt Amendment meant that Cuba was no longer a protectorate of the United States. Yet the United States continued to have strong economic influence in Cuba. This was partly because much of Cuba's wealth was still American-owned. Most of Cuba's imports of manufactured goods came from the United States. Furthermore, Cubans continued to depend largely upon American customers to buy their products, especially sugar. And sugar continued to be the key to Cuba's prosperity.

A Cuban dictatorship, that of Colonel Fulgencio Batista, was overthrown by Fidel Castro in 1959. The anti-American policies introduced by Castro caused hostile relations between the United States and Cuba. Passions soon reached fever pitch (page 848). As a result, American trade with Cuba has come to a standstill. Furthermore, American holdings there have been confiscated by the Communist dictatorship that Castro has established.

### **To Promote Its Security, The United States Carries A 'Big Stick' in the Caribbean**

**Why More and More Raised a Clamor for  
an Isthmian Canal. Would the ship make it  
in time? In breathless suspense, the nation**

waited. The ship made its way from Puget Sound to San Francisco, whence it continued south all the way around Cape Horn. Then it proceeded northward along the Atlantic coast. To the relief of all Americans, it arrived in time to join the American fleet waiting for the Spanish fleet to emerge from Santiago harbor. This was the famous 14,000-mile, six-week voyage of the battleship *Oregon* in 1898, during the Spanish-American War. The trip had taken three times as long as it would have had there been a canal through Central America connecting the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Suppose in the future we were fighting a more powerful enemy than Spain. It might prove to be a tragedy if we could not swing our fleet or fleets quickly from one ocean to the other. The thought troubled many Americans. Now that the United States had possessions in both the Caribbean and the Pacific, an isthmian canal seemed all-important for their protection. And as business increased between the East and West coasts of the United States, and, to some extent, with the Far East, more businessmen demanded such a canal.

**Ironing Out Obstacles in the Way of Building an Isthmian Canal.** Unless the United States can exercise exclusive control over an isthmian canal and fortify it, it would be foolish to build one. This was the feeling of many Government officials. But a treaty with Britain, the *Clayton-Bulwer Treaty* of 1850, stated that neither Britain nor the United States should have exclusive control over such a canal, or fortify it.

**Britain Bows Out.** However, by the 1890's, Great Britain was making great efforts to be friendly with the United States (page 555). One way by which Britain showed its friendly spirit was by signing, in 1901, the *Hay-Pauncefote Treaty*, which canceled the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, Britain agreed that the United States should have the exclusive right to build, control, and fortify an isthmian canal. For its part, the United States promised that the canal would be open to the merchant and

naval vessels of all nations on equal terms.

*The Panama Route Gets the Nod Over the Nicaraguan Route.* There then arose a controversy over whether the proposed canal should be built through Nicaragua or through Panama (then part of Colombia). A considerable amount of excavation for a canal had already been done in Panama by a French company under the direction of Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal. But mountains, jungles, tropical diseases, and bad management had defeated De Lesseps. His bankrupt company had then reorganized under the name the *Panama Canal Company*. The Frenchman Philippe Bunau-Varilla, representing the company, tried to persuade the United States to adopt the Panama route. If the United States did so, the Panama Canal Company hoped to sell its rights to the United States. The company's original price for these rights was more than \$100 million. It later dropped the price to \$40 million. This helped to swing the support of many senators from the Nicaragua route to the Panama route.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, a canal following the Panama route would be shorter, have fewer curves, and be less costly to construct.

*A Major Obstacle: Colombia's Rejection of the Hay-Herrán Treaty.* In 1903, the United States signed the *Hay-Herrán Treaty* with Colombia's representative in Washington, Dr. Tomás Herrán. The treaty granted the United States control of a strip of land across Panama for the building of a canal. The Colombian Senate, hoping to get more money than the United States had offered, rejected the treaty.

*Roosevelt and Many Panamanian Politicians Are Determined to Have a Canal, Despite Colombia.* Colombia's rejection of the Hay-Herrán Treaty made President Theodore Roosevelt furious. He denounced

the Colombian senators as "the blackmailers of Bogotá,"<sup>1</sup> who should not be permitted "to bar one of the future highways of civilization." Many Panamanian politicians also were furious at Colombia's rejection of the treaty. They had glowed with pride when they thought how much a busy canal would increase Panama's prosperity and prestige. But now the United States might choose the Nicaraguan route. Where would Panama be then? Furthermore, Panama had long been dissatisfied with Colombia's rule. It had rebelled more than fifty times in the last fifty years of the nineteenth century.

Furious, too, was Bunau-Varilla, because now it looked as though the Panama Canal Company would never get its \$40 million. He and some Panamanian businessmen and politicians met in a New York hotel room and hatched a revolution against Colombia. They felt confident, on the basis of some hints dropped, that President Roosevelt wouldn't be too displeased if such a revolution broke out.

*A Panama Canal Is Realized Through a Panama Revolution.* On November 2, 1903, the American battleship *Nashville*, which had been ordered there, reached Colón, Panama. On November 3, the revolution began. It ended successfully the same day. Efforts of the Colombian Government to land troops to suppress the revolution "and restore authority" were prevented by the *Nashville* and other United States warships.

On November 6, the United States recognized the new Republic of Panama. A few days later, Bunau-Varilla was welcomed at Washington as Panama's representative. And on November 18, he signed the *Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty* with the United States. In it, Panama granted the United States perpetual authority over a strip of land ten miles wide through the Isthmus of Panama. In return, the United States promised to pay Panama \$10 million, plus \$250,000 annually. Moreover, Panama itself became a protectorate of the United States.

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<sup>1</sup> Bunau-Varilla won over some doubting senators by placing Nicaraguan postage stamps on their desks. The stamps pictured scorching volcanoes in Nicaragua. The senators, in their imaginations, pictured a costly canal buried under a sea of molten lava!

<sup>1</sup> Colombia's capital.

**The Controversial Role of Roosevelt in the Panama Revolution.** Some time later, Roosevelt wrote:

No one connected with the American government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the revolution.

But he also said:

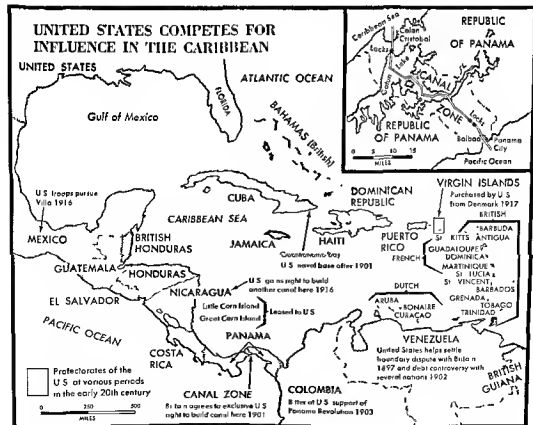
I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate.

Some within the United States and many without, especially in Latin America, felt that Roosevelt had done much to encourage the revolution. In general, however, most Americans, eager for the canal, seemed to agree with Roosevelt that "Colombia did not have the right to bar the world's traffic across the isthmus." They seemed to feel with him that negotiating with the Colombian politicians had been totally futile. In 1901, Roosevelt had quoted approvingly the old

proverb: "Speak softly and carry a big stick, and you will go far." Many of his critics accused him of practicing the *big-stick policy* against weak Colombia.

Colombia's bitterness at the Panama incident troubled many Americans for a long time. This helps to explain why the United States, in 1921, paid Colombia \$25 million to make up in part for its loss.

**Overwhelming Physical Obstacles Are Overcome in Building the Canal.** Yellow fever, malaria, typhus, sweltering heat, jungle swamps thick with mosquitoes, landslides, baffling engineering problems—all made the building of the Panama Canal a heartbreaking task. Yet the task, begun in 1906 by the War Department, was finished a year ahead of schedule, in 1914. The dedicated Dr. William C. Gorgas and his staff stamped out tropical diseases so effectively that the Canal Zone became far more healthful than many cities in the United States. Efficient,





firm, but fair, Colonel George Goethals, chief engineer, was a master at winning co-operation from his top engineers to the lowliest of his laborers. The completed canal, consisting of three sets of locks and an artificial lake, was considered one of the engineering wonders of its time.

**The Venezuelan Debt Controversy Leads to a New Interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.** Civil wars, corrupt dictators, and frequent changes in government had been common for a long time in many Latin-American republics. Europeans had been in the habit of lending money to such republics because of the promise of high interest rates. But often a corrupt dictator refused to pay. Or, after a civil war, a new dictator might say, in effect: Collect from the fellow you lent it to.

**Britain and Germany Try to Force Venezuela to Pay Its Debts.** The corrupt Cipriano Castro, dictator of Venezuela, refused, in 1902, to pay debts owed to Germany and Britain. In retaliation, battleships of the British and German fleets were sent to blockade Venezuela. Some Venezuelan gunboats were sunk and some seized. Castro then decided to arbitrate. However, before he signed the agreement to arbitrate, some Venezuelan ports were bombarded.

**The Reaction of Americans to the British-German Action.** The American press and the American people were enraged at what seemed to them unnecessary and brutal action on the part of Britain and Germany. The British press severely criticized the British Government for its handling of the Venezuelan problem, pointing out, among other things, that such actions were bound to break the bonds of friendship with the United States that Britain was eager to tighten. Perhaps this helps to explain the withdrawal of the British fleet.

There is some evidence that Roosevelt used pressure to get the German fleet out. Like many other Americans, the President was beginning to think that incidents such as the Venezuelan debt controversy could lead to a violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

**An International Court Outlaws the Collection of International Debts by Force.** An international court of arbitration, called the Hague Tribunal, had been created in 1899 (page 663). It was this court that finally settled the claims against Venezuela, scaling them down considerably. More important than this, the Hague Tribunal made part of international law a principle developed by an Argentine statesman, Luis Drago. Drago's principle was that no nation should be permitted to collect debts by use of force. This is called the *Drago Doctrine*.

**The Roosevelt Corollary: Stepping In to Keep Other Nations Out.** If a Latin-American country in debt refused to pay, and if the European creditor nation was barred from collecting by force, how could it collect? According to Drago, it couldn't; for, he said, a country invests at its own risk. But to President Roosevelt, this seemed morally wrong. He feared, too, that a creditor nation might become so desperate for its money that it might invade the debtor nation and use force to collect. Once in the debtor nation, it might never come out. This would be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine and a threat to the proposed Panama Canal.

To prevent such an eventuality, Roosevelt reasoned, the United States must act as a kind of international policeman in the Western Hemisphere. It must see that nations pay their debts and live up to other international obligations. Thus no European nation would have an excuse to try to force collection. In short, the United States would intervene by force, if necessary, to prevent European nations from intervening. This is called the *Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine*. Some have called it "preventive intervention." On the other hand, Roosevelt pledged:

If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency . . . , if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States.

**The Roosevelt Corollary Is Applied in The Dominican Republic.** There was talk that

European creditor nations might step in to collect debts due them from a corrupt dictatorship in the Dominican Republic. To prevent this, President Roosevelt, in 1905, ordered American battleships there. Thereupon, the Dominican Republic agreed to appoint an American as collector of its customs. Under this collector's efficient administration, revenues from customs were increased greatly. Out of these increased revenues, European creditors were paid their debts, which had been scaled down considerably. All in all, the Dominican Republic became more prosperous than it had been for a long time. To those who thought Roosevelt wanted to annex the Dominican Republic, he answered:

I have about the same desire to annex it as a gorged boa constrictor might have to swallow a porcupine wrong end-to.

Roosevelt also applied the "big stick" in exercising *international police power* to enforce the Roosevelt Corollary elsewhere in Latin America, on a few later occasions.

**President Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy' Is Designed More for Defense Than for Dollars.** If there were few European investments in Caribbean countries, European nations would have little excuse to intervene there. One way of reducing the number of such European investments would be to increase the number of American investments. So reasoned William Howard Taft, who, as we know, succeeded Roosevelt as President in 1909. Accordingly, Taft and his secretary of state, Philander Knox, urged American bankers and businessmen to invest and trade in Caribbean countries. They promised *armed intervention, if necessary, to protect such investments*. They also influenced Latin-American Governments to do their borrowing from Americans, rather than from Europeans. Critics of Taft contemptuously called this policy *dollar diplomacy*. They charged that its purpose was to enrich American capitalists by giving them a financial and business monopoly over the Caribbean.

It is true that Taft and the State Depart-

ment wanted to do all in their power to promote and protect American business in the Caribbean, as in the Far East and elsewhere. It is true, too, that many American bankers and businessmen profited from this so-called dollar diplomacy. But its main purpose was, like that of the Roosevelt Corollary, to prevent any European nation from having an excuse to intervene in Latin America to force collection of debts. Thus Taft's major aim, like Roosevelt's, was to eliminate any possible threat to the Panama Canal and to the shores of the United States.

In a sense, dollar diplomacy was a two-way street. The State Department and its diplomatic officials were promoting American banking and business abroad.<sup>1</sup> For their part, bankers and businessmen were helping to *strengthen American defense through their investments in strategic areas*.

**A Case Study of Dollar Diplomacy in Taft's Presidency.** Nicaraguan revolutionists, with the encouragement and financial backing of the United States, overthrew their brutal dictator, José Zelaya, in 1909. Zelaya had shown hostility toward American investors in Nicaragua and had borrowed large sums from Europe. Worse than this, it looked as though he might be willing to sell to Britain or Japan the right to build a canal through his country.

But the United States did not immediately recognize the new Government. It insisted first that Nicaragua borrow from American bankers to pay off a big debt owed to Europeans. An American official was appointed in 1911 to handle Nicaragua's finances. He was instructed to eliminate graft and to prevent the money from falling into the hands of *would-be revolutionists*. Taft hoped to make Nicaragua politically and financially sound and to prevent revolution and foreign intervention. But revolution broke out anyway against Nicaragua's new president.

<sup>1</sup> Of course, the Government of the United States, like other Governments, has always tried to promote business abroad. Thus this aspect of dollar diplomacy was nothing new.

American lives and property were endangered. The United States then sent in marines to suppress the revolution and restore order. Some of the marines were kept in the country until 1925. Almost as soon as they were withdrawn, another revolution broke out (page 717). Again marines were sent in. This time, they stayed until 1933. In Taft's Presidency, dollar diplomacy was also practiced in another Central American country, Honduras, and in the Caribbean countries of Haiti, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic.

**President Wilson Condemns Dollar Diplomacy, But Finds Himself Compelled to Practice It, Too.** President Woodrow Wilson believed that it was no function of the United States Government to try to promote business for American businessmen abroad. Yet this strong critic of dollar diplomacy soon found himself intervening in Latin America, too. Why? One year after Wilson succeeded Taft as President, in 1914, World War I broke out. This was also the year in which the Panama Canal was opened to shipping. There was fear in Washington that Germany, one of the warring nations, might establish a submarine base in one of the Caribbean islands. This would be too close to the Canal for comfort.

Other aims of Wilson's intervention in Latin-American countries were to prevent revolutions and to promote democracy there. "I'm going to teach the South American republics to elect good men," announced the former schoolteacher. Furthermore, Wilson, like Roosevelt and Taft, intervened in Latin America to prevent Europeans from doing so. Haiti and the Dominican Republic were so torn by revolutions that he, too, sent in marines and had American officials manage their finances. Both became protectorates of the United States.

**The United States Prevents Any Foreign Nation from Buying Canal Rights in Nicaragua by Buying Them Itself.** There had long been a fear in the United States that some foreign nation might build a canal through Nicaragua. This possibility of competition to the Panama Canal was eliminated by a

treaty with Nicaragua that was ratified by the United States Senate in 1916. This *Bryan-Chamorro Treaty* granted the United States the sole and perpetual right to build such a canal. For this right and certain others in the treaty, the United States paid \$3 million. Since the Nicaraguan Government owed money to American bankers, much of the sum went to them. Immediately, the cry arose that the Wilson Administration's Nicaraguan transaction was just another instance of dollar diplomacy.

**The Virgin Islands Are Purchased for the Panama Canal's Protection.** During World War I, there was fear that Germany would annex Denmark and thus claim the Virgin Islands, which belonged to Denmark. To prevent this from happening, the United States purchased these West Indies islands from Denmark in 1917. The sum paid was \$25 million, far more than these poverty-stricken islands were worth at the time. But the Wilson Administration was satisfied in having obtained additional bases for the protection of the Panama Canal.

**Wilson's Efforts to Promote Democracy in Mexico Almost Lead to a Second Mexican War.** For a third of a century, beginning in 1877, a dictator, Porfirio Díaz, ruled Mexico with an iron hand. Foreign capitalists were invited to invest in Mexico's mines, oil wells, and railroads. They, Mexico's upper classes, and Díaz waxed rich under his rule. But the great mass of Mexicans were poverty-stricken peasants, called *peons*. Peons owned no land. They worked almost like serfs on the big estates of aristocrats.

**The Democratic Madero Is Assassinated by the Would-be Dictator Huerta.** In 1911, peons hungry for land, intellectuals desiring freedom, and patriots who wanted Mexico's natural resources for Mexicans and not for foreigners combined in a successful revolution to overthrow Díaz. However, the revolutionary leader, the democratically minded Francisco Madero, who became president, was soon assassinated. His assassin, General Victoriano Huerta, then made himself president. The dictatorially minded Huerta had

the backing of Mexico's upper classes and of many foreign investors.

**Nonrecognition and Watchful Waiting Are Wilson's Policies Toward Dictator Huerta.** The idealistic Wilson was horrified by Madero's assassination. He knew, too, that Huerta was not the people's choice. Therefore, he refused to recognize the Mexican Government, which he called "a government of butchers." Most other nations recognized the Mexican Government quickly.

Wilson's nonrecognition policy was unusual. It had been a custom for Presidents to recognize Governments able to maintain themselves in power, no matter how they got into power. An important reason for this custom had been that otherwise the United States would have had the difficult problem of deciding which Governments were morally good and which were not.

Besides not recognizing the Huerta regime, Wilson promised not to intervene in Mexico's internal affairs. Instead, he planned to watch and wait until the Mexican people threw out Huerta, as they had thrown out Díaz. This policy, called *watchful waiting*, did not please most Americans with investments in Mexico. They, like foreign investors of other countries in Mexico, believed that the iron-fisted Huerta would maintain order, protect their investments, and give them an opportunity to invest more.

As time passed, because of Wilson's non-recognition policy, anti-American feeling on the part of Huerta and his supporters mounted. Some Americans were killed.

**Wilson Adopts Some Stronger Measures Toward Huerta.** Actually, Wilson did more than merely wait watchfully. He permitted United States companies to ship arms to Huerta's competitors for power, Venustiano Carranza and Pancho Villa. He also persuaded the British to drop their strong backing of Huerta. The British had backed Huerta because he had promised to back their oil investments.

**Huerta Refuses to Salute the American Flag, After the Tampico Incident.** Then an incident occurred that got the United States

even more deeply involved in the internal affairs of Mexico. Wilson wanted to prevent European military supplies from reaching Huerta. He therefore ordered American ships to be stationed off Mexican harbors in the Gulf of Mexico. In the harbor of Tampico, a small group of American sailors, who had gone ashore to buy supplies, were arrested. A high Mexican official apologized and quickly released the sailors. But this did not satisfy the admiral in command of the American fleet. He demanded:

... formal disavowal of and apology for the act, . . . that the officer responsible for it will receive severe punishment. [Also] that you [the Mexican commander] publicly hoist the American flag in a prominent position on shore and salute it with twenty-one guns . . .

Huerta expressed his regret for the *Tampico incident*. But he refused to salute the United States flag. In effect, he asked: How can the United States ask a Government that it does not even recognize to salute the American flag?

**Huerta's Refusal Results in Sterner Wilson Measures.** Wilson then asked the Congress for authority to use armed forces to obtain from Huerta "the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States." He maintained that the United States was not hostile to the Mexican people, but to Huerta. As the Congress was discussing this request, a German ship with military supplies for Huerta was approaching the Mexican harbor of Vera Cruz. Wilson feared that if friction increased, these supplies might be used to kill American armed forces. He therefore ordered the United States Navy to occupy the harbor so that the German supplies could not be delivered. In the successful effort to take Vera Cruz, a few Americans—but many more Mexicans—were killed. Now, even many Mexicans who had opposed Huerta rallied to his side. Now, millions of Americans were ready for a second war with Mexico.

**Huerta Flees, as the ABC Powers Mediate the Mexican-American Dispute.** A war might

have broken out had it not been for Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (called the *ABC powers*), who offered to mediate the dispute. Wilson, who didn't want war, was only too happy to accept. While the ABC Conference was meeting, in the summer of 1914, Huerta fled Mexico. The growing strength of his rivals, backed by munitions mainly from the United States, helps to explain why. The new Mexican Government under Carranza was recognized by the United States.

***America's Recognition of Carranza Antagonizes Villa.*** Pancho Villa wanted to be president himself. Not only did his rebel army attack Carranza's army but it killed Americans in Mexico and across the border in Texas and New Mexico. In 1916, American General John J. Pershing led his cavalry into Mexico with orders to capture Villa. The expedition failed. And it made Mexican-American relations even worse. To many Mexicans, Pershing's expedition seemed an invasion of their country. In 1917, Pershing's forces were withdrawn.

**How Successful Was Wilson's Mexican Policy?** Thus Wilson failed in his effort to get a government in Mexico that would rest upon the consent of the governed. In fact, he antagonized many Mexicans, even though his purpose was to promote democracy there. Friction continued to exist between the United States and Mexico even after Wilson's Presidency (page 717). But, as we shall see, the two nations in time became good neighbors. In time, too, the Mexican Government came to rest upon the consent of the governed.

To Wilson's credit, he turned down the demand of those angry Americans who wanted the United States to march in and take over part or all of Mexico. He avoided a war when it would have been very easy to get into one. Instead, by accepting the mediation of the ABC powers, he was really accepting a point of view long held by Latin-American countries. This was that disputes in the Western Hemisphere should be settled not by the United States alone, using the big-stick policy, but by consultation among

Latin-American countries and the United States.

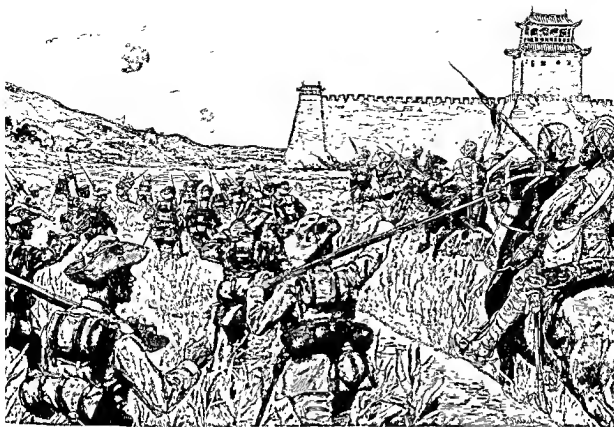
**The Roosevelt Corollary Ceases to Be Part of American Foreign Policy.** Wilson, like Roosevelt and Taft, had used the Roosevelt Corollary and practiced dollar diplomacy in the Caribbean. Certain later Presidents were to do likewise. By 1927, the United States had intervened in every one of the Caribbean and Central American countries, except Costa Rica. Thus the Caribbean began to be called "an American lake."

In many of these countries, the United States built schools and roads, improved sanitation, and stabilized finances. Yet these interventions got the United States seriously entangled in Latin-American affairs. Nor did they make many friends for the United States in Latin America. Many Americans came to feel that whatever usefulness the Roosevelt Corollary had had it had outlived. Finally, in 1930, the United States announced that the Roosevelt Corollary was no longer a part of American foreign policy. And, by 1934, all United States Marines had been withdrawn from the Caribbean and Central American countries.

## **The United States Promotes An 'Open Door' Policy in China**

"Drive out the foreign devils!" So shouting, they killed more than 200 foreigners. The year was 1900; the place was China. The killers were members of a secret patriotic anti-foreign organization, nicknamed the *Boxers*. This nationalistic uprising, called the *Boxer Rebellion*, was crushed by an international army made up of Japanese, European, and American soldiers.

**Why the Boxers Were So Bitter at Foreigners.** Back in the 1840's, Britain had annexed China's island of Hong Kong and forced China to open several of its ports to trade. Soon other industrialized nations were competing with Britain for special privileges in China. What attracted them were the millions of possible Chinese customers, cheap



*An international army on its way to rescue the foreigners besieged by the Boxers in the Boxer Rebellion. John Hay stressed to the other powers participating in the international army that their goal was to suppress a rebellious group, not to make war on China. Why did he do so?*

labor, and China's coal, iron, and other minerals.

Then, in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, little Japan defeated big China. Thus, recently industrialized and modernized Japan exposed the weakness of underdeveloped and backward China to the world. Only a few years before, the European powers had carved up Africa. Now these imperialistic powers saw in China's weakness an opportunity to enlarge their empires still more.

Soon thirteen of China's eighteen provinces had become spheres of influence of various powers. By seizing a sphere of influence in an area, a powerful country gained practically complete control over its harbors, natural resources, trade, the development of its

railroads, and other economic concessions. It often gained control over its Government, too.

**How the United States Got Drawn into China's Troubles.** These developments deeply troubled the United States. After acquiring the Philippines and Hawaii in 1898, the United States had expected them to be steppingstones to increased trade with China. But now the United States feared that the powers with spheres of influence would slam the door to China's trade in its face. An especially strong power there might even try to seize the Philippines.

**The 'Open Door' Policy That Hay Proposed for China.** The United States might, of course, have seized spheres of influence, too,

or, if necessary, have gone to war to open China's door. But the United States did not want to do either. Instead, to keep China's door open, Secretary of State John Hay, in 1899, sent a well-thought-out letter to each of the powers involved in China. In effect, he asked each: Within your sphere of influence will you promise (1) not to interfere with the trading or other economic rights of the citizens of other nations, and (2) not to discriminate against them with respect to railroad rates, tariff duties, or harbor dues?

To say "No" to this plea for an *Open Door policy*<sup>1</sup> would have stamped a nation as greedily imperialistic. Thus most agreed to say "Yes," if the others did. Hay interpreted this as approval and announced that the Open Door policy was now in effect in China.

**Hay's Diplomacy Helps Put a Temporary Halt to Further Carving Up of China.** Hay feared that the foreign nations in China might use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to carve out more spheres of influence there. So he sent another letter to these nations, asking them not to seize any more territory from China. He asked them also to "safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire," and not just with their spheres of influence. Hay persuaded these nations to accept an *indemnity* (a sum of money for damages), instead of Chinese territory, in compensation for the Boxer Rebellion. The United States' share of the indemnity was felt to be more than was needed to compensate Americans for damages suffered. Half of the money was returned to China, where it was used to provide scholarships for Chinese students to study in the United States.

Hay's letters and the return of part of the indemnity promoted fairly friendly feeling

in China toward the United States. Many Chinese leaders felt Hay's diplomacy was largely responsible for preventing China from being completely carved up into spheres of influence. Yet events were to indicate that certain powers did not take the Open Door policy too seriously.

**The Russo-Japanese War: Russia and Japan Fight Over Closing the Open Door in Manchuria and Korea.** Without declaring war, Japan, early in 1904, delivered a sneak attack on the Russian fleet anchored in Port Arthur, Manchuria. A declared Russo-Japanese War followed. To the surprise of the world, little Japan won victory after victory over big Russia.

Russo-Japanese rivalry over Korea, nominally independent, and the Chinese province of Manchuria had been the main cause of this war. Japan had felt confident that it could win the war. An important reason for Japan's confidence was the treaty of alliance it had signed with Britain in 1902. In this treaty, each had promised to come to the other's aid in the event of attack by more than one power. This alliance seemed logical: Russia was Britain's main rival in the Middle East and Japan's main rival in the Far East.

**America's Sympathies in the Russo-Japanese War Shift.** At the outbreak of the war, it seemed to many Americans as though Russia was the big bully and Japan the little underdog. They disliked Russia for its autocratic Government and for its persecution of such peoples under its flag as Poles, Finns, and Jews. Furthermore, Russia seemingly had made the first attempt to close the Open Door in Manchuria.

But Japan's continued victories troubled President Roosevelt and many other Americans. Just as they were once afraid that Russia might upset the balance of power in the Far East, now they were afraid that Japan would.

**Roosevelt's Mediation Brings About the Treaty of Portsmouth.** As the war progressed, Japan's finances and other resources began to give out. It then asked President Roosevelt to act as a mediator in bringing an end to the

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<sup>1</sup> In 1897, Britain had asked the United States to join with it in promoting an Open Door policy in China. Britain had the largest volume of trade in the Far East. It feared that if the other powers closed the doors to their spheres of influence, that trade would suffer. But the United States preferred, in keeping with its tradition, to act on its own.

war. Russia was glad to have the war mediated, because a revolution had broken out against the czar's Government in 1905. Furthermore, the war had almost bankrupted Russia, too. Roosevelt agreed to mediate. But first he asked for and got Japan's promise to maintain the Open Door in Manchuria and restore that province to China.

Through Roosevelt's mediation, a treaty of peace was signed by Russia and Japan at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1905. By the *Treaty of Portsmouth*, Russia was forced to give up to Japan the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, its concessions in Korea, and its lease on Port Arthur. Both nations agreed to leave Manchuria to the Chinese to govern.

However, Russia was angry with the United States for opposing it in Manchuria while giving Japan its own way in Korea. Japan was angry, too, because the huge indemnity it had demanded from Russia had been opposed by the United States and omitted in the treaty. Roosevelt's work in promoting peace won him the Nobel peace prize.

**The Open Door Is Threatened as a Result of the Russo-Japanese War.** Beware the "yellow peril" warned the American yellow press after the Russo-Japanese War. Thus did such newspapers fan the hatred that many Americans felt for Japan at this time.

**Why American Resentment Against Japan Increased.** Japan had shown so much strength during the war that Americans no longer looked upon it sympathetically as a little underdog. Instead, like Roosevelt, they viewed it as a cocky, militaristic nation with designs on the Philippines. Furthermore, after the war, Japan was making efforts to dominate South Manchuria. Such efforts, of course, were a violation of Japan's promise to uphold the Open Door and respect the territorial integrity of China.

After the war, also, many former Japanese soldiers migrated to the West Coast of the United States, joining other Japanese who had been coming since 1900. By 1906, there were 75,000 Japanese in the Pacific Coast

states. Many of these were industrious, efficient, and ambitious fruit farmers, who competed with native Americans in selling their products and in buying up land. Many Japanese, willing to accept low wages, competed with native Americans for jobs. Racial hatred resulted. As earlier the cry "The Chinese must go" had been heard, so now the cry was "The Japanese must go!"

**Roosevelt Tries to End Japanese Segregation in Schools and to Curb Japanese Immigration.** Beginning in October, 1906, San Francisco segregated Japanese children from American children in its public schools. To Japan, this was highly insulting. Japan's own yellow press began talking war. To President Roosevelt, the discrimination against the proud Japanese was both improper and dangerous. If war broke out, he felt, the Philippines would be threatened, and so would the Open Door in China.

Roosevelt persuaded San Francisco to end its segregation. In return, he promised to do all he could to curb Japanese immigration. He worked out an agreement with Japan (called the *Gentlemen's Agreement*) whereby Japan agreed to stop the emigration of Japanese laborers to the United States. Japan agreed to do this in exchange for the United States' promise not to pass an official Japanese Exclusion Act. Such an act the Japanese would have considered humiliating.

**Anti-Japanese Feeling Persists, Despite the Gentlemen's Agreement.** The Gentlemen's Agreement did not put a stop to the bitter anti-Japanese feeling on the Pacific Coast. A law was soon passed in California, and later in other Western states, making it illegal for Japanese, and Chinese, too, to buy land.

The Gentlemen's Agreement was fairly well enforced by Japan. Nevertheless, in 1924, the Congress passed a law in which the agreement was canceled. Under this law, all Asian immigration was barred entirely (page 704).

**Roosevelt Swings the 'Big Stick' with Battleships and Promotes Peace.** "I have nothing but the friendliest intentions toward them [the Japanese], but I am . . . anxious that



Japan owned railroads in Manchuria. Taft and Knox proposed that American and certain European bankers lend enough money to China to enable it to buy these railroads. Thus, it was hoped, China might regain control of Manchuria.

**Taft's Dollar Diplomacy Fails to Open China's Door Wider.** But earlier, in 1907, Russia and Japan had agreed that Russia would have north Manchuria as a sphere of influence, and Japan south Manchuria. The Taft-Knox plan brought these recent enemies closer together. They joined in rejecting it. They even secretly agreed on "common action" to defend their spheres of influence.

The Taft-Knox dollar diplomacy in the Far East boomeranged in other ways. Taft and Knox had hoped for British support for their plan. But Britain, because of increasing friction with Germany, was drawing closer and closer to Japan and Russia. Even the American bankers turned on Taft. They complained that they were being used as tools in a foreign policy that might more likely lead to war than to profits.

**Wilson Finds Maintaining the Open Door Policy No Easy Matter.** China became a republic when the Manchu dynasty was finally overthrown in 1912. Wilson, when he became President in 1913, immediately showed his sympathy with the Chinese. The United States became the first nation to extend formal recognition to the Chinese Republic.

**Wilson Shifts from Opposition to, to Support of, Dollar Diplomacy in China.** Wilson did not want to see the bankers of any country, even American bankers, using loans to China as an excuse to interfere with China's independence. Later, however, he urged American bankers to make loans to the Chinese Government. What changed his mind? He saw that Japan, through its many loans, was getting more and more control over China. This he wanted to prevent.

**Japan Tries to Slam the Open Door and to Make China Its Protectorate.** When World War I broke out in 1914, Japan joined Britain, France, Russia, and other allies against Germany and its allies. Japan immediately seized

Germany's islands in the Pacific and took over Germany's economic and political privileges in the Shantung peninsula.

Next, in 1915, Japan took a drastic step intended to slam the Open Door shut and make China Japan's protectorate. This step showed complete contempt for the Root-Takahira Agreement. It was a Japanese ultimatum that made *Twenty-one Demands* on China. The ultimatum demanded that China grant Japan great economic, political, and military privileges in China. Among these privileges was the exclusive right to colonize and exploit Manchuria and Mongolia. The ultimatum also forbade China to grant any more territorial concessions to any power other than Japan. In issuing the Twenty-one Demands, Japan was taking advantage of the fact that the other powers with spheres of influence in China were busy fighting in Europe.

President Wilson strongly protested this shameless imperialism. As a result, Japan withdrew some of its demands.

**The United States Recognizes Japan's 'Special Interests' in China.** On several past occasions, the United States and Japan had agreed on upholding the Open Door policy in China and respecting its territorial integrity. In 1917, in the *Lansing-Ishii Agreement*, they repeated this oft-repeated pledge. But in this agreement, the Wilson Administration also recognized that because of Japan's nearness to China, it had "special interests" there. In Japan, this "special interests" clause met with applause; in China, with sorrow; and in the United States, where people had always had a friendly feeling for China, with shock. To the Chinese, it indicated "a withdrawal of the American Government, in favor of Japan, from any desire to exercise any influence in Chinese affairs."

But the United States was now in World War I as Japan's ally. The Wilson Administration was determined "to move cautiously lest Japan be antagonized against the United States and be more severe with China."

**A Look Ahead at Later Efforts to Keep China's Door Open.** The efforts of Japan to

turn China into its private preserve did not end with World War I. Nor did the efforts of the United States to prevent this from happening.<sup>1</sup> In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria. In 1941, without declaring war, it bombed Pearl Harbor, the American naval base in Hawaii. This attack was Japan's way of warning the United States that it intended to keep the Open Door closed forever. But Japan was badly defeated in World War II.

Now, at long last, thought the United States, China's door would be open wide and on equal terms to all nations.

To America's utter dismay, however, Chinese Communists, in 1949, conquered China. Not wishing to build up the strength of this Communist Government, the United States refused to permit American citizens to trade with it, and discouraged other nations from doing so. Thus the United States, which had tried so hard so long to keep China's door open, felt compelled to act as if it were closed.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the Washington Conference of 1921-1922, page 692

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 26

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Alfred T. Mahan	Jones Act of 1916	Philippe Bunau-Varilla	nonrecognition policy
Valeriano Weyler	Tydings-McDuffie Act	Hay-Herrán Treaty	watchful waiting
concentration camps	Commonwealth of Puerto Rico	Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty	Pancho Villa
De Lôme letter	Luis Muñoz Marín	"big-stick" policy	Tampico incident
battleship <i>Maine</i>	Operation Bootstrap	George Goethals	ABC powers
Teller Amendment	the Klondike	Venezuelan debt controversy	John J. Pershing
jingoes	Carlos Finlay	Drago Doctrine	Boxer Rebellion
George Dewey	Walter Reed	Roosevelt Corollary	John Hay
Rough Riders	Leonard Wood	international police power	Open Door Policy
San Juan Hill	William C. Corgas	dollar diplomacy	Treaty of Portsmouth
Pascual Cervera	Platt Amendment	Bryan-Chamorro Treaty	Gentlemen's Agreement
Nelson Miles	battleship <i>Oregon</i>	Porfirio Díaz	Root-Takahira Agreement
Emilio Aguinaldo	Clayton-Bulwer Treaty	Francisco Madero	Twenty-one Demands
Treaty of Paris of 1898	Hay-Pauncefote Treaty	Victoriano Huerta	Lansing-Ishii Agreement
protectorate	Ferdinand de Lesseps		
Insular Cases			

★ **Questions to Test**  
**Basic Information**

1. Show how American expansionism was influenced by (a) the ideas of Captain Mahan, (b) the supporters of an inter-oceanic canal, (c) certain businessmen, (d) certain labor leaders, and (e) certain missionaries.
2. Sum up the causes of (a) the Cuban revolution against Spain and (b) the Spanish-American War.
3. Connect with the causes of the Spanish-American War (a) Hearst and Pulitzer, (b) Weyler, (c) McKinley, (d) Roosevelt, and (e) De Lôme.
4. For what reasons was the preparation of the United States for the Spanish-American War severely criticized?
5. Trace the highlights of the Spanish-American War on (a) land and (b) sea.
6. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Paris signed in 1898?
7. Give the arguments of those who (a) favored and (b) opposed acquiring Spanish territory in 1898.
8. What was the reaction to America's victory in the Spanish-American War of (a) Britain, (b) Japan and Germany, and (c) Latin-American nations?
9. How did victory in the Spanish-American War affect (a) America's traditional isolationism, (b) the United States Navy, (c) the United States Army, (d) health in Cuba, and (e) Supreme Court decisions on the Constitution?
10. Trace the highlights in the Philippines' progress toward independence.
11. What (a) political, (b) economic, and (c) social contributions did the United States make to the Philippines?
12. How did (a) political, (b) economic, and (c) military considerations influence the United States to grant independence to the Philippines?
13. Describe the (a) commonwealth relationship of Puerto Rico to the United States and (b) differing attitudes toward it.
14. Sum up the various ways (a) in which the United States has helped Puerto Rico and (b) in which Puerto Ricans have helped (1) themselves and (2) the United States.
15. Trace the progress of (a) Alaska and (b) Hawaii toward statehood.
16. With respect to both Alaska and Hawaii, tell about their (a) size, (b) peoples, (c) strategic location, (d) natural resources, (e) attractions, and (f) problems.
17. Describe the (a) political and (b) economic relationship between Cuba and the United States while Cuba was a protectorate of the United States under the Platt Amendment.
18. Concerning an isthmian canal, tell (a) reasons why the United States wanted one, (b) obstacles in the way of one, and (c) how these obstacles were overcome.
19. Connect with the story of the Panama Canal (a) Ferdinand de Lesseps, (b) Philippe Bunau-Varilla, (c) Tomás Herrán, (d) Theodore Roosevelt, (e) William C. Gorgas, and (f) George Goethals.
20. Give the (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) results of the Venezuelan debt controversy.
21. Show how the Roosevelt Corollary was applied in the (a) Venezuelan debt controversy and (b) the Dominican Republic.
22. Tell (a) why and (b) under what circumstances the Taft and Wilson Administrations practiced dollar diplomacy.
23. Give the reasons why the United States (a) signed the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty and (b) purchased the Virgin Islands.
24. Sum up the (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) results of our troubles with Mexico during Wilson's administration.
25. Name five individuals involved in the Mexican-American dispute during Wilson's administration and describe the role played by each.
26. Associate with America's interest in China (a) the Boxer Rebellion, (b) the

Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, (c) Britain's trade there, (d) the acquisition of the Philippines and Hawaii, and (e) John Hay.

27. Concerning the Russo-Japanese War, describe (a) the reactions of Americans to it, (b) the role of Theodore Roosevelt in it, and (c) the reactions of Russia and Japan to Roosevelt's role.
28. Connect with Japanese-American relations in the first half of the twentieth century (a) the Gentlemen's Agreement, (b) the Root-Takahira Agreement, (c) Taft-Knox-Wilson dollar diplomacy, (d) the Twenty-one Demands, (e) the Lansing Ishii Agreement, (f) the Washington Conference of 1921-1922, and (g) the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What do you think was the most important reason for the shift in the United States from isolationism to increasing expansionism? Give reasons for your choice.
2. Do you think the ideas of Mahan would be valid today? Justify your answer.
3. What steps might Spain have taken to avoid the Cuban revolution? Explain fully.
4. "It has been a splendid little war; begun with the highest motives, carried on with magnificent intelligence and spirit, favored by that special Fortune which loves the brave." Comment on each phrase in these sentiments on the Spanish-American War expressed by John Hay.
5. What lessons might Americans today learn from a study of the causes of the Spanish-American War?
6. What is your reaction to each of McKinley's expressed thoughts as he debated with himself on the annexation of the Philippines?
7. If you had been a member of the Congress, would you have favored or opposed the annexation of the Philippines? Give reasons.
8. What do you consider the most significant result of the Spanish-American War? Give reasons.
9. "America's show window of democracy" is what some Americans have called the Philippines. For what reasons do you think some Filipinos resent this description? Do you think their resentment is justified? Explain.
10. Suppose that Puerto Rico had received its independence immediately after the Spanish-American War. In what ways might its history have been affected?
11. What aspects of the Puerto Rican progress story do you think the world's underdeveloped areas would be wise in emulating? What obstacles might stand in their way? Explain.
12. In what ways is the statehood of Alaska and Hawaii beneficial both to the people of these two states and to the people of all the states?
13. Do you believe that the people of Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico should try to preserve as much of their native culture as possible or should try to become as much like people in the rest of the United States as possible? Explain fully.
14. Suppose that Cuba's relationship to the United States since 1898 had been similar to Puerto Rico's. What effects might this have had on (a) Cuba and (b) the United States?
15. Strong emotions have been aroused in both (a) Latin America and (b) the United States over events involved in the Panama Canal story. For what reasons in each case?
16. For what reasons do you think Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean policies have been (a) praised and (b) criticized?
17. Explain whether you would have supported or opposed Taft's dollar diplomacy.
18. The term "missionary diplomacy" has been applied to Wilson's policies toward Latin America. To what extent do you

- think this is an accurate description? Explain fully.
19. Explain whether you (a) approve or (b) disapprove of Wilson's Mexican policies. Give specific reasons.
  20. Do you believe that (a) the recommendation of the Open Door policy and (b) its violation were both inevitable? Explain fully.
  21. What steps do you think the United States might have taken in the early twentieth century to avoid arousing Japanese hostility? Explain fully whether you would have approved or disapproved of such steps.
  22. Give your reactions to (a) the canceling of the Gentlemen's Agreement, (b) Roosevelt's sending of the fleet around the world, (c) the Twenty-one Demands, and (d) Wilson's recognition in the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of Japan's "special interests" in China.

★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check Presidents (a) McKinley, (b) Theodore Roosevelt, and (c) Taft. Consider both their domestic and foreign policies, and use as many sources of information as possible.
2. Compare the treatment of the Spanish-American War, the Panama Canal story, or any other topic dealt with in this chapter in any two of the foreign affairs books recommended on page xvi. Report on (a) areas of agreement and disagreement, (b) interesting anecdotes, and (c) apt quotations.
3. From *America in the World: Twentieth-Century History in Documents*, edited by O. T. Barck, Jr., read any document in the sections entitled "The Emergence of the United States as a World Power" or "The Panama Canal and Big-Stick Diplomacy." Indicate how your reading has (a) added to your knowledge or (b) affected your thinking.
4. Find out the views of at least one individual in each of the following two groups that disagreed on American territorial expansion: Group I—Reverend Josiah Strong, John W. Burgess, Alfred T. Mahan; Group II—George F. Hoar, Andrew Carnegie, William Jennings Bryan. Sum up your conclusions on the basic differences between the two groups.
5. Write an imaginary newspaper editorial on (a) any phase of the Spanish-American War, (b) the Philippine insurrection against the United States, (c) the achievements of Puerto Rico, (d) the Platt Amendment, (e) the Roosevelt Corollary, (f) Wilson's Mexican policies, or (g) the Twenty-one Demands.
6. On an outline map of the world, indicate (a) all places that played a significant role in the Spanish-American War or (b) the United States and its overseas territories as of 1917.
7. After careful research, debate: (a) That the "big-stick" policy was a mistake; (b) That the annexation of the Philippines was a mistake; (c) That Puerto Rico is better off as a commonwealth than it would be as a state of the United States; or (d) That the Panama Canal has outlived its usefulness.
8. From *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link, read Problem 15 on differing interpretations on American territorial expansion, or from Volume 2 of *American Past: Conflicting Interpretations of the Great Issues*, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown, read the sections on the Spanish-American War. Report on which conflicting interpretation has convinced you, giving reasons why.
9. Obtain current newspaper clippings on any three areas mentioned in this chapter. Report on why the problems or events discussed in the clippings are of concern to (a) these areas and (b) the United States.

10. In committee, prepare a bulletin board exhibit on (a) Cuba, (b) Puerto Rico, (c) the Philippines, (d) Alaska, or (e) Hawaii. Include a human-interest map of the area and information on its strategic importance, peoples, efforts to raise standards of living, current problems and leaders, cultural contributions, and an outline of the history of its changing relationship to the United States.
11. In committee, plan the sketches for a mural illustrating the highlights of this chapter.
12. Make up a series of slogans or cartoons expressing your views on (a) the "big-stick" policy, (b) the nonrecognition policy, and (c) the Open Door policy.
13. As a research project, find out (a) how Latin America in general reacted to the Latin-American policies of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson or (b) the reaction to the Open Door policy of (1) China, (2) Japan, or (3) any European power
14. From the *American Heritage* series, read either (a) "The Needless War with Spain" (February, 1957) or (b) "Fulton Captures Aquinaldo" (February, 1958). Select from the article interesting bits of information that might appeal to the writer of a popular newspaper column.

## RECOMMENDED READING FOR UNIT FIVE<sup>1</sup>

- Adams, B., *Hawaii, the Aloha State: Our Island Democracy in Text and Pictures* (Hill and Wang PB<sup>2</sup>).
- , *The Last Frontier: A Short History of Alaska* (Hill and Wang).
- Allen, F. L., *The Big Change* (Harper & Row, Bantam PB). Fascinating descriptions of the transformation of American life between 1900 and 1950.
- Baer, M. E., *Pandora's Box: The Story of Conservation* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).
- Barck, O. T., Jr., and N. M. Blake, *Since 1900: A History of the United States in Our Times* (Macmillan). A basic text.
- Beale, H. K., *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (Johns Hopkins University Press). Keen insights into foreign affairs 1900 to 1914.
- Bemis, S. F., *Latin American Policy of the United States* (Harcourt, Brace & World).
- , *The United States as a World Power. A Diplomatic History 1900-1950* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).
- Blum, J. M., *The Republican Roosevelt* (Harvard University Press). An interesting interpretation of Roosevelt's aims and policies.
- Borden, C. A., *Hawaii: Fiftieth State* (Macrae Smith). Deals with customs, geography, history, and problems.
- Bowen, C. B., *Yankee from Olympus* (Little, Brown; Bantam PB). About Justice Holmes.
- Bowers, C. G., *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Houghton Mifflin). The role of Senator Beveridge as a leader of the Progressive Party.
- Considine, R. B., *Panama Canal* (Random House). An easy-reading story of the hard task of building the Canal.
- Dulles, F. R., *America in the Pacific* (Houghton Mifflin).
- , *America's Rise to a World Power* (Harper & Row).
- Dunne, P. F., (Ellis, E., ed.), *Mr. Dooley at His Best* (Scribner). A wit comments on his times.
- Ellis, E., *Mr. Dooley's America* (Knopf).
- Fairbank, J. K., *United States and China* (Harvard University Press).
- Faulkner, H. U., *The Decline of Laissez*

<sup>1</sup> See also general bibliography on page xv.

<sup>2</sup> PB means paperback.

- Faire 1897-1917* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).
- , *The Quest for Social Justice 1898-1914* (Macmillan). Describes the steadily growing interest in reform.
- Fish, C. R., *The Path of Empire* (Yale University Press). How an author at the close of World War I saw America's history as a world power.
- Friedel, F., *The Splendid Little War* (Little, Brown). About the Spanish-American War, dramatically written and well-illustrated.
- Garraty, J. A., *Woodrow Wilson: A Great Life in Brief* (Knopf). A keen analysis of Wilson's virtues and faults.
- Goldman, E. F., *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (Knopf; Vintage PB).
- Gorgas, M. D., and B. J. Hendrick, *William Crawford Gorgas: His Life and Work* (Doubleday).
- Griswold, A. W., *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (Harcourt, Brace & World). Since the Spanish-American War.
- Gruber, R., *Puerto Rico: Island of Promise* (Hill and Wang PB).
- Hacker, L., and others, *The United States in the Twentieth Century* (Appleton-Century-Crofts).
- Hagedorn, H., *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill* (Macmillan).
- Hancock, R., *Puerto Rico: A Success Story* (Van Nostrand).
- Hanson, E. P., *Puerto Rico, Land of Wonders* (Knopf).
- Harbaugh, W. H., *Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (Farrar, Straus). Well-balanced and fast-moving.
- Hofstadter, R., *American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (Vintage PB). See chapters on Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.
- , *The Age of Reform* (Knopf; Vintage PB). See section on the progressive movement.
- Hoyt, E. P., *Jumbos and Jackasses: A Popular History of the Political Wars 1860-1960* (Doubleday). See especially election of 1912.
- Kennan, G. F., *American Diplomacy 1900-1950* (University of Chicago Press; Mentor PB).
- Latané, J. H., *America as a World Power 1897-1907* (Harper & Row).
- Link, A. S., *American Epoch* (Knopf). A basic text on the period since the 1890's.
- , *Wilson: The New Freedom* (Princeton University Press).
- , *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era 1910-1917* (Harper & Row).
- Lorant, S., T. R.: *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (Doubleday). A picture book enriched by a lively text.
- Lord, W., *The Good Years from 1900 to the First World War* (Harper & Row; Bantam PB). Dramatic events dramatically described.
- Michener, J. A., *Hawaii* (Random House; Bantam PB). The history of Hawaii in a novel written in smooth narrative style.
- Millis, W., *The Martial Spirit: A Study of Our War with Spain* (Houghton Mifflin). Somewhat satirical.
- Mowry, G. E., *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (University of Wisconsin Press; American Century PB).
- Norris, F., *The Octopus* (Bantam PB). A muckraking novel dealing with wheat farmers and railroads.
- , *The Pit* (Evergreen PB). A muckraking novel dealing with speculation in the Chicago wheat market.
- Ogg, F. A., *National Progress 1907-1917* (Harper & Row).
- Orth, S. P., *The Boss and the Machine* (Yale University Press).
- Perkins, D., *Hands Off: A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Little, Brown).
- Post, C. J., *The Little War of Private Post* (Little, Brown). A highly personalized account by a participant in the Spanish-American War.
- Pratt, J. W., *America's Colonial Experiment: How the United States Gained, Governed, and in Part Gave Away a Colonial Empire* (Prentice-Hall).

- , *Expansionists of 1898. The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Smith). Analyzes the imperialist spirit of the times
- Pringle, H F, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (Farrar, Straus) Highlights Taft's virtues.
- , *Theodore Roosevelt* (Harcourt, Brace & World, Harvest PB). Critical of Roosevelt
- Regier, C C., *The Era of Muckrakers* (Smith)
- Romulo, C P, *Mother America. A Living Story of Democracy* (Doubleday). About Philippine-American relations
- Sinclair, U, *The Jungle* (Harper & Row, New American Library PB) A muckraking novel about meat packing in Chicago.
- Stefansson, E., *Here Is Alaska* (Scribner) Its people, resources, and growth
- Steffens, L., *Autobiography* (Harcourt, Brace & World). The life of the famous reformer Highly readable
- , *The Shame of the Cities* (Sagamore Press; American Century PB). A journalistic exposure of corruption
- Stone, I., *Adversary in the House* (Doubleday) A novel about the American Socialist leader Eugene Debs.
- Sullivan, M., *Our Times* (Scribner). See Volume 3 on the progressives
- Vaughan, J B, *Land and People of the Philippines* (Lippincott).
- Wagenknecht, E. C., *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt* (Longmans, Green). "Action, thought, human relations, family, spiritual values, public affairs, and war and peace are the seven worlds."
- Wahworth, A., *Woodrow Wilson: American Prophet* (Longmans, Green).
- Wolf, L., *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippines at the Century's Turn* (Doubleday)
- Wood, L., *Walter Reed, Doctor in Uniform* (Messner).
- Young J H., *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America Before Federal Regulation* (Princeton University Press) Would be amusing if the stories told here were not so tragic.



# UNIT SIX

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## THE GREAT EXPERIMENT WEATHERS TWO GREAT WARS AND A GREAT DEPRESSION

**27**

The United States Tries to Stay  
Out of, But Gets Into, World War I

**28**

The United States Combines  
A Partial Return to Isolationism  
With Co-operation for Peace

**29**

What Life Was Like  
In the 'Golden Twenties'

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The United States Is Hard Hit  
In a World-wide Depression

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Franklin D. Roosevelt  
And the New Deal

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The Roosevelt Administration's  
Relations with Other Nations

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The United States Fights  
In World War II Around the World

## CHAPTER

# 27

### *The United States Tries to Stay Out of, But Gets Into, World War I*

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#### **The Causes of World War I**

- The Peace Movement Before America's Entry into World War I Fails
- Efforts of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson for Peace • Nationalistic, Imperialistic, and Militaristic Rivalries Develop • International Anarchy Inspires Rival Alliances • Many Crises Culminate in the Sarajevo Crisis

#### **The United States Tries to Stay Out of World War I**

- The United States Declares Neutrality • Britain and Germany Violate American Neutrality • Public Opinion Grows More Hostile to Germany • Wilson Protests Germany's Unrestricted Submarine Warfare • Germany Agrees to Modify Its Submarine Warfare • Wilson Is Re-elected in 1916, Aided by the Slogan "He Kept Us Out of War" • Germany Renews Unrestricted Submarine Warfare • The United States Declares War

#### **The United States in World War I**

- America's Entry Lifts Allied Morale • Mobilizing Men, Dollars, Materials, Transportation, Communication, Food, Fuel, Labor, and Public Opinion • Intense Intolerance Develops as Hate for the Enemy Grows • Important Roles Played by Civilians and Armed Forces • The Central Powers Go Down to Defeat • Shocking Costs of World War I
- 

*Sarajevo is a remote little village in the Balkans. There, one Sunday in June, 1914, two pistol shots were fired that were to send up in smoke the dreams of millions of peace lovers around the world. For these pistol shots were the immediate cause of World War I.*

From about the beginning of the twentieth

*century, many Americans had been aware that tensions among European nations were a threat to world peace. Nevertheless, Americans in general were stunned by the outbreak of this war. They could not believe that in this day and age, a war involving many nations and millions of men could actually come to pass. They were especially*

stunned because never before had the peace movement been so strong as between 1900 and 1914.

Let us see how strong the peace movement was just before World War I. Then, we will examine the fundamental causes of the war. Next, we will see why the pistol shots were the immediate cause of the war. Finally, we will study the part played by the United States in this war.

### **Some Examples of Efforts Made to Promote Peace**

Many of the evils of war had been recognized around the world from earliest times. From earliest times, too, religious and other idealistic groups and individuals had dedicated themselves to promoting peace. In the early nineteenth century, a passionate pacifist, William Ladd, condemned all wars, even defensive ones. This founder of the American Peace Society recommended a league of nations and a world court to settle disputes among nations. And another American, the brilliant, self-educated Elihu Burritt, called the world's first conference for peace at Brussels, Belgium, in 1848. In fact, in nineteenth-century Europe as well as America, peace groups had been especially active.

In the nineteenth century, too, many nations, notably the United States and Great Britain, had settled some of their disputes by arbitration. Moreover, between 1815 and 1914, although there had been local wars, there had been no widespread, general wars. Many optimists were predicting that war was on its way out.

**Why Many Were Optimistic About the Prospects for Peace Just Before World War I.** To "hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization"—this was the goal of Andrew Carnegie. To help achieve it, he established, in 1911, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with an endowment of \$10 million. Carnegie was convinced of the ultimate success of such efforts. Indeed, he told Carnegie En-

dowment officials that after war had been abolished, they should use the remaining funds to wipe out some other curse of mankind!

In more or less the same spirit, many millionaires, newspaper editors, labor leaders, clergymen, congressmen, and college presidents and professors, among others, threw themselves enthusiastically into the peace movement. They agreed that a modern war would be so costly and destructive that there would be no victors. Therefore, going to war would be stupid for any nation.

**Some Ways in Which Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson Worked for Peace.** Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson each signed many arbitration treaties with other nations. In an arbitration treaty, it is agreed that if disputes arise, they will be settled by a third party or group acting as a kind of umpire. As we have seen, it was Theodore Roosevelt who mediated the Russo-Japanese War. It was also he who called an international conference at Algeçiras, Spain, in 1906, to settle a dispute between France and Germany concerning domination over Morocco. Had it not been for this conference, World War I might have broken out then, instead of in 1914. Roosevelt's action, however, disturbed the United States Senate. It feared that the United States might thus be drawn deeper and deeper into European affairs, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

Before the entrance of the United States into World War I, President Wilson made an attempt at mediation. After its entrance, he drew up a set of peace aims, which included a League of Nations (page 685).

**The Hague Conferences Are Hampered by Mutual Distrust Among Nations.** How long can the world afford an armament race requiring the expenditure of huge sums on huge armies and navies? Why don't nations confer to bring about disarmament? It was in this spirit that an invitation was sent out to various nations by the Russian czar in 1899. Twenty-five nations, including the United States, responded by meeting at The Hague in the Netherlands.

Efforts of this *First Hague Conference* to limit armies and navies were wrecked by mutual suspicion among the attending nations. However, to make warfare less cruel, the conference did agree to ban the use of such weapons as poisonous gases and dum-dum bullets.<sup>1</sup> It also agreed on more humane treatment for prisoners and co-operation with the international Red Cross in wartime. Unfortunately, in the passions of war, some nations were to forget all about these promises.

The main accomplishment of the First Hague Conference was the establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration, known as the *Hague Tribunal*. The Hague Tribunal was not a court in the usual sense. Countries desiring to have disputes arbitrated might make their selection of judges from a list provided by the tribunal. Nations were not required to turn over their international disputes to this court. If they did, and they didn't like the decision, there was nothing to compel them to obey it. In spite of these limitations, the Hague Tribunal successfully settled many serious disputes.

A Second Hague Conference, called by the Russian czar and President Roosevelt, was held in 1907. It accomplished little.

Despite the fervor of these peace efforts, the most frightful war the world had yet known broke out in 1914. Indeed, even many of those who had previously preached peace caught the war fever.

## The Causes of World War I

**Nationalistic, Imperialistic, and Militaristic Rivalries Develop.** Superpatriots in certain European countries twisted history into propaganda to make their people feel superior to all others. Such fanatical nationalists ranted about their country's national honor and stirred up hatred of other nations.

This dangerous exaggerated nationalism developed in the nineteenth century and reached fever pitch in the early twentieth.

Some such nationalists felt that their country had a mission to annex neighboring areas, especially if they were inhabited by people whose language and culture were like theirs. Some nationalists were not fanatics. But in their efforts to get their people to break away from an empire that ruled them, they, too, helped to bring on World War I.

At this time, too, industrialized nations were competing feverishly with one another to acquire overseas colonies or concessions in backward areas. These, as we know, they wanted as sources of raw materials, as markets, and as fields for investment of capital. Such imperialistic rivalry, plus nationalistic rivalry, created an atmosphere of hatred, fear, and suspicion. Hatred, fear, and suspicion led to a race among nations to build big armies and navies. And big armies and navies aroused more hatred, fear, and suspicion. This stress on armaments gave high military officials far more influence on certain European Governments than high civilian officials. In such countries, the people as a whole became imbued with a warlike spirit. Thus, to nationalistic and imperialistic rivalry was added militaristic rivalry as a cause of World War I.

**International Anarchy Leads to a Search for Security in Rival Alliances.** Nations at this time had little faith in international law or in an international agency like the Hague Tribunal. There was no effective authority to which a nation might appeal when it felt itself the victim of aggression. In short, *international anarchy* prevailed. Groping for some guarantee of security, or perhaps hoping to strengthen themselves for an aggressive step, certain nations formed two great rival alliances.

**Reasons Why Certain Nations Joined One Alliance Rather Than the Other.** One of these alliances, the *Triple Alliance*, was made up of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. The other, the *Triple Entente*, was made up of Britain, France, and Russia.

<sup>1</sup> A dum-dum bullet is a hollow-nosed bullet that, on hitting a victim, expands to break bones and tear flesh. Few victims of dum-dum bullets survive.

For a long time, Britain, France, and Russia, because of their imperialistic rivalries, had been enemies. They had now agreed to join together because they were more fearful of the rising might of Germany than they were of one another. Since Germany's emergence as a united nation in 1871, it had become a serious industrial, commercial, and naval competitor of Britain. France, on the other hand, wanted revenge for its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. It yearned to recover the rich provinces of Alsace-Lorraine lost to Germany in 1871. Realizing that Germany had the most powerful army in Europe, France was glad to have Britain and Russia as allies.

Germany and Italy, latecomers in empire building, envied France, Britain, and Russia their richer empires. Germany and Austria-Hungary were supporting each other's expansion eastward through the Balkans. This conflicted with Russia's desire to control the Balkans and the straits leading from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean. It also threatened Britain's lifeline to India.

**Many Crises Precede the Sarajevo Crisis.** Time and again before 1914, crisis after crisis developed in North Africa and the Balkans. Members of both alliances hoped that the two groups of nations would be able to maintain a balance of power and thus prevent war. If war did come, of course, they wanted to be prepared. Thus their armies and navies nervously kept trigger fingers ready. But no widespread war resulted until a trigger finger set off the two shots in Sarajevo in August, 1914.

**The Sarajevo Crisis Unleashes a Chain Reaction That Brings Many Nations into World War I.** The shots at Sarajevo killed the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his wife. The assassin was a fanatical nationalist from Serbia (today part of Yugoslavia). What motivated his crime?

In the Austro-Hungarian Empire were subject peoples of many nationalities. Serbian nationalists wanted to get their fellow Slavs living there to unite with them to form

a Greater Serbia. Other Balkan nationalists hoped to do the same for their countries. This, of course, would mean the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austro-Hungarian opposition to a Greater Serbia helps to explain the assassination.

Austria-Hungary blamed the propaganda and plotting of Serbia for the assassination of the archduke. One month after the assassination, it sent harsh demands to Serbia. One of these Serbia refused to accept. Then, knowing that it had the backing of its ally Germany, Austria-Hungary declared war. The fateful date was July 28, 1914.

Immediately, the chain reaction among the nations of the rival alliances went into motion. Russia, foe of Austria and friend of Serbia, began to mobilize its army. Germany asked Russia to demobilize. Russia refused. Germany declared war on Russia, and then on Russia's ally France. Germany invaded France by way of Belgium. This was a violation of a pledge European nations had made to guarantee Belgium's neutrality. Britain, regarding a strong military power in control of its little neighbor, Belgium, as a pistol pointed at its own heart, declared war on Germany.

By 1918, the Triple Entente had been joined by twenty other nations, including Italy.<sup>1</sup> This group was known as the *Allies*. Opposing them were two members of the Triple Alliance, Germany and Austria-Hungary, plus Turkey and Bulgaria. This group was known as the *Central Powers*.

## **American Neutrality Proves Easier To Declare Than to Maintain**

Most Americans in 1914 had no notion of what the European war was all about. Most had never heard of Sarajevo or other places

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<sup>1</sup> Italy refused to join its partners in the Triple Alliance on the ground that they were fighting an offensive, not a defensive, war. Instead, it joined the Allies in 1915, when promised long-desired land inhabited by Italians under the Austrian flag.

in the war news. Most were pleased when President Wilson declared America's neutrality. Indeed, a popular tune of the day was "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier." But most found it difficult to *feel* neutral. Many tended to favor the countries from which they or their ancestors had emigrated. Maintaining neutrality became even more difficult as both Britain and Germany violated America's rights as a neutral.

#### **How Britain Violated American Neutrality.**

We are fighting for our lives. If, to win, we must violate what have been considered rights of neutrals, we must do so. In any case, the conditions in this war are so unusual that we think the whole question of neutral rights should be revised. This was the attitude of the British. Britain aimed to starve out Germany and to bring its war machine to a stop by depriving it of needed materials. Therefore, the British set up a blockade. This blockade violated international law because Britain failed to station enough ships at the ports of the enemy to prevent all ships from entering or leaving (page 168). The British blockade was so farflung that it virtually covered the high seas. It was enforced against neutrals as well as against the enemy.

Britain also violated international law by listing as contraband almost anything that might aid the enemy in any way, including food (page 168). Instead of searching neutral vessels on the high seas (page 198) for contraband, the British usually brought them into port and searched them there. This procedure angered American shippers. They argued that it wasted their time, caused perishable goods to spoil, cut into their profit, and often helped competing British merchant shippers. But the British argued that if they were to stop and search a big modern merchant vessel, a German submarine might come along and sink their vessel.

Many British ships seized American cargoes going to certain neutral European countries on the ground that their final destination was Germany. A somewhat similar practice had been used during the War Between the

States by the Union to prevent goods from going to the South. Sometimes British ships would disguise themselves as American by flying the American flag. Sometimes American mail going to a neutral nation or to Germany was seized and opened. The British justified this action on the ground that valuable information was thus going to Germany directly or indirectly. British interference with the freedom of the seas reminded Americans of similar British activity before the War of 1812.

The United States vigorously protested Britain's flagrant violation of its neutral rights. Britain continued its violations. Nevertheless, it was Germany, not Britain, on which the United States declared war. Let us see why.

**Why Public Opinion Grew More and More Sympathetic to the Allies.** "You, Mr. President, and I have been called upon to superintend the destinies of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race . . ."<sup>1</sup> This remark was made by King Edward VII of Britain to President Roosevelt in 1905.

**Common Origins and Traditions.** In a sense, the king was reminding the President of how much the people of the British Isles and of the United States have in common. Common bonds explain why, from the start of World War I, the majority of Americans sympathized with the Allies. About half of the Americans in 1914 were of British ancestry. Democratic traditions, legal institutions, the English language, much culture, and many customs—all are part of a common heritage shared by Britons and Americans.

**Many Influential Americans Are Pro-British.** President Wilson, who was of British origin, had great respect for British culture, British democracy, and the British way of life. His secretary of state, Robert Lansing,

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<sup>1</sup> The king was misusing the word "race." Mankind has been classified into races according to certain inherited physical characteristics. People often use the word "race" when they mean national origin, religion, or language.

who succeeded Bryan in 1915, said in that same year:

... Germany must not be permitted to win this war. . . . American public opinion must be prepared for the time . . . when we will have to cast aside our neutrality and become one of the champions of democracy.

Many prominent Americans felt that if Germany were to defeat Britain, the United States would be attacked next. Among these individuals were Colonel Edward M. House, President Wilson's closest adviser, ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, and Ambassador to Britain Walter Hines Page.

*Some Pre-War British Efforts to Woo the United States.* For a number of years before King Edward's statement, Britain had tried hard to win America's friendship. It had yielded to Cleveland in the Venezuelan boundary dispute. It had co-operated with the United States on the Open Door policy in China. By canceling the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, it had given the United States the "go-ahead" signal to build the Panama Canal. One year after the king made his statement,

*A 1915 cartoon entitled "Our Nursery Days." Why did this American cartoon drawn during World War I please the French?*



the British had pulled their fleet out of the Caribbean. While the British fleet patrolled the Atlantic, much of the American fleet was free to patrol the Pacific. This suited Britain, which was concerned about Germany's rising naval might. It also suited the United States, which was concerned about possible Japanese aggression.

*Sentimental Ties to France Are Strong.* Many Americans could not forget that Britain's ally France had been America's ally in the American Revolution. Furthermore, Americans had great respect for French culture. Many of the wealthy regularly spent their vacations in France.

*Economic Ties Increase Sympathy for the Allies.* At the start of the war, the United States, as a neutral, exported food, munitions, and other supplies to both sides. But soon British war vessels drove most of Germany's merchant vessels off the high seas. Then United States exports to Germany practically stopped. But United States exports to the Allies boomed.

This boom in business with the Allies took the United States out of a business depression. American businessmen, workers, farmers, and bankers all prospered. Bankers prospered from the commissions they received for floating loans in the United States for the Allies. Secretary of State Bryan had discouraged American bankers from floating Allied loans. In his opinion, such loans were "inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality." But his successor, Lansing, realized that without American loans, the Allies would not be able to buy war goods they desperately needed to defeat Germany. In that case, the American boom might wind up a bust. If Germany won, the many Americans who had bought Allied bonds floated by American bankers might never see their money.

Also responsible for the growing sympathy for the Allies were the tactless words and rash actions of Germany.

*Why Public Opinion Grew More and More Hostile to Germany.* For a number of years before World War I, many Americans had looked upon Germany with suspicion. Much

to blame for this attitude was Wilhelm II, Germany's kaiser (emperor).

*The Kaiser Antagonizes Americans.* The kaiser had an unfortunate habit of making threatening statements about Germany's right to expand its empire. Convinced that he ruled by divine right, he frequently referred to the close association between himself and God.

*Germany Is Looked Upon as a Colonial, Naval, and Economic Competitor.* As we know, there had been some friction between the United States and Germany over Samoa and during the Venezuelan debt controversy. Germany had by this time become a powerful competitor of the United States—not only in overseas expansion but in acquiring world markets and in building a big navy.

Germany for some time had been hostile to the Monroe Doctrine, which was an obstacle to its ambition to expand in Latin America. The British fleet had long played an important part in backing the Doctrine. But if Germany should win the war and the British fleet was wiped out, might not Germany forcibly challenge the Monroe Doctrine? Such were the thoughts of some Americans.

*Invasion of Belgium and Sabotage in America Antagonize Americans.* Americans were shocked that mighty, militant Germany should invade little, almost defenseless Belgium, whose neutrality it had guaranteed. They were even more shocked when Germany's prime minister called the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality "a scrap of paper."

Blowing up American munitions factories and ships carrying cargoes for the Allies, and encouraging strikes were no ways for Germany or its allies to win American friends. But this is what agents of the Central Powers in America did.

*American Anger Zooms at the Zimmermann Note.* Alfred Zimmermann, Germany's foreign secretary, had sent a note to Germany's minister in Mexico. The British secret service, early in 1917, intercepted this note. The note indicated that war might break out

between the United States and Germany. If it did, the German minister was to try to get Mexico to declare war on the United States. As an inducement, he was to offer Mexico territory it had lost to the United States, including Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The note also suggested that Mexico urge Japan, one of the Allies, to switch its allegiance. Many Texans and other Southwesterners who, up to this time, had been more or less lukewarm about the war, were now furious at the Germans. So were many Americans on the West Coast who, for some time, had feared being overrun by Orientals.

*American Passions Reach Fever Pitch Over Germany's Unrestricted Submarine Warfare.* What infuriated Americans most of all, however, was Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare. Merchant vessels of both belligerents and neutrals were torpedoed without warning and without providing for the safety of passengers and crew. This violation of international law cost many American lives.

Germany also violated international law by violating America's rights as a neutral. It issued orders telling American ships when and where to sail.

*Allied Propagandists Are More Effective Than Those of the Central Powers.* Bayoneting Belgian babies was just one of the many atrocities Allied propagandists accused the Germans of committing. Most of the atrocity stories were either untrue or greatly exaggerated. But in general, the American people tended to believe such stories and to regard stories of Allied atrocities as lies.

Britain controlled the Atlantic cables. Thus it could censor most of the news coming from Europe. And the British blockade made it difficult, if not impossible, for German ships to get to the United States with German propaganda.

British propaganda did not so much make public opinion as clinch it. It clinched the American picture of the German Government as a ruthless, aggressive, militaristic autocracy intent on world conquest. It clinched, too, the American picture of Allied Govern-





A 1917 cartoon entitled "On the Eve of War." In a period such as 1914–1917, is it preferable to have in the Presidency a Theodore Roosevelt or a Woodrow Wilson? Justify your answer.

ments as defenders of democracy and world civilization. As a result, many Americans came to feel that Germany's defeat was essential to America's salvation. President Wilson, in 1915, expressed this attitude when he said:

... The Allies are standing with their backs to the wall fighting wild beasts.  
... [England is] fighting our fight.

### Wilson Protests Strongly Against Germany's Unrestricted Submarine Warfare.

Off the Irish coast on May 7, 1915, the unarmed British luxury liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine. The liner took with it to its watery grave nearly 1,200 lives, 128 of them American, many of them women and children.

**Why Germany Practiced Unrestricted Submarine Warfare.** What were the immediate events leading up to this tragedy? A few months before it, Germany had announced the establishment of a war zone around the British Isles. In this war zone,

the Germans declared, all enemy ships would be destroyed without warning. Since British merchant ships sometimes flew neutral flags as a disguise, the Germans warned that neutral vessels in this zone might be in danger of being sunk, too. To do this sinking, the Germans were relying upon submarines. Submarines, relatively new in warfare, could not observe the old rules of international law. For example, because of their small size, they could not take aboard the passengers and crew of a merchant ship before sinking it. Therefore, they did not give warning before sinking a ship.

How did President Wilson answer this threat of *unrestricted submarine warfare*? In a sharp note, he warned Germany that the United States would hold it to "strict accountability" for any illegal loss of American lives or vessels.

What was Germany's reaction to President Wilson's protest? In effect, it was as follows:

We are fighting for our lives. If, to win, we must violate the rights of neutrals, we must do so. In any case, changed conditions and new weapons call for changes in international law. To starve out Britain, which depends almost completely on imported food, and to prevent it from getting war materials are the purposes of Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare. Get the British to lift their illegal blockade if you want us to modify our unrestricted submarine warfare. Why are you so much firmer with us than you are with the British when they violate neutral rights?

So in spite of Wilson's warning, neutral merchant ships were torpedoed by German submarines and American lives were lost.

**Wilson Resists the Clamor for War After the *Lusitania*'s Sinking.** SAVAGES DRUNK WITH BLOOD! PIRATES! MURDERERS! So shrieked some American newspaper headlines at the Germans, following the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Officially, the Germans justified the sinking on the ground that the *Lusitania* was carrying cases of cartridges.

Some Americans called for war at once. But most, including Wilson, did not want

As we know, Wilson's pro-labor and progressive program, plus prevailing prosperity, plus a split between California Republicans helped him win re-election (page 617).<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, his campaigners made a strong appeal to peace lovers by repeating the slogan: "He kept us out of war."

**Wilson Asks for a Declaration of War as the Germans Violate the Sussex Pledge.** Count Johann-Heinrich von Bernstorff, German ambassador to the United States, was worried. He knew that back home a tug of war was going on between the militarists, who wanted to resume unrestricted submarine warfare, and the moderates, who did not. He knew that if the militarists won out, the United States would declare war. They did. It did. Let us look at this sequence of events in detail.

Just about a week after Wilson's "peace-without-victory" speech, Germany announced the cancellation of the *Sussex* pledge. It declared that German submarines, as of February 1, 1917, would sink all ships on sight, whether armed or not, in certain war zones. These zones were around the British Isles and the French and Italian coasts. The United States would be permitted, the announcement said, to send one ship a week to Britain. However, this ship must carry no contraband. It would have to be painted with red and white stripes, arrive on Sunday, and depart on Wednesday.

**Some Reasons Why Germany Renewed Its Unrestricted Submarine Warfare.** In renewing unrestricted submarine warfare, German officials reasoned this way:

If Wilson could win the election with the aid of the slogan "He kept us out of war," the American people probably do not want war. Even if the United States enters the war,

it will not make much difference. The United States is giving the Allies full economic aid anyway. Besides, it will take the United States a long time to get armies ready. When they are ready, our submarines will destroy many of the transports carrying them to Europe. On the other hand, the British blockade is succeeding in starving us out. And the United States has not persuaded Britain to relinquish the blockade, as we demanded when we gave the *Sussex* pledge. Therefore, if we don't make full use of our submarines to starve out Britain and cut off its munition supplies, we won't stand a chance. And, as Foreign Secretary Zimmermann has said, even if the United States declares war, Germany can in "only two months of this kind of [unrestricted submarine] warfare . . . end the war and make peace within three months."

**From Breaking Off Diplomatic Relations to a Declaration of War.** Wilson answered Germany's violation of the *Sussex* pledge by keeping his pledge to break off diplomatic relations with Germany. He ordered merchant vessels armed. Yet he kept hoping that Germany would not sink American ships and thus force the United States to declare war.

Then, however, in the beginning of March, 1917, public resentment was aroused by the publication of the Zimmermann note (page 667). In the middle of March, a revolution occurred in Russia that replaced the autocracy of the czar with a republic. Thus, if the United States declared war, it would be spared the embarrassment of having an autocracy as an ally. In the middle of March, too, four American merchant vessels were sunk by German submarines. At the end of March, Wilson, deeply troubled, asked his advisers in desperation: "What else can I do? . . . If there is any alternative, for God's sake, let's take it." Then, feeling that there was nothing else he could do, Wilson appeared, pale and sad-eyed, before the Congress and asked for a declaration of war.

Wilson's war message is considered among the most eloquent speeches ever delivered by an American statesman. It attacked the

<sup>1</sup> When most of the votes had been counted in this very close election, the nation and Hughes, too, were convinced that he had won. Someone phoned the Hughes home at midnight of election night and asked to speak to him. When told that the "President" had gone to sleep and could not be disturbed, the caller replied: "Well, when he wakes up, just tell him he isn't President!"

German Government as a ruthless autocracy that had contempt for human rights as well as neutral rights. Parts of it follow:

... Property can be paid for, the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be . . . German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

... We have no quarrel with the German people . . . It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war.

The world must be made safe for democracy. . . . We desire no conquest . . . We seek no material compensation. . . .

... the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight . . . —for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations . . . for a concert [league] of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations . . .

Two days later, on April 4, the Congress declared war.<sup>1</sup>

## Mobilizing America To Win the War

... Send the word, send the word over there—

That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming, . . .

We'll be over, we're coming over,  
And we won't come back till it's over over there.<sup>2</sup>

These words from the American hit tune of 1917, "Over There," were sweet music to the

ears of the Allies. The Yanks couldn't come over fast enough to please them! The Central Powers had already conquered not only Luxembourg, Belgium, and northeastern France but also Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. And 1917 was proving to be an especially dark year for the allies.

**The Entry of the United States into the War Brightens the Allies' Dark Year, 1917.** German submarines, having resumed their *unrestricted warfare*, were sinking ships at a frightening rate. It looked now as though Britain might be starved out. In October, 1917, Italian troops were badly beaten by Austro-German forces at Caporetto in northern Italy, losing more than 600,000 men. In November, 1917, Communists seized control of Russia and took it out of the war. Now the Central Powers could shift their soldiers from the Eastern front, where they had been fighting Russia, to the Western front in France.

On this Western front, the opposing armies had been deadlocked almost from the start of the war. In the bloody, seesaw fighting there, British and French casualties had run into the millions. So war-weary had the troops on the Western front become that some French regiments had mutinied.

Only two months after its declaration of war, the United States rushed "over there" about 15,000 troops. As these troops marched through the streets of Paris, Frenchmen showered them with flowers and cheered them with eyes filled with tears. "Vive l'Amerique!" roared the crowd. About a week later, on July 4, an American army officer, in a speech before the tomb of Lafayette, declared:

... what we have of blood and treasure are yours . . . We pledge our hearts and our honor in carrying this war to a successful issue. Lafayette, we are here!<sup>1</sup>

**Mobilizing Men by the Millions for Military Service.** On the very first day set for registration, nearly ten million men registered in orderly fashion for compulsory military service. Americans apparently agreed

<sup>1</sup> The vote in favor of a declaration of war was eighty-two to six in the Senate and 373 to 50 in the House. The United States did not declare war on Germany's allies Bulgaria and Turkey. It did later declare war on Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary and Turkey had earlier broken off diplomatic relations with the United States.

<sup>2</sup> "Over There" by George M. Cohan. © Copyright 1917/Copyright renewal 1945 Leo Feist Inc., New York, N.Y. Used by permission copyright proprietor.



*Yankees going over the top during training. How different do you think the real thing was?*

not with those who called the draft “un-American” but with Wilson, who called it the most democratic way of raising a large army. After registration, men were called up in the order determined by a lottery system. Not the army but leading citizens in communities administered the local draft boards. Unlike the draft of the War Between the States, no draftee could hire someone to take his place.

Counting draftees and enlistees, the United States had nearly five million men under arms by the time the fighting ended in November, 1918. To the surprise and joy of the Allies, and to the surprise and dismay of the Central Powers, two million of these reached France, and nearly one-and-a-half million served on the firing line. The American army in Europe, called the *American Expedition-*

*ary Force (AEF)*, was commanded by General John J. Pershing (page 646).

**Mobilizing Dollars by the Billions for Military Service.** Through rallies, posters, press, and pulpit, Americans were made to feel that lending money to the Government was a patriotic duty. “Bonds or bondage” became a slogan. Two-thirds of the \$33 billion that the war cost the United States was raised by borrowing. All the Federal Government’s expenditures throughout history up to the war had probably totaled no more than about \$11 billion.

The remaining one-third of the war costs was raised through taxes. Theater and railroad tickets, telephone messages, and scores of other items were taxed for the first time. Inheritance, corporation, and income taxes were all boosted. In fact, income taxes were

boosted so high that many a man who made a fortune because of the war had to turn a good portion of it back to the Government. This tax increase greatly increased the percentage of the tax burden borne by the rich as compared with that borne by the average American. Nevertheless, war needs created many opportunities to make money.

**Mobilizing Materials to Back Up the Military.** To increase efficiency, Wilson got the Congress to give him the power of a virtual economic dictator for the duration of the war. In turn, the President delegated this power to Bernard M. Baruch, whom he appointed chairman of a *War Industries Board*. In a sense, Baruch tried "to operate the whole United States as a single factory dominated by one management."

The War Industries Board told manufacturers of war materials what to manufacture, what price to charge, and what proportion of the product to sell to the Government, to the Allies, and to ordinary consumers. It also specified which manufacturers had first call on raw materials and transportation services. Avoiding waste of manpower and materials was its guiding principle. For example, tons of steel were saved by limiting the amount of steel that could be used in manufacturing ladies' corsets.

Through persuasion rather than pressure, America's industrial mobilization soon shifted into high gear. Many patriotic businessmen who served the Government for a dollar a year helped make this possible.

**Mobilizing Transportation and Communication for the War Effort.** "Build a bridge of ships to France" became one of the many wartime slogans. With German submarines prowling the Atlantic, great numbers of ships were needed to get men and materials to the front. To fill this need, Government agencies seized enemy ships in American ports, used neutral ships, and embarked upon a gigantic shipbuilding program.

The war came first. This was driven home directly to many when the Government took control of the railroads and of telephone, telegraph, cable, and express companies. Un-

der Government operation, railroads, instead of competing with one another, used one another's tracks, stations, and equipment. The purpose of running the railroads as a single system was to avoid waste. Previously, when operating independently, one railroad might sometimes have had a great number of empty cars, while another might not have had enough to move the large amount of freight in its terminals. Under Government operation, railroad costs were much higher than rail income. However, the Government was interested in winning the war, not in making profit.

**Mobilizing Food and Fuel for the War Effort.** Serve shark steak and whale steak, porpoises and dolphins, and cut down on meals made up of beef, pork, wheat, and sugar. This was the sort of recommendation issued to housewives and restaurants by another war agency, the *Food Administration*. Herbert Hoover, who had efficiently administered relief for stricken Belgium, was its director. "Food will win the war" was its slogan. To cut down food consumption and step up food production were its goals.

Food was not rationed. But people were urged to be patriotic and observe "wheatless" Mondays, "meatless" Tuesdays, and "porkless" Thursdays. People who hoarded food, or dealers who charged exorbitant prices for it, were fined or jailed. People having full garbage cans were considered unpatriotic.

To increase production, farmers were guaranteed a high price on wheat and on many other farm products. Nonfarming families co-operated with the program by planting fruit and vegetable gardens, called *victory gardens*, in their backyards. So successful was the entire program that soon huge quantities of food were being shipped overseas to the American armed forces and the hungry Allies.

"Fuel will win the war" was the slogan of still another wartime Government agency, the *Fuel Administration*. "Gasless Sundays" for motorists, "fuelless Mondays," daylight saving time, and restrictions on big electric

light signs were all introduced by this agency to cut down on consumption of fuel.

**Mobilizing Labor for the War Effort.** "Labor will win the war," stressed Government agencies again and again. But widespread strikes might mean losing the war. Labor leaders, such as Samuel Gompers, pledged an all-out effort to avoid strikes. They demanded in return that the Government make an all-out effort to prevent businessmen from taking advantage of this pledge. The Government did. Government agencies recognized the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively. They insisted that certain industries adopt the eight-hour day, if this did not hold up production essential to the war effort. Women were urged to take jobs in industry. And industrialists were urged to give them the same pay as men for equal work.

To settle disputes between labor and management, and thus avoid strikes, special Government agencies were set up. Yet the Government, when it thought it necessary, got tough. Strikers in war plants were warned that their draft exemptions for being in war work would be canceled. In short, the Government warned: "Work or fight!" When a plant making guns refused to accept the decision of a Government agency in a labor dispute, the War Department took over operation of the plant.

All in all, American labor had never made as much progress as it did during the war. The labor shortage, the humming factories, and the sympathetic attitude of the Government all promoted this progress. Even though prices soared, prices lagged behind the soaring wages in many industries. However, the soaring prices *did* hurt white-collar workers who received fixed salaries. Labor organizers were especially pleased because union membership increased greatly.

**Mobilizing Public Opinion to Build Morale.** Suddenly, a movie house's lights would flash on. Out would step a speaker. For about four minutes, he would passionately appeal to the audience for its enthusiastic support of the war effort. Seventy-five thousand of

these "four-minute men," as they were called, made such patriotic appeals—not only in theaters but in restaurants, in factories, on trains, and even on Indian reservations. These volunteers were part of a giant Government war agency called the *Committee on Public Information*. Its chairman, George Creel, was a dynamic journalist and publicity man. Creel's assignment was "to sell the war" to *all* the American people. While most Americans had come to believe that the war was necessary, there were still millions who felt that it was none of America's business.

Creel's committee tried to make all Americans feel that America was waging a crusade to make the world safe for democracy and to bring about a lasting peace. It also tried to inspire hatred for the kaiser and the ruling class in Germany by painting them as barbarous Huns bent on conquering first Europe, then the United States. The nation was bombarded with posters showing German soldiers committing alleged atrocities, slogans such as "Swat the Hun!", songs such as "Good-bye, Kaiser Bill," movies such as *The Kaiser: The Beast of Berlin*, and "ready-made" editorials appearing in thousands of newspapers. So well publicized were Wilson and his idealistic war aims that his picture was displayed in homes in Russia, South America, and China. Millions of leaflets in many languages were distributed throughout Europe. Leaflets dropped by plane over Germany helped to spread defeatism there.

**Certain Rights in the Bill of Rights Are Sometimes Violated.** ". . . To fight [a war] you must be brutal and ruthless and the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into the very fiber of our national life, infecting Congress, the courts, the policemen on the beat, the man in the street." This prediction that intolerance would sweep the nation as a result of participation in the war was made by Wilson before the United States entered the war. To a great extent the prediction came true.

**Certain Groups Are Singled Out for Attack on the Home Front.** Wartime hysteria

seemed to paralyze the minds and unleash the emotions of millions. German-Americans, those socialists<sup>1</sup> and other radicals who were critical of the war, and pacifists opposed to all wars were the main victims of this hysteria. Some such were beaten, tarred, and feathered. Concerts to be given by German musicians were canceled. Schools dropped German from their courses of study. Sauerkraut, daehshunds, and German measles were renamed, respectively, Liberty cabbage, Liberty pups, and Liberty measles. Thousands of Americans became self-appointed detectives who considered it their mission to ferret out any signs of disloyalty. Some, with personal grudges against others, made false accusations against them.

*The Espionage and Sedition Acts.* Under the wartime Espionage Act, anyone who interfered with the war effort or encouraged disloyalty could be imprisoned for twenty years. Under the wartime Sedition Act, a twenty-year sentence could be imposed on anyone who spoke disloyally about the American form of government, the Constitution, the flag, or the armed forces, or who urged any reduction in production of war goods. Under such laws, many of the rights in the Bill of Rights were violated. Sometimes accused persons were held without bail, newspapers were banned from the mails, and people who expressed unpopular opinions were imprisoned.

To talk about making the world safe for democracy and yet to practice such intense intolerance seems contradictory. Furthermore, a really dangerous German spy trained for his job would never have said or written anything that would make him liable under the Espionage Act or Sedition Act. But remembering that before America's entry into the war, German agents had blown up American munitions plants, many Americans had become very suspicious. And Creel, by some of his methods of "selling the war" to Americans, had stimulated an intense hatred

for Germans and for anyone who might be unsympathetic to the war effort.

Of course, almost every nation curbs freedom of speech and press during wartime to some extent. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes expressed the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court in 1919 thus.

*When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured . . . and that no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right*

However, Holmes warned that a person should not be punished for his utterances unless they represent a "clear and present danger" to the nation. It would seem that an honest expression of disagreement with the conduct of the war effort would not constitute such a "clear and present danger."

The intense intolerance that prevailed during the war lasted for a few years following it (page 702). Some judges still imbued with the wartime spirit interpreted many an expression of opinion as a "clear and present danger."

**A Tribute to the Co-operation of Americans with the Government in World War I.** Never before had taxes been so high. Never before had the Government exercised so much control over industry, agriculture, transportation, communication, labor, family life, and even public opinion. Never before had the United States fought a big war outside the Americas. Never before had so many Americans been drafted to fight a war. Never before had an American President been granted so much power as President Wilson. Never before had the Government placed so many limitations on the freedoms of Americans.

In spite of all this, the great majority of Americans patriotically supported their Government and rarely grumbled. Instead, they sang such hopeful songs as "Smiles" and "Keep the Home Fires Burning." In supporting the Red Cross, in bond drives, in the food program, in collecting peachstones for gas

<sup>1</sup> Some members left the Socialist Party because of its antiwar stand.

masks, and in countless other ways, they lived up to such slogans as: "Do your bit!" and "Give until it hurts!"

By 1917, Americans had developed a long tradition of freedom of enterprise and freedom of expression. However, they had now shown themselves willing to accept temporary controls that in peacetime they would have resisted strongly. Such was their conviction that they were fighting to preserve democracy and to promote perpetual peace.

## **America's Armed Forces Play An Important Role in Breaking The Deadlock in World War I**

**The American Navy Sinks Submarines, Lays Mines, Convoys Ships, and Blockades Germany.** "They [the Central Powers] will win, unless we can stop these losses—and stop them soon." Thus was the urgency of the need for speedy American help stressed in a message sent in 1917 by a British admiral to Admiral William S. Sims. Sims was commander of United States naval forces abroad. It was he who insisted that merchant ships

*General William ("Billy") Mitchell, who was commander of United States air forces in France during World War I. After the war, Mitchell was demoted and court-martialed. Find out why. Find out, too, why, if he had lived, he might well have said "I told you so."*



and troop transports travel in fleets protected from submarines by cruisers and destroyers. Many had opposed this *convoy system*, arguing that it was too slow and that merchant ships had too much difficulty holding their assigned positions in the convoy. Sims' system worked. Not a single troopship en route overseas was sunk. And merchant shipping losses dropped tremendously.

On the insistence of the United States Navy, and in co-operation with the British Navy, a mine barrage was laid across the mouth of the North Sea. This prevented many German submarines from getting out to prey on Allied shipping. Using airplanes, newly invented depth bombs, and listening devices that could detect the underwater sounds of submarine propellers, the United States and British fleets soon smashed the submarine menace.

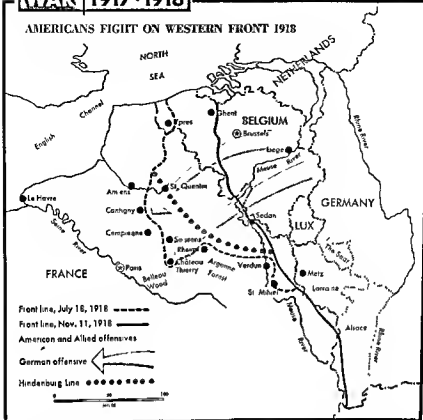
**The Role of the United States Army in Knocking Out the Central Powers.** With the threat of submarine attack eliminated, shiploads of American troops and munitions poured into Allied ports. German General Erich von Ludendorff felt that Germany had to act fast to win the war before the full might of the United States could be mobilized. Therefore, in March, 1918, he launched a series of massive drives on the Western front. His army was swollen by troops from the Eastern front no longer needed against the defeated Russians. It delivered one sledge-hammer attack after another against Allied forces.

From the start of the war, the Central Powers had had a unified command. From the day General Pershing landed in Europe, he had urged a unified command for the Allies. Criticizing the lack of teamwork between British and French troops, he declared: "When one was attacking, the other was usually standing still." Faced by Ludendorff's all-out offensive, the Allies finally chose French General Ferdinand Foch as commander in chief of Allied forces.

**Some Battles in Which Americans Distinguished Themselves.** Pershing was also convinced that the way to win the war was to



## AMERICANS FIGHT ON WESTERN FRONT 1918

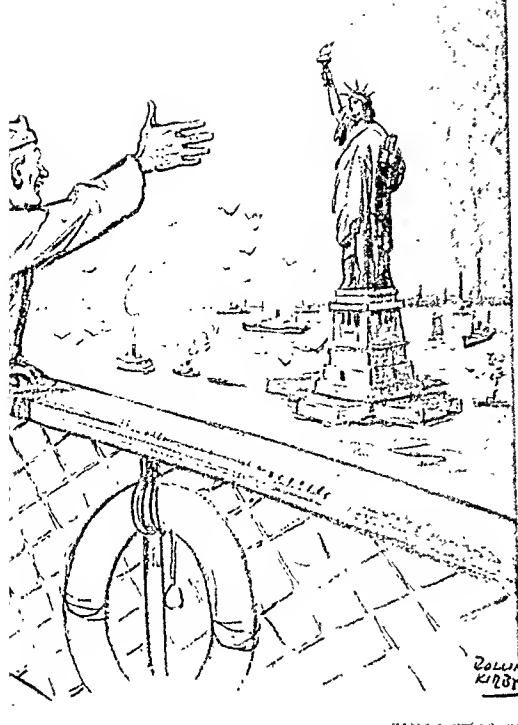


get out of the trenches and launch an offensive. Under Foch's unified command, the Allies succeeded in checking Ludendorff's advances. In mid-1918, in heroic fighting at Cantigny, Belleau Wood, and Chateau-Thierry, American troops proved that the best defense is a good offense. A colossal Allied counteroffensive followed. American troops captured the St. Mihiel salient. There the German forces had firmly entrenched themselves since the very beginning of the war.

Then, between the Meuse River and the Argonne forest, Americans fought the biggest battle in American history to that time. In this *Meuse-Argonne offensive*, in the fall of 1918, 120,000 of the 1,200,000 Americans involved were killed or wounded. To penetrate thirty miles into the Argonne forest along a front twenty-four miles long, the Americans had to overcome overwhelming obstacles. But miles of barbed wire, machine-

gun nests, fog-covered swamps, thick underbrush, rivers, ravines, and ridges did not stop them. Nor were the British or French stopped along their assigned sections of the front. All along the front, the Allies kept relentlessly driving the Germans northward toward their own borders.

**The Central Powers Go Down to Defeat.** Germany's allies were cracking, too. Bulgaria surrendered in September, Turkey in October, and on November 3, after a smashing setback by Italy, Austria-Hungary acknowledged defeat. The Austrian Empire began breaking up, as subject peoples revolted and declared their independence. Army desertions, navy mutinies, socialist revolts in many German states, threats of a general strike, the kaiser's flight to the Netherlands—all played a part in the collapse of the German Empire. On November 11, 1918, the armistice was signed. And the most extensive and expensive war to that date ended.



A 1918 Rollin Kirby cartoon entitled "Oh, Lady! Lady!" Compare the thoughts of these soldiers inward bound with what their thoughts must have been outward bound.

## Some Shocking Costs Of World War I

In the course of the war, nearly nine million men had been killed and more than twenty million wounded. Five million were missing. Ten million civilians had died of famine or disease, or been killed in massacres or revolts. The war had cost roughly \$300 billion.

The United States suffered about 125,000 deaths, about 50,000 in battle.<sup>1</sup> Medical care of American military personnel was so good that most of the wounded recovered. A serious epidemic of influenza accounted for most of the noncombat deaths.

In a sense, World War I did not end in 1918. It left the world so shaken and created so many hatreds that some call World War II, which began in 1939, "World War I Continued."

<sup>1</sup> War deaths of other nations included: Russia and Germany, about 1,700,000 each; France, about 1,385,000; Austria-Hungary, about 1,200,000; Britain, about 900,000; and Italy, about 650,000.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 27

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Sarajevo	Central Powers	Johann von Bernstorff	George Creel
William Ladd	Edward M. House	"Over There"	"four-minute men"
Elihu Burritt	Robert Lansing	AEF	Espionage Act
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	Kaiser Wilhelm II	Bernard M. Baruch	Sedition Act
Algeciras Conference	"a scrap of paper"	War Industries Board	"clear and present danger"
Hague Conferences	Zimmermann note	Food Administration	William S. Sims
Hague Tribunal	unrestricted submarine warfare	Herbert Hoover	convoy system
international anarchy	<i>Lusitania</i>	victory gardens	Erich Ludendorff
Triple Alliance	Sussex pledge	Fuel Administration	Ferdinand Foch
Triple Entente	"a peace without victory"	Committee on Public Information	Meuse-Argonne offensive
Allies			

★ **Questions to Check  
Basic Information**

1. Show that the peace movement before World War I was encouraged by certain (a) individuals, (b) groups, and (c) conferences.
2. Sum up four basic causes of World War I in Europe and mention its immediate cause.
3. Show specifically how the rival alliances before World War I came into being.
4. Trace the steps from the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand to the outbreak of World War I.
5. What made American neutrality difficult to maintain?
6. Give four ways in which Britain violated America's neutral rights.
7. Show that individuals (a) on both sides and (b) within the United States itself helped to swing American sympathy to the Allies.
8. Explain the reasons why the United States entered World War I on the side of the Allies rather than on that of the Central Powers.
9. What actions of Germany especially shocked Americans before America's entry into the war?
10. Describe the steps taken by President Wilson in trying to keep the United States out of the war.
11. What excuses did (a) Britain give for violating American neutrality and (b) Germany give for its unrestricted submarine warfare?
12. For what reasons did Germany (a) make and (b) later break the *Sussex* pledge?
13. Explain (a) Wilson's "peace-without-victory" speech and (b) the reaction of both sides to it.
14. For what reasons was 1917 mainly a dark year for the Allies?
15. By what means did the Government get (a) men, (b) money, and (c) materials for the war effort?
16. What drastic steps did the Government take with respect to transportation and communication?

17. What methods were used to make sure there would be sufficient food and fuel for the war effort?
18. In what ways was labor affected by the war effort?
19. What efforts were made by George Creel to get everyone behind the war effort?
20. Concerning the intolerance that developed during and after the war, describe (a) the form it took, (b) the terms of the (1) Espionage Act and (2) Sedition Act, and (c) what Justice Holmes meant by "a clear and present danger."
21. Prove by examples that the American people cheerfully endured many hardships during the war.
22. Sum up the contributions of the American armed forces to victory.

★ **Questions for Thought  
and Discussion**

1. Show how the basic causes of World War I were closely connected.
2. What steps do you think might have been taken to avoid the outbreak of World War I?
3. Do you believe that there was any justification for (a) Britain's violation of American neutrality or (b) Germany's use of unrestricted submarine warfare? Explain fully.
4. For what reasons was British propaganda more effective than German propaganda?
5. What do you consider the major reason for America's entry into World War I? Give reasons for your choice.
6. Many of the words and actions of Germany and its kaiser made good propaganda for the British. Show how.
7. Do you agree with Secretary of State Bryan that Americans should not have traveled on ships going into the war zones? Explain fully.
8. What do you think President Wilson meant by the expression "being too proud to fight"?
9. In the light of the basic causes of World

- War I, why might one have anticipated that both sides would ridicule Wilson's "peace-without-victory" speech?
10. In November, 1916, President Wilson was re-elected on the slogan "He kept us out of war." In April, 1917, he asked the Congress for a declaration of war. Is it fair to criticize Wilson for this? Explain.
  11. Give your opinions of Germany's arguments for renewing unrestricted submarine warfare.
  12. Give indications of idealism in President Wilson's war message.
  13. America's home front in World War I proved that modern wars are total wars. Show specifically how.
  14. Give your opinions of (a) the Espionage Act, (b) the Sedition Act, (c) the Creel Committee, and (d) the "clear-and-present-danger" concept.
  15. Their participation on the home front in World War I was a tribute to the adaptability of the American people. Explain, giving proof.
  16. For what reasons might the entry of the United States into World War I be called the turning point of the war?
  17. Which do you consider the most shocking cost of World War I? For what reasons?
3. From (a) *Great Issues in American History*, Vol. 2, edited by R. Hofstadter, read President Wilson's Speech for the Declaration of War and Senator Norris' Speech Against the Declaration of War, (b) *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link, read any two conflicting interpretations from Problem 17 (1, 2, or 3) on "The Great Crusade," or (c) *The American Past*, Vol. 2, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown, read "Conflicting Interpretations of World War I." Then write a paper in which you draw your own conclusions.
  4. In committee, prepare a bulletin board exhibit on World War I. Include borrowed or imaginative pictures, cartoons, slogans, and newspaper headlines. Include a map showing where Americans fought.
  5. Check source books for several of President Wilson's speeches on World War I. Jot down ten phrases that seem to you most (a) eloquent or (b) significant. Print them on a poster for display.
  6. In committee, compile questions to ask people who lived at the time of World War I. Present the committee report on their answers to the class.
  7. Write a paper on the status of civil liberties during World War I. Cite your sources of information.
  8. For a movie on World War I, indicate (a) how you would motivate it, (b) what scenes you would highlight, (c) your cast of characters, (d) how you would develop suspense, and (e) how you would conclude it.
  9. For a book on World War I, make up at least five significant chapter titles.
  10. For those who fought in World War I, design a memorial, including an appropriate inscription.
  11. Write a letter such as an American boy might have written to a German pen pal before America's entry into World War I.
  12. Obtain sheet music or recordings of World War I songs for singing or playing for the class.

### ☆ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check President Wilson. Consider both his domestic and foreign policies and use as many sources of information as possible.
2. Write an imaginary page in the diary of President Wilson in which he ponders whether to ask the Congress for a declaration of war, on a page in the diary of either (a) King Edward VII or (b) Kaiser Wilhelm II or learning that Wilson has recommended such a declaration.

13. Investigate and report briefly on the connection of any five of the following with World War I: (a) Walter Hines Page, (b) A Mitchell Palmer, (c) Edith Cavell, (d) Edward N Hurley, (e) Edward M. House, (f) Eugene V. Debs, (g) William Jennings Bryan, (h) John Buchan, (i) Dr Bernhard Dernberg, (j) Herbert Hoover, (k) William G. McAdoo, (l) Bernard M. Baruch.
14. Make a study of the election of 1916 and report on the most interesting aspects of it.
15. Write a report of any event mentioned in this chapter in the manner of a newspaper reporter. Include headlines.
16. From the *American Heritage* series, read "A Lner, a U-Boat . . . and History" (June, 1955). Tell specifically how this article makes history come alive.

## CHAPTER

# 28

### *The United States Combines A Partial Return to Isolationism With Co-operation for Peace*

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#### **Idealism and Self-Interest Clash in the Paris Peace Settlement**

- The Idealism in Wilson's Fourteen Points • French and British Bitterness, and Secret Treaties Are Obstacles to Achieving the Fourteen Points • A League of Nations Is Set Up • Nationalism and Self-Determination Are Recognized • Certain of the Fourteen Points Are Practically or Entirely Ignored

#### **The United States and the League of Nations**

- The United States Rejects the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, Which Is Part of It • Stands Taken by Supporters and Opponents of the League
- The Result of the Election of 1920 Is No Indication of the Voters' Attitude on the League • Irony in the League Controversy • Presidents Recommend and Senates Reject American Membership in the World Court

#### **The United States Co-operates While Remaining Generally Isolationist**

- The United States Co-operates with the League of Nations • The United States Calls the Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament and Far Eastern Problems • The United States Signs a Pact to Outlaw War • The War Debt Controversy Involves the United States More in Europe's Affairs, But Intensifies Isolationism
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Purple violets, red roses, and yellow mimosa were strewn in his path. Parades were held in his honor. People struggled through crowds to touch his clothing. Bands blared a joyous welcome. Infants were named after him and streets renamed after him. Millions

wept as they cheered him. President Wilson was deeply touched by all these honors upon his arrival in Europe in December, 1918. He had come to attend a conference in Paris to help draw up the peace treaties ending the war. With him he had brought a group

of advisers and experts in geography, history, economics, and other fields.

What explains this great display of admiration—almost reverence—toward Wilson? His greeters remembered that he and his country had come to their aid in their darkest days. They remembered, too, his idealistic war-time phrases, such as “a war to end wars,” “a peace of justice,” “a world safe for democracy.” Perhaps most of all, they remembered the program for a lasting peace—the *Fourteen Points*—that he had proposed months before the war was over. Such miracles were expected of Wilson toward the creation of a better world that he said “People are expecting of me what only God can perform.”

### **Idealism and Self-Interest Clash In the Paris Peace Settlement**

**Wilson's Program for a Lasting Peace: The Fourteen Points.** “What we demand . . . is that . . . every peace-loving nation . . . be assured of justice and fair-dealing by the other peoples of the world, as against force and selfish aggression.” This was how Wilson introduced his famous “Fourteen Points” speech before the Congress in January, 1918. Here is how he expected his Fourteen Points, if carried out, to eliminate the causes of war and thus bring about a lasting peace and a better world:

*To end secret diplomacy, he recommended “open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, [and] . . . no private international understandings.”*

*To protect the rights of neutrals, he suggested freedom of the seas.*

*To reduce economic rivalries, he favored the “removal . . . of all [possible] economic barriers [tariffs] and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions. . . .”*

*To prevent armament races, he advocated a reduction in armaments.*

*To curb imperialism, he suggested the adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of the colonial peoples without injustice to the colonial powers.*



*The optimistic President Wilson on his way to the Paris Peace Conference in December, 1918. There he was ridiculed by some of the more cynical delegates as an impractical idealist. Wilson considered this a compliment, for he once said “Sometimes people call me an idealist. Well, that is the way I know I am an American. America is the only idealistic nation in the world.”*

*In recognition of nationalism, he recommended, for example, that Alsace-Lorraine be returned to France and that Poland be re-created as an independent nation. He further urged that the subject peoples of the Austrian and Turkish Empires determine for themselves what government they desired. Thus he recognized the principle of self-determination.*

*To prevent international anarchy, Wilson insisted on the creation of a League of Nations. This was his fourteenth Point, and to him the most important of all.*

**Obstacles to the Achievement of the Fourteen Points.** While the war was being fought, the Allies realized the value of the Fourteen Points as propaganda. This was because the Points stressed a peace based on justice, rather than on revenge. Printed on leaflets, they were showered down from balloons and airplanes over enemy territory. They stirred up defeatism among enemy troops and a spirit of rebellion among enemy civilians. Many asked: Why continue fighting, if we can get a peace based on Wilson's Fourteen Points? And it was on the basis of the Fourteen Points that the Germans, when they saw that defeat was inevitable, asked for an armistice. But when it came time to make the peace, the Allies showed that their hearts were really not in the Fourteen Points.

**French Bitterness Toward Germany Is an Obstacle to the Achievement of the Fourteen Points.** Millions of Frenchmen could not forget that the Germans had invaded France in 1870 and again in 1914. World War I had been fought on *their* soil. *Their* homes, churches, schools, and libraries had been destroyed. They wanted revenge. They wanted a peace *with* victory, one so severe that it would not be possible for Germany to invade France a third time. They wanted payment for the damage done their country. Such payment for wartime damage is called *reparations*. Thus, revenge, reparations, and security were the guiding principles of the cynical, seventy-eight-year-old Premier Georges Clemenceau, French delegate to the Paris Peace Conference. Ridiculing Wilson's idealism, he said: "Ten Commandments were good enough for God, but Wilson has to have fourteen."

**British Bitterness Toward Germany Is an Obstacle to the Achievement of the Fourteen Points.** In Britain, the slogans "Hang the kaiser!" and "Squeeze the Germans until the pips squeak!" were on the lips of millions. Such slogans reflected the British desire for revenge and their demand that Germany pay the full costs of the war. Prime Minister David Lloyd George, the British delegate,

was willing to accept some of Wilson's Fourteen Points. However, he was not willing to accept freedom of the seas. For, as mistress of the seas, Britain used the blockade as a powerful weapon in time of war. Lloyd George also wanted the conference to turn over most of Germany's colonies to the British Empire. He wanted provisions written into the peace treaty that would eliminate Germany as Britain's naval and commercial competitor.

***The Secret Treaties Are a Major Obstacle to the Achievement of the Fourteen Points.*** During the war, the Allies had made secret treaties with one another in which they had agreed to share territory taken from the defeated powers. Here are some of the rewards promised in the secret treaties to various Allies:

- To France:** Alsace-Lorraine, the coal-rich Saar, and control of the left bank of the Rhine
- To Britain:** Most of Germany's African colonies and a share, along with Russia, France, and Italy, in Turkey's lands east of the Mediterranean
- To Russia:** The Dardanelles and Constantinople
- To Italy:** Land on the Adriatic Sea long held by Austria
- To Japan:** Germany's concessions in Shantung and some of Germany's Pacific islands

Thus the dreams of Wilson expressed in the Fourteen Points were clashing head-on with the realities of imperialism expressed in the secret treaties.

**Secrecy, Speed, and Compromise Characterize the Paris Peace Settlement.** The peace conference met at the palace of Versailles, just outside of Paris, early in 1919. There it drew up the *Treaty of Versailles* with Germany and separate treaties with each of the other Central Powers. Together, these made up the *Paris Peace Settlement*. Neither Russia, which had quit the war, nor the de-



feated Central Powers had been invited. Although all the Allies were represented, Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy—the *Big Four*—dominated the conference

The most important decisions made by the Big Four were made in secret. This seems odd, since Wilson had opposed secret diplomacy in the Fourteen Points. However, it was felt, for one thing, that secrecy would speed up the completion of the treaties. Speed seemed all-important because much of Europe and Asia was in chaos. Little wars were widespread. So was hunger. Communists were in control in Russia. Communism was spreading in Germany, Italy, Hungary, and in several other areas of Europe. It was hoped that the treaties would help end the chaos, stabilize conditions, and create greater security.

Because the other members of the Big Four opposed many of the Fourteen Points, Wilson was on the point of going home. But he feared that if the United States broke with the Allies, Russia might find it easier to spread communism in Europe. He also feared that if the United States quit the conference, a League of Nations, his heart's desire, would never be established. He felt that ultimately such a League might correct mistakes made in the peace settlement. For these reasons, after many heated arguments,

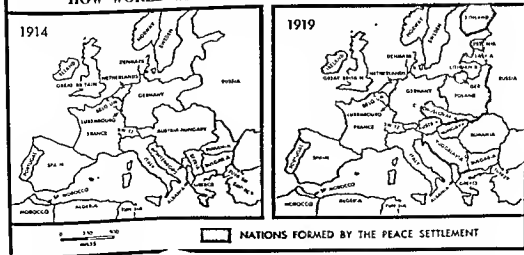
he decided to compromise on many of his Fourteen Points.

**The Paris Peace Settlement Fulfills the Fourteen Points in Part Only.** Wilson insisted that the first order of business at the Paris Peace Conference be the establishment of a League of Nations. It was.

**A League of Nations Is Set Up and Secret Diplomacy Banned.** A covenant (charter) of a League of Nations was drawn up. It became part of the Treaty of Versailles. In the League's covenant was a provision that if a treaty was not registered with the League, it was not binding. Thus secret diplomacy was banned.

**A Mandate System Is Set Up to Curb Imperialism.** All Germany's colonies and much territory in the Middle East formerly under the Turkish flag were turned over to the League of Nations. The League assigned these territories to various victorious powers to administer until they were considered ready for independence. Such territories were called *mandates*. They were actually run as colonies, except that reports on their administration had to be submitted to the League. The British Commonwealth got the major share of these mandates, although France and Japan were assigned some, too. The mandate system was a concession to Wilson's demand in the Fourteen Points that a curb be placed on imperialism. In time, such man-

## HOW WORLD WAR I CHANGED THE MAP OF EUROPE



dates as Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan, and Tanganyika were granted independence. Japan received Shantung, but not as a mandate. Wilson extracted a promise from Japan that it would eventually return Shantung to China. It did, temporarily.

*Some Examples of the Recognition of Nationalism and Self-Determination.* In accordance with the peace settlement, Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France. And certain new nations were created out of old empires. For example, Czechoslovakia was created out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; Finland, out of the Russian Empire; and Saudi Arabia, out of the Turkish Empire. Poland was re-created out of German, Russian, and Austrian territory.

Wilson also succeeded in upholding the principle of self-determination; for example, in preventing France from annexing the Rhineland, and Poland from annexing East Prussia. Thus France and Poland were prevented from ruling over many German peoples. Moreover, Wilson secured the consent of the conference to the holding of plebiscites<sup>1</sup> in certain border areas to determine the will of the people. Sometimes, however, when its recognition would have favored the defeated powers, the principle of self-determination was ignored.

*Certain of the Fourteen Points Are Practically or Entirely Ignored in the Paris Peace Settlement.* The treaties brought about a reduction in armaments for the defeated powers and a promise of future disarmament from the victorious powers. This promise was practically ignored, however, and Germany's disarmament did not last long. Ignored, too, were the Points calling for freedom of the seas and for the removal of economic barriers, such as tariffs.

In a number of other ways, the peace treaties were inconsistent with the Fourteen Points and with Wilson's principle of "peace without victory." Parts of Germany were

given to Belgium, Poland, and Denmark. Germany was ordered to pay heavy reparations. (However, most of these were never paid.) Furthermore, the Treaty of Versailles stated that Germany was entirely responsible for the war and the damage caused by it. This is known as the *war-guilt clause*.

Even though the Fourteen Points were fulfilled in part in the peace settlement, so, in part, were the promises made in the secret treaties. France *did* get Alsace-Lorraine. Most of Germany's colonies and Turkey's Middle Eastern possessions *did* go to the Allies promised them, although as mandates. Italy *did* get Austrian lands on the Adriatic.

Millions of those who had cheered Wilson on his arrival in Europe now jeered him. His ideals had sounded wonderful in principle. But when these ideals had interfered with a nation's getting as much as it wanted in the peace settlement, they had lost their appeal. Many liberals were also disappointed in Wilson, but in their case it was because he had compromised his ideals too much at the peace table.

**The League's Major Purpose: To Promote Peace and Co-operation Among Nations.** "I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war [if the United States fails to join the League of Nations]. . . . What [weapons] the Germans used [in World War I] were toys as compared with what would be used in the next war." So President Wilson declared in 1919. Perhaps the "next war," World War II, would not have occurred if the powerful United States had joined the League. Many think so. Needless to say, no one knows for sure.

**How the League Was Organized to Promote Peace and International Co-operation.** We pledge not to resort to war, except as a last resort, and not to engage in secret diplomacy. We pledge to live up to the principles of international law and to respect treaties. This is the gist of what nations pledged when they joined the League of Nations.

**The Council, Assembly, and Secretariat.** Most important of the many agencies of the

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<sup>1</sup> A plebiscite is a vote of the people on a question submitted to them.

League were the *Council, Assembly, and Secretariat*, all with headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. Britain, France, Italy, and Japan had permanent membership in the Council. The United States would have been a permanent member, too, had it joined. A small number of nonpermanent members selected from the smaller nations were elected to the Council every three years. In the Assembly, each member nation, large or small, had one vote. The Secretariat was a kind of international civil service. It registered treaties, collected and published information, and handled other administrative work. The Council, the real power in the League, made the actual decisions. The Assembly, a kind of town meeting for the world, could hold discussions and make recommendations to the Council.

**The World Court Establishes an Excellent Reputation.** A nation might join the *Permanent Court of International Justice (World Court)*, another League agency, without joining the League. The Hague Tribunal (page 663) had tried to settle disputes through arbitration. The World Court, on the other hand, gave decisions based upon international law. The Court could handle only cases submitted to it by disputing nations. However, a majority of nations pledged in advance to accept the Court's decision in many types of disputes. The Court's reputation in time became such that, even without a police force behind it, its decisions were never seriously challenged.

**Methods by Which the League Might Settle Disputes.** All members of the League agreed to submit their disputes to settlement by the World Court, or to arbitration, or to investigation by the Council. If the Council's decision was unanimous (except for the votes of the disputing nations), it had to be obeyed.

Suppose a disputing nation refused to accept the unanimous decision. Then the League could use punishments, called *sansctions*, against this nation. The League might recommend that its members cut off trade or financial relations with the violator.

Eventually, if necessary, the League might resort to the use of armed forces. But suppose the decision of the Council was not unanimous. Then it was permissible for the disputing nations to go to war. However, they were required to wait three months. This delay was called the *cooling-off period*.

In practice, getting a unanimous vote in the Council was not always easy. Nor could the League compel a member nation to use its armed forces against a violator. The League itself had no international police force at its beck and call to enforce its decisions.

**Some Examples of the League's Humanitarian Work.** League agencies fought famine and epidemics, made loans available to poverty-stricken Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and returned war refugees and prisoners to their homes. They also protected minority groups and received reports on the treatment of colonial peoples in the mandates. The League's *International Labor Organization (ILO)* recommended, among other things, a ban on child labor and an eight-hour working day.

## **The United States Senate Rejects The Treaty at Versailles, Including the League of Nations**

Out of 1,377 newspaper editors polled in 1919, only 181 were completely opposed to the United States' joining the League of Nations. In fact, more Americans in general were in favor of joining the League than were opposed. But the United States did not join. Why?

**Various Americans Oppose the League for Various Reasons.** Some Americans opposed the League because they opposed the Treaty of Versailles, of which the League covenant was a part. And some opposed the treaty because the League was part of it. Some isolationists looked upon the League as an alliance and as a superstate. They asked, Did not Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe warn the nation against entangling

alliances? Might not this superstate order us to decrease our tariff, increase our immigration, or cancel the Monroe Doctrine? Might it not even order our boys to fight more wars anywhere at all? Would not this threaten the Constitution by taking away the power of the Congress to declare war?<sup>1</sup>

Like the Germans, some Americans thought the treaty was too harsh. Like the French, some thought it was too soft. Some did not like the idea that the British Commonwealth (which included Canada, Australia, and other dominions) would have six votes in the Assembly to the United States' one.

Furthermore, many Americans had been shocked to learn of the secret agreements. They began to feel that the Allies were crafty manipulators who had tricked the United States into the war and who had duped the idealistic Wilson at the peace table. Although the United States demanded neither territories nor reparations, the major Allies got both. This convinced many that the war had been fought more for imperialism than for idealism. Their attitude was that Europe had always fought wars and always would. They felt they had little in common with a continent on which radical movements like communism were spreading. All this also convinced many that the United States would be wise to return to isolationism.

**Certain Actions of Wilson Stir Opposition to the Treaty in the Senate.** In the Congressional campaign of 1918, Wilson asked the voters to show their approval of his leadership by "returning a Democratic majority to both the Senate and the House." To the Republicans, who had supported the war effort as ardently as the Democrats, this seemed insulting. When the Republicans won control of the Congress in the election, some of them were determined to oppose

Wilson's policies. Moreover, in selecting the members of the United States delegation to the peace conference, Wilson had appointed only one Republican. Wilson also had antagonized many senators by failing to include a single one of their number in the delegation. This was an error in judgment, since a two-thirds vote of the Senate is required to ratify treaties.

**The Senate Is Sharply Divided on the Treaty and the League.** It is a "treasonable" document that "should be buried." This was the attitude of Senator William E. Borah toward the covenant of the League of Nations. Borah and other senators opposed to the League and the treaty, such as Hiram Johnson and Robert M. La Follette, were called *irreconcilables*. So irreconcilable were they that they declared their intention not to vote for ratification of the treaty, no matter what changes or modifications were made in it. Most irreconcilables were extreme isolationists.

Some senators, Republicans and Democrats alike, said that they would vote for ratification of the treaty only if certain modifications (called *reservations*) were made in it. Such senators were called *reservationists*. The most active reservationist was Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Lodge and reservationists in general thought that the League covenant without modifications would be a threat to America's interests. Furthermore, Lodge admitted: "I never expected to hate anyone in politics with the hatred I feel toward Wilson."<sup>1</sup> And ratifying the treaty as it stood would seem to indicate approval of Wilson's creation, the League.

To "Americanize" the treaty, as Lodge termed it, he introduced fourteen reservations. In effect, the reservations stated that the League had no right to (1) interfere in any question involving the Monroe Doctrine or the domestic affairs of the United States,

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<sup>1</sup> Supporters of the League ridiculed these arguments, pointing out that the League was far from a superstate and could not deprive the Congress of its power, for example, to control the tariff and immigration, or to declare war.

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<sup>1</sup> This hatred was mutual.

or (2) order the United States to use its armed forces to back up any article of the treaty, without the specific approval of the Congress. The Republican-controlled Senate supported most of Lodge's reservations. Democratic critics of Lodge accused him of assembling exactly fourteen reservations in order to ridicule Wilson's Fourteen Points.

**Wilson Counters the Lodge Attack by Taking His Case to the People.** The Lodge reservations would make the League a paper organization. This was Wilson's stubborn conviction. To arouse the nation against the reservations, he went on a country-wide speaking tour in the summer of 1919. The sick and frail President had been warned against making the trip by his doctors. But he confided to a friend that, in the interests of the League, he would gladly give up his life, if necessary.

In the West, Wilson's speeches were greeted with enthusiasm. But after one, he collapsed. Back in Washington, he suffered a paralyzing stroke. From his sickbed, he urged his Democratic supporters in the Senate not to vote for ratification of the treaty with the Lodge reservations. On November 19, 1919, enough of his supporters joined with the irreconcilables to reject the treaty and, with it, the League.

But Wilson wouldn't take "No" for an answer. He looked upon the presidential election of 1920 as "a great and solemn referendum," in which the voters would have an opportunity to express their wishes on the League. He fully expected the voters to elect Democratic candidates running on a pro-League platform.

**The Election of 1920 Gives No Clear Indication of Whether the Voters Are For or Against the League.** The Republican Convention will become deadlocked when no candidate receives enough votes to win the nomination. Then a group of Old Guard Republican leaders will meet in a tobacco-smoke-filled hotel room at two o'clock in the morning. There, they will nominate Warren G. Harding of Ohio for President. The convention will then O.K. this decision. This

was the essence of a prediction made by Harding's campaign manager, Harry Daugherty, several months before the convention met. It all came true and "Dark Horse" Harding was nominated.

The handsome Senator Harding loved a good time. He was kindly and good-natured, but not a deep thinker. Unlike Wilson, he believed in going along with the machine politicians. Unlike Wilson, he was not interested in reforms or governmental regulation. He expressed his "stand-pat" attitude thus:

America's present need is not heroics, but healing, not nostrums, but normalcy; not revolution, but restoration . . . , not surgery, but serenity.

For Vice-President, the Republican Convention nominated Vermont-born Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts.

**The Democratic Party Supports the League.** The Democrats nominated for President James M. Cox, a Wilsonian progressive, and for Vice-President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Wilson's assistant secretary of the navy. Both the Democratic platform and the Democratic candidates strongly supported the League of Nations.

**Many Issues Are Involved in the Election Besides the League.** The Republicans won a smashing victory.<sup>1</sup> This was interpreted by many to mean that the people were opposed to the League. But the Republicans had not campaigned on an anti-League platform. In fact, Harding had not made it clear where he stood on the League.

Furthermore, when they voted in 1920, many voters were not thinking of the League one way or another. Many blamed the party in power for the growing unemployment, the many taxes, the high prices, and the nation's involvement in a war. People were

<sup>1</sup> The Socialist candidate, Eugene V. Debs, polled 900,000 votes to Harding's sixteen million and Cox's nine million. Debs was at the time an inmate of a Federal penitentiary, imprisoned for obstructing the war effort.



*A Rollin Kirby cartoon on the World Court captioned "‘It Was Made in America, Sam.’" What do you think cartoonist Kirby had in mind when he placed the caption on this cartoon?*

absorbed by the many new interests and problems that had arisen after the war.

The word Harding had coined, "normalcy," had a big appeal for the voters. They thought it meant going back to what seemed to them the easy-going good old days—the days before the progressives agitated for reforms and before life was turned topsy-turvy by the war. They wanted to forget all about the war and its wheatless, meatless, and heatless days. What have we got to show for all our wartime sacrifices? many asked.

Technically, however, the United States still was at war, having failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Late in 1921, therefore, three years after the armistice, separate treaties of peace were signed with Germany, Austria, and Hungary.

**Irony in the League Controversy.** In 1915, Senator Lodge had strongly recommended

the creation of an organization like the League of Nations. Yet it was the introduction of his reservations that helped to kill the League. Actually, some of Lodge's reservations were merely rephrasings of clauses already in the League covenant. Even if the reservations had been accepted, the League's organization would not have been very different from the one Wilson wanted. And if Wilson had not urged his followers to reject the reservations, the treaty and, with it, the League would probably have been ratified by an overwhelming vote. Thus, Wilson, who, in a sense, gave his life in the fight for the League, helped to kill it by failing to compromise.

**Again and Again, Presidents Recommend and Senates Reject United States Membership in the World Court.** An American statesman, Elihu Root, had played a major role in planning the organization of the World

Court. From the very beginning, one of its judges was always an American. Most Americans favored United States membership in it. So did the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Bar Association, and the American Federation of Labor, among many organizations. So did every President from Harding to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The other member nations of the Court were eager to have the United States join. They therefore agreed to make certain concessions if it would do so. Yet the United States never did.<sup>1</sup> Why not? A small group of isolationists in the Senate looked upon the Court as a "backdoor" to the League of Nations. Their opposition prevented the Senate from mustering the two-thirds vote necessary for ratification.

## The United States Co-operates While Remaining Generally Isolationist

**Maintaining an Isolationist Policy Becomes More Difficult Than Ever After World War I.** Let's stay "out of Europe's quarrels." Let Europe "stew in its own juice." Neither "by the side door, back door, or cellar door" will the United States enter the League of Nations. Such expressions reflected the strong isolationist sentiment of the 1920's.

What policies of the United States reflected this isolationism? The United States refused to join either the League or the World Court. Indeed, for a short while, mail received by the State Department from the League was sent back unopened. Although the United States urged European nations to disarm, it refused to enter into any pacts guaranteeing them against aggression. American tariffs were greatly increased, and the number of immigrants allowed to enter the country was greatly decreased.

In the 1930's, dictatorships in Japan, Italy, and Germany were practicing such aggressive policies that the United States feared it might be drawn into a second world war. So anxious was the United States to avoid this that it passed laws giving up its rights as a neutral (page 791). In spite of its isolationist efforts, however, the United States eventually found itself fighting in World War II anyway.

Looking back at this isolationist period, a congressman said:

We walked out on the rest of the world and said: "Let the rest of the world go by; we can live here unto ourselves."

Yet, as we shall now see, it is an exaggeration to say that the United States "walked out on the rest of the world," even in this attempted return to isolationism.

**Reasons Why Maintaining an Isolationist Policy Was Difficult.** Obviously, if a nation has very strong economic ties to other nations, it is difficult for it to maintain an isolationist policy. And the economic ties of the United States to other nations were greater than ever after the war. American factory owners and farmers, who had increased their production greatly during the war, were now seeking increased markets all over the world. Increased factory production required great quantities of certain raw materials, such as tin and rubber, that were not produced in the United States. Banking groups were investing larger amounts of capital than ever before around the world.

Before the war, the United States had been a *debtor nation*. This means that Americans owed more to non-Americans than non-Americans owed to Americans. Its tremendous volume of wartime exports had helped to make the United States a *creditor nation*. In war debts alone, the Allied powers owed the United States more than \$10 billion.

Isolationism was also difficult for a nation determined to maintain the Open Door in the Far East and protect its possessions

<sup>1</sup> In 1945, this World Court was replaced by the International Court of Justice of the United Nations, also commonly called the *World Court*, of which the United States is a member.







Charles Evans Hughes ( in the center ) and other delegates to the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference in 1921. An observer at the conference asserted "Secretary Hughes sunk in thirty five minutes more ships than all the admirals of the world have sunk in a cycle of centuries" What did he mean?

expect the other big naval powers to do the same. Hughes' announcement came at a conference called by President Harding in 1921 to which nine nations having big navies or significant interests in the Pacific had been invited.

**The Five-Power Treaty Limits the Naval Strength of the Major Naval Powers.** At this Washington Conference, which lasted into 1922, three important treaties were signed. In keeping with Hughes' recommendation for limitation of naval strength, five major naval powers agreed to fix the tonnage of their big battleships at roughly the following ratio: 5 (United States) : 5 (Great Britain) : 3 (Japan) : 1.7 (France) : 1.7 (Italy).<sup>1</sup> To achieve this ratio, Great Britain, Japan, and especially the United States had

to scrap many of their battleships. In this *Five-Power Treaty*, the signatory powers also agreed on a ten-year naval holiday during which they would build no more big battleships.

**The Four-Power Treaty Pledges Support of the Status Quo in the Pacific.** The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 was ended by a *Four-Power Treaty* agreed upon at the Washington Conference. In it, the United States, Britain, Japan, and France agreed not to try to take over one another's Pacific possessions. They also agreed to consult in case of "aggressive action" in the Pacific. Many senators feared that the Four-Power Treaty was an alliance. Therefore, they ratified it with this reservation. "There is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no obligation to join in any defense"

**The Nine-Power Treaty and Other Treaties Give Some Guarantees to China.** All nine nations represented at the Washington Conference signed another treaty, the *Nine-Power Treaty*. In it, they agreed not to violate China's independence, its territory, or the Open Door policy there. As a result of separate treaties, Japan agreed to leave

<sup>1</sup> The 5 ratio of the United States and Britain would have amounted to about 525,000 tons. To get Japan to accept a 3 ratio, the United States and Britain had to agree not to strengthen their fortifications in the Western Pacific. This meant that Japan would have naval supremacy there. Thus the United States would have difficulty defending the Philippines, Guam, American Samoa, and the Aleutian Islands.

China's Shantung Peninsula and to cancel the Lansing-Ishii Agreement with the United States (page 652). For, in a sense, the Nine-Power Treaty clashed with the Lansing-Ishii Agreement.

**Naval Disarmament Conferences Fail to Prevent an Armament Race.** During the naval holiday on big battleships, international competition set in to build smaller ships. To curb this competition in constructing cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, a conference was held in London in 1930. But relatively little was accomplished at this *London Naval Disarmament Conference*. A major reason why was Japan's humiliation and anger at not being granted naval equality with Britain and the United States at the conference.

In 1934, the Japanese announced that they would henceforth build ships of all kinds without limit. Other nations, including the United States, fearful that they would be left behind in the naval race, also speeded up ship construction. In their Far Eastern possessions, the Japanese built heavy fortifications. Even their island mandates, which the League had forbidden them to fortify, were fortified. Bit by bit, as we shall see, they also seized more Chinese territory. Then, in 1941, they attacked the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Thus America's efforts to keep out of war, to maintain China's Open Door, and, in general, to achieve security for its interests in the Pacific went up in smoke (page 803).

**The General Disarmament Conference at Geneva Fails to Prevent an Armament Race.** Let us abolish *all* offensive armaments—land, sea, and air. This was the proposal made in 1932 by the United States, while participating in the *Geneva Disarmament Conference*. This conference, called by the League of Nations, had been meeting since 1927. It turned down the American proposal for total disarmament, and a later American proposal for partial disarmament.

Why was this conference a failure? Many of its delegates, army and navy men, were eager to obtain agreements by which the

army and navy of their own country would be increased, not decreased. What they wanted was to get the other countries to decrease theirs. Present, too, were lobbyists of munitions manufacturers, who wanted all countries to increase their armies and navies.

A greater obstacle to the success of the conference arose from the differing attitudes of certain nations. The Germans demanded that the other nations disarm. Otherwise, they said, the Treaty of Versailles should be revised to permit Germany to increase its army and armaments. France, always fearful that Germany would repeat its invasions, protested German rearmament, unless the other nations would guarantee France's security. They refused. Germany, then, in 1933, quit the conference and the League. By this time, dictator Adolf Hitler was in control of Germany. In violation of the Treaty of Versailles, which he held in contempt, Hitler began rapidly to rearm Germany. This, plus Japan's aggression in China convinced the Geneva delegates that further discussion of disarmament was pure folly. Soon the armament race in all armaments was on, and this time at a more frenzied pace than ever.

Some nations might have been willing to disarm, if other nations, including the United States, had been willing to join together to use force against aggressors. Such co-operative effort for mutual protection is called *collective security*. But in the generally isolationist period after World War I, the United States was in no mood to join in collective-security agreements.

**Most Nations, Including the United States, Sign a Pact Designed to Outlaw War.** "An international kiss." "A letter to Santa Claus." These were some of the sarcastic labels pinned on a peace pact that, by 1935, had been signed by almost all the nations of the world. This pact, the *Kellogg-Briand Pact* (*Pact of Paris*), sponsored by the United States and France, was drawn up in 1928. The nations that signed it agreed to "renounce war as an instrument of international policy." They also promised that they would settle their disputes by peaceful means only.

However, there was nothing in the pact about how it should be enforced. Besides, the statement about renouncing war could be interpreted in many different ways. All agreed that only offensive wars were to be considered crimes. But what nation ever admits that it fights any but defensive wars?

The United States Senate ratified the pact by a vote of eighty-five to one. But, like most nations, the United States added reservations. One of these made it clear that the United States was not giving up any of its rights assumed under the Monroe Doctrine.

True, many ridiculed the Kellogg Pact. Yet there were millions around the world who hailed this attempt to outlaw aggressive war as a giant step forward in international law.

### **The War Debt Controversy Involves America More in Europe's Affairs, But Intensifies Isolationism**

Gangs of Frenchmen would sometimes attack American tourists on the streets of Paris in the 1920's. This bitterness toward Americans was based upon the refusal of the United States to cancel the war debts.

**European Arguments for Cancellation of the War Debts.** Europeans who thought the United States should cancel the war debts argued somewhat like this:

Almost all of the more than \$10 billion borrowed from the United States was spent in the United States for munitions and food. Look at all the money American manufacturers and farmers made as a result. Why should the United States, which is so rich, compel payment from Europe, which is so poor? We Europeans fought this war for the preservation of civilization much longer than you did. We lost far more lives. We saw our homes, factories, crops, libraries, and churches destroyed. You Americans should be glad to cancel the war debts, which are only a fraction of what the war cost us.

You make it impossible for us to pay anyway. We can't pay you in gold, for we have

little of it. You already have more than half of the gold in the world. Your high tariff makes it difficult for us to sell goods in your country. Thus we can't get the money with which to pay you. In any case, we'll pay the war debts we owe you if Germany pays us the reparations it owes us. We're willing to cancel Germany's reparations if the United States is willing to cancel the war debts. If this is done, Europe will prosper once more. America will prosper, too, for it will be able to sell more goods to more Europeans.

**The General American Attitude on the War Debts.** This European attitude embittered many Americans. Isolationists in particular said that it proved that Europeans were dishonest, and that the United States should never get involved in their affairs. Indignant Americans protested somewhat like this:

If Europe doesn't pay its war debts, won't the burden fall on American taxpayers in the long run? In the peace settlement, the Allies got territories and reparations. We asked for nothing and got nothing. Europe says it can't pay, but European nations seem to have enough money to continue building big armies and navies. Maybe if the United States makes Europe pay, European nations won't be in such a hurry to get into wars in the future. In any case, a good portion of the so-called war debts was borrowed after the war was over. This in itself proves what we contend: that there is no connection between the war debts and Germany's reparations. If we cancel the debts, how can any nation have any faith in any future international financial dealings?

One American summed up most of these arguments thus: "We went across, but they won't come across!"

**Some Steps Taken by the United States to Solve the War Debts-Reparations Controversy.** Almost from the start, Germany failed to pay much on its reparations and the Allies failed to pay much on their war debts. To make it easier for Germany to pay reparations to the Allies, reparations were scaled down sharply. This was done under plans drawn up by two Americans, Charles C

Dawes and Owen D. Young. To make it easier for countries to pay their war debts, the United States reduced them in line with a nation's ability to pay. In 1931, President Herbert Hoover recommended a *moratorium* (postponement) on payment of reparations and war debts for one year. Thus Hoover seemed to be recognizing a connection between war debts and reparations. The moratorium was accepted by the fifteen Governments involved.

*Why the Hoover Moratorium Was Declared.* The Great Depression of the 1930's made it difficult for Germany to pay reparations and for the Allies to pay war debts, even if they had wanted to. Hard times were encouraging the growth of radical movements, such as communism and fascism in Germany and other European countries. To have insisted upon payment would have increased discontent and increased the numbers of communists and fascists. To have insisted upon reparations would have meant that Germany would lack the money to pay private American investors. It was also felt that postponement of collection of reparations and war debts would give a boost to international trade.

*The Johnson Act Is Passed in Anger Against Defaulters on War Debts.* When the year's postponement was up, a few nations made partial payment of their war debts. Thereafter, all nations but Finland<sup>1</sup> defaulted on payments. Of the total war debt owed, the United States collected less than one-quarter. Most of the money repaid the United States had come to the Allies in reparations from Germany. And most of the reparations paid by Germany had been borrowed from American citizens. Most of this borrowed money was never repaid.

In retaliation for the Allies' failure to pay their war debts, the United States passed the Johnson Act in 1934. This act forbade Americans to lend money to any Government that had failed to pay its debt to the United States. It was sponsored by the strongly isolationist Senator Hiram Johnson. Its passage shows how the war debt controversy had intensified isolationism among Americans.

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<sup>1</sup> Finland's debt was not technically a war debt. Finland was one of the several "new" nations to which the United States extended loans after the war.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 28

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Fourteen Points	Council of the League	Henry Cabot Lodge	Nine-Power Treaty
self-determination	League Assembly	Harry Daugherty	London Naval Disarmament Conference
reparations	Secretariat	James M. Cox	Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1927
Georges Clemenceau	World Court	normalcy	Adolph Hitler
David Lloyd George	sanctions	Elihu Root	collective security
Paris Peace Settlement	ILO	debtor nation	Kellogg-Briand Pact
Big Four	Treaty of Versailles	creditor nation	war debt controversy
Vittorio Orlando	irreconcilables	Washington Conference of 1921-1922	Hoover moratorium
League of Nations	reservationists	Five-Power Treaty	Johnson Act
mandates		Four-Power Treaty	
war-guilt clause			

★ **Questions to Check  
Basic Information**

1. For what reasons was President Wilson so joyously welcomed in Europe in 1918?
2. Show how at least five of Wilson's Fourteen Points were intended to eliminate the basic causes of war.
3. For what specific reasons did the Allies object to many of the Fourteen Points after victory was won?
4. Show how specific provisions in the secret treaties stood in the way of achieving the Fourteen Points
5. For what reasons (a) were meetings of the Big Four held in secret and (b) was Wilson willing to compromise there on many of his Fourteen Points?
6. Show that in the Paris Peace Settlement (a) some of the Fourteen Points were recognized and (b) some of the secret treaties were fulfilled.
7. Give (a) the major purposes of the League of Nations and (b) the functions of its major organs.
8. Describe each of the methods by which the League could try to settle international disputes.
9. Describe some of the League's (a) weaknesses and (b) efforts to eliminate social and economic evils.
10. What strong objections were raised in the United States to its joining the League of Nations?
11. Mention individuals and groups opposed to the Treaty of Versailles with its provision for the League of Nations. Give reasons for their opposition.
12. What steps did Wilson take to fight Lodge's reservations?
13. Give examples to prove that the League was not the only issue the voters were concerned about in the election of 1920.
14. Prove that the World Court had influential (a) supporters and (b) opponents in the United States.
15. Give examples to show that after World War I (a) the United States tried to practice isolationism but (b) found it difficult to do so.

16. In what ways did the United States cooperate with the League of Nations?
17. Explain (a) why the Washington Conference was called and (b) its agreements with respect to (1) naval disarmament and (2) the situation in the Far East.
18. In what ways were the naval disarmament conferences failures?
19. For what reasons was the Geneva Disarmament Conference a failure?
20. What were the built-in weaknesses of the Kellogg-Briand Pact?
21. Associate the war debt controversy with (a) the arguments on both sides, (b) the Dawes and Young plans, (c) the Hoover moratorium, and (d) the Johnson Act

★ **Questions for Thought  
and Discussion**

1. The welcome Europe gave Wilson in 1918 was more than a welcome to a man. It was an expression of age-old dreams of mankind. Explain fully.
2. If you were drawing up a program for a lasting peace, what would be the three most important points in it? Justify your choices.
3. In World War I the Fourteen Points proved that ideas are powerful weapons. Give reasons why.
4. What do you consider the major obstacle to the achievement of the Fourteen Points? For what reasons?
5. Would the world have been better off if Wilson had not compromised on his Fourteen Points? Explain fully.
6. One could almost have predicted which of the Fourteen Points would be ignored in the Paris Peace Settlement. For what reasons?
7. What advantages would the League of Nations have enjoyed if the United States had joined it?
8. Make specific suggestions for changes that you think might have strengthened the League of Nations.
9. Give your opinions of any three argu-

ments raised against joining the League of Nations.

10. If you had been an adviser to President Wilson, what suggestions would you have made to him to get (a) Senatorial backing and (b) the people's backing for the League?
11. Senator Lodge's attack on the League and President Wilson's counterattack have all the elements of great tragedy. What elements?
12. There are many lessons to be learned from the election of 1920. What lessons?
13. Would you have favored joining the League's World Court? Justify your answer.
14. Maintaining an isolationist policy in the twentieth century was much more difficult than doing so in the nineteenth. For what reasons?
15. For what reasons did the United States find it necessary to co-operate with certain League agencies?
16. What do you consider the major reasons for the failure of the various disarmament conferences after World War I?
17. Which side do you think had the better arguments in the war debt controversy? Justify your answer.
18. Do you think passage of the Johnson Act in 1934 was wise? Give reasons for your opinion.

☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. On an outline map of the world locate every important place mentioned in this chapter.
2. Write a letter such as President Wilson might have written to a friend at home describing his reactions to (a) the welcome he received on his arrival in Europe in 1918 or (b) the bitterness of many Europeans when Wilson took a strong stand against their nations' demands.

3. Draw a cartoon showing the attitude of (a) Clemenceau or (b) Henry Cabot Lodge toward President Wilson, or vice versa.
4. Debate: (a) That President Wilson was more responsible for America's rejection of the League of Nations than Henry Cabot Lodge; (b) That the United States should have canceled the war debts immediately; or (c) That the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations made World War II inevitable.
5. Imagine your committee is Wilson's delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918. Map out a program for presentation to the conference.
6. Compile a series of questions that you would like to have asked any individual mentioned in this chapter on the stand he took on a controversial question.
7. As a research topic, investigate (a) the extent to which the United States co-operated with the League of Nations, (b) all of the Lodge reservations to determine to what extent they would have weakened the League, (c) how valid the arguments given against the United States' joining the League of Nations were, (d) the significance of the Johnson Act of 1934, or (e) the reasons for the failure of the Geneva Disarmament Conference called in 1927.
8. Write an imaginary dialogue between a supporter and an opponent of (a) United States entry into the (1) League of Nations or (2) World Court, (b) cancellation of the war debts, or (c) a tough Treaty of Versailles.
9. Write an imaginary letter to a senator voicing your disappointment with the Kellogg-Briand Pact and suggesting what kind of pact should have been written.
10. As a member of a committee, contribute to the agenda for an imaginary disarmament conference of the 1920's or '30's.
11. Investigate Senator Gerald Nye's Munitions Investigating Committee of the

1930's to determine what historians think of its findings.

12. Draw up a newspaper advertisement urging people to sign a petition supporting or opposing any organization or policy discussed in this chapter.
13. Find out what foreigners thought of American foreign policies in the 1920's and early 1930's. Give your sources of information.
14. Write a paper stating whether you think President Wilson deserved the Nobel

peace prize that he was awarded in 1919.

15. Read at least two accounts of any controversial subject discussed in this chapter in the source books or the foreign affairs books listed in the general bibliography on pages xv and xvi. Report on which account seems to you more convincing and for what reasons.
16. From the *American Heritage* series, read "Woodrow Wilson Wouldn't Yield" (June, 1957). Report on what lessons might be drawn from the article.

## CHAPTER

# 29

### *What Life Was Like In the 'Golden Twenties'*

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#### **Some Social Features of a Frenzied Era**

• Movies, Radio, Jazz, Automobiles, Airplanes, Flappers, Prohibition, Corruption, and Intolerance Are Strong Influences • Fear of Foreign Influences Is a Major Factor in Immigration Restriction • 'Flaming Youth' Rebels Against Long-established Manners and Morals • Even More Conventional Youth Demands More Independence • Many Gifted Writers Ridicule Old Values, But Rarely Substitute New Ones • Americans Become More Music-minded • Artists and Architects: Realists and Modernists

#### **Some Political Highlights of the 'Golden Twenties'**

• The Normally Happy Harding Has a Sad Presidency • Prosperity Reigns and Few Problems Trouble the Coolidge Administration • Friendlier Relations Are Promoted with Latin America • Some Reasons Why Herbert Hoover Defeated Alfred E. Smith in 1928

#### **The Business Boom Inspires Hope That 'Poverty Will Be Banished'**

• Business Is Strongly Supported by Both the Government and the People • Railroad Consolidation Is Encouraged • Taxes Are Cut • The Tariff Is Raised • A Technological Revolution Increases Production • The Automobile, Electrical, Aviation, Motion-Picture, Radio, and Chemical Industries Boost the Business Boom

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#### **Some Social Features Of a Frenzied Era**

The "Golden Twenties," the "Roaring Twenties," the "Era of Flaming Youth," the "Lawless Decade," the "Jazz Age," the "Age of the Flapper"—these are just a few of the names that have been given to the frenzied,

almost hysterical 1920's. It was a period when millions seemed mixed up—desperately seeking fun, engaging in fad after fad, and breaking tradition after tradition. Yet, with all this bravado, many, as we shall see, were filled with fears.

This was a time when the nation in general was so prosperous that many predicted



that the United States would never again see poverty. Yet most farmers did not share in this prosperity. Nor did several million wage earners.

Making money meant so much to many that they all but ignored spiritual matters. And many were making so much money on the stock market that people asked: "Why work?"

But suddenly, in October, 1929, the bubble of prosperity burst, and the nation—and the whole world—wound up in the worst depression in all history.

**The Twenties Are Fad-Filled and Sports-Crazy.** For such a mixed-up period, the then hit tunes "Yes, We Have No Bananas" and "Barney Google, with the Goo-Goo-Googly Eyes" seemed especially appropriate. So did the fads of such endurance contests as sitting for days atop a flagpole or dancing for days in so-called dance marathons held before large crowds. Playing contract bridge or mahjong, and working crossword puzzles were also crazes. Over and over again, people would say to themselves: "Day by day, in every way, I'm getting better and better." This, they were advised by the Frenchman Emile Coué, was the road to success.

In the sports-crazy Twenties, people went wild when Babe Ruth hit sixty home runs in a season; when Bobby Jones won every important golf tournament; and when Bill Tilden won every important tennis tournament. Sports became big business. Huge stadiums were built into which huge crowds swarmed to watch football games.

**Movies, Radio, Jazz, Automobiles, and Airplanes Contribute to the Excitement of the Twenties.** The still-young movie industry boomed as women swooned over such idols as Rudolph Valentino. The whole family rocked with laughter over such comedians as Charlie Chaplin. Many actors and singers deserted the legitimate stage for Hollywood after the appearance of the first talking movies in 1927.

With the birth of radio in the 1920's, there was female swooning over the crooning of Rudy Vallee. And never before in history

had clergymen, educators, politicians, newscasters, and advertisers been able to reach so many millions of listeners at one time.

This was the era, too, when jazz, with its wild rhythms, came into its own. Dominating orchestras, saxophones blared forth as "flaming youth" frantically danced the delirious Charleston.

The still-young automobile industry boomed, too, as Henry Ford showed how to produce a car cheap enough for millions to afford. This was his *Model T*, nicknamed the "Tin Lizzie." The even-younger aviation industry also boomed when young Charles

*By the 1920's, George M. Cohan, pictured here, had made a tremendous impact on the American theater. The composer of "Over There" and numerous other songs also wrote many plays and musicals, and was a performer and producer as well. Unlike the cynical work done by many in the Twenties, the work of this so-called "Yankee Doodle Boy" was exuberantly patriotic.*



Lindbergh made the first solo nonstop flight across the Atlantic in his *Spirit of St. Louis*.

**Flappers, Prohibition, Government Scandals, and Intolerance Are Other Features of the Twenties.** Many girls, especially, smashed traditions. "Flappers" is what such girls in the Twenties were called. They maintained that they were, by their behavior, just shaking off the shackles that had bound females from the beginning of time. Divorces became much more common and family ties in general weakened. Many blamed the new freedom of the Age of the Flapper for these trends.

In January, 1920, the Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment banning the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors went into effect. This ushered in the "Dry Decade," which became a "Lawless Decade," as gangs of gangsters competed with one another to control the illegal sale of liquor. This was a time, too, of shocking scandals in government and shocking intolerance toward minority groups and opinions.

**Distinctive Literature and Art and Expanded Education Are Also Features of the Prosperous Twenties.** During the prosperous Twenties, too, literature and the arts in America developed distinctive qualities. High school enrollment increased by sixty-six per cent and college enrollment by seventy-five per cent. Rural education got a big boost from the invention of the automobile. Small, poorly equipped schoolhouses could be abandoned now that school buses could carry pupils long distances to large, well-equipped central schools offering many courses.

Having thus glanced at some social aspects of the Twenties, let us examine these and other social aspects of the period in more detail. Later on, we will do likewise for the political and economic aspects.

**Fear of Foreign Influence and of People Who Seem Different Sweeps the Nation.** When World War I was over, the spirit of intolerance prevalent during the war lingered on. Much of this intolerance was directed against foreigners. Many Americans blamed foreign nations for drawing the

United States into the fighting in Europe.

Furthermore, the new-born Communist Government of Russia was preaching world revolution and spreading communism throughout Europe. Many Americans feared, and Communists in the United States hoped, that the United States would be next on Russia's timetable. Apprehensive Americans felt, therefore, that it was the duty of every good American to be on the watch for any person expressing radical ideas.

Most Communists in the United States were recent arrivals. This is one reason why aliens were especially suspect. Even American citizens who expressed new and different ideas—not necessarily radical—were frequently looked upon with suspicion. As often happens in periods of intolerance, minority groups were singled out as victims. Among such were Japanese, Negroes, Jews, and Catholics.

**An Epidemic of Strikes Causes Antiradical Fever.** In protest over their wretched conditions of work and their low pay, the Boston police went on strike in 1919. Bostonians feared for all private property as hoodlums took advantage of the strike to rob stores. The governor of Massachusetts, Calvin Coolidge, expressed the feeling of millions throughout the nation when he said that there was "no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." Although the public had at first been sympathetic to the underpaid police, they approved when all the strikers were fired and a new police force was hired.

A few days later, 365,000 employees of the United States Steel Corporation struck. Much of the public, including the Federation of Churches, supported the strikers. This was largely because many of them received less than \$30 a week for working seven twelve-hour days. But as violence broke out and many got the impression that radical agitators were behind the strike, public opinion shifted. The strike failed.

All in all, more than four million workers took part in about 3,000 strikes in 1919. Many of these were successful.

*The Role of Palmer and the Press in Spreading Antiradical Fever.* These strikes increased anti-Communist feeling. President Wilson's attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, stirred up the nation by accusing strikers in general of being disloyal. He implied that they were partners in a radical conspiracy. Many newspapers fanned the flames of public intolerance. Feeling became so intense that many nonradicals were fearful of expressing opinions. For Palmer had said that "free expression of opinion was dangerous to American institutions."

*Some Other Factors That Contributed to the Spread of Antiradical Fever.* Certain developments caused many to draw the conclusion that talk of the Red (Communist) threat was more than mere propaganda. Bombs were mailed to the homes of many prominent citizens thought to be against unions and immigration. Bombs planted in the nation's financial center, Wall Street, New York, killed about forty people. The use of bombs could only be the work of Reds, many Americans were convinced. Furthermore, some strike leaders were members of the radical IWW (page 601).

Yet the overwhelming majority of strikers and their leaders, too, were as loyal as any other Americans. Many of the persons discovered to have mailed the bombs were mentally ill or alien anarchists. Practically all the strikes had been called because workers were demanding higher wages and shorter hours in a time of steadily rising prices.

*The Palmer Raids Are a Product of the Red Scare.* Late in 1919 and early in 1920, Palmer organized a series of raids to arrest and deport aliens who were Communists. Thousands from coast to coast were jailed. The homes and offices of many were searched without warrants. Many such persons were neither aliens nor Communists, nor in any way connected with radicalism. In time, most were released. More than 500 were deported under an Alien Act that gave the secretary of labor the power to deport any alien he suspected of being a radical. In John Adams' Presidency, the Alien and Sedition Acts had

also interfered with civil liberties (page 178). But this could not compare with what went on during the Red scare of Palmer days.

Some prominent citizens, including Charles Evans Hughes (page 669), protested the *Palmer raids*. He called them "violations of personal rights which savor of the worst practices of tyranny." But the public in general approved of them.

The Red scare petered out by the end of 1920. The Communist threat in Europe seemed to have been halted. Many came to feel that communism in the United States had been much exaggerated. Some feared that if the Palmer techniques continued, the Bill of Rights might be permanently threatened. And many other interests were competing for the attention of the American public in the fun-loving, fad-filled Twenties. Yet the influence of the Red scare never entirely died out.

*Fear of Foreign Influence Is a Major Factor in Restriction of Immigration.* Nearly a million immigrants came to the United States in 1920. The poverty and destruction caused by the war were encouraging millions more to begin packing their baggage for America. Native Americans pictured themselves being swamped by a flood of foreigners. Shall we permit alien cultures to threaten our "Anglo-Saxon" way of life? some asked. They were especially disturbed because so many of the newcomers were coming from Southern and Eastern Europe.

Much of the suspicion toward these so-called new immigrants (page 579) came from native Americans who lived in, and whose families had long lived in, country districts or small towns. Many looked upon the ever-growing big cities as a threat to long-standing American traditions. It was in the big cities that most of the new immigrants settled. City factories were major centers for radical propaganda. This is one reason why such native Americans tended to blame new immigrants for the spread of radicalism. In fact, many of the reasons that explain the Red scare also explain the loud cry for immigration restriction.

*The Ku Klux Klan Opposes Immigrants, Among Other Groups.* In the 1850's, a native American, or Know-Nothing, Party had opposed immigration as a threat to American traditions (page 278). In 1915, the *Ku Klux Klan* (KKK), another group that appealed to native Americans to save America from foreigners, was formed. Between 1920 and 1925, the Klan increased its membership from 5,000 to five million. In its secrecy, its rituals, its mysterious language, its midnight rides, and its hooded costumes, it recalled the old KKK of Reconstruction days (page 416).

In addition to being against immigrants, the new KKK was against Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. It also opposed any ties between the United States and foreign nations, such as the League of Nations. Its methods included propaganda, boycotts of Catholic, Jewish, and immigrant businessmen, intimidation, and even terror. It gained great political influence throughout the nation, but especially in rural areas. However, by 1930, the KKK was practically dead. Many Americans, including many Klan members themselves, had come to the conclusion that the KKK way was not the American way.

*Labor Unions Continue to Oppose, and More Employers Begin to Oppose, Unrestricted Immigration.* Labor unions, since about 1880, had opposed the unrestricted flow of immigration (page 580). Most employers had not. Needing unskilled laborers for their factories, they had welcomed immigration. In fact, one prominent industrialist had called opposition to immigration "Red hysteria." However, during the 1920's, more and more machines were invented that could do the work of unskilled laborers. Besides, as the Red scare spread, many employers became fearful of foreign radical agitation. All over the country, too, there were many who felt that the United States had reached the point where it could no longer assimilate huge numbers of immigrants.

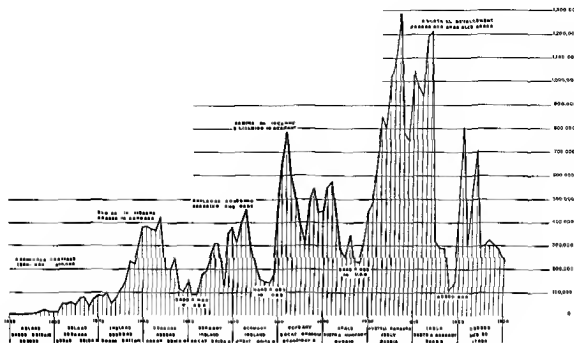
*The Quota Laws of the 1920's Restrict Immigration Sharply.* All this opposition helps to explain why the Congress, in the 1920's, began to restrict immigration sharply.

*A Long-standing Tradition of Welcoming Immigrants Is Broken in 1921.* Between 1921 and 1922, the number of immigrants to the United States dropped from about 800,000 to about 300,000. This was the result of the passage of the *Emergency Quota Act of 1921*, which fixed the *quota* (maximum number) of immigrants that could be admitted from each European country yearly. This quota was three per cent of the number of persons of each nationality living in the United States in 1910. But opponents of immigration considered 300,000 immigrants far too many. Some objected because the new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe filled their quotas, while those from Northern and Western Europe did not. This meant a greater influx of new immigrants than these Americans considered desirable.

*The National Origins Act of 1924 Restricts European Immigration Further and Bars Oriental Immigration Entirely.* The Congress' answer to the criticism of the 1921 law was the passage of the *National Origins Act of 1924*. This act cut the quota from three per cent to two per cent, and changed the base year from 1910 to 1890. Eighteen ninety was chosen because there were then relatively few people from Southern and Eastern Europe in the United States. This 1924 quota law sharply reduced total immigration and especially immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. It barred Asian immigration entirely.

The proud Japanese were indignant at being classified with other groups barred earlier, such as the mentally ill, paupers, criminals, and radicals (page 581). "Hate America" groups in Japan multiplied. They were quick to rally to the support of Japanese militarists when they launched an attack on America's Pearl Harbor naval base in 1941 (page 803). Since Japan's quota would have been less than 200, many feel that Japanese exclusion was an unnecessary slap in the face to the Japanese.

*European Immigration Is Limited to 150,000 Annually.* In 1929, a plan went into effect limiting the total number of immigrants



Make three interesting observations on this chart of the leading sources of United States immigration from the 1820's through the 1920's (From the booklet "Americans All—Immigrants All," published by the Federal Radio Education Committee in co-operation with the United States Office of Education; based on figures furnished by the Bureau of Immigration.)

from all European countries to 150,000. The quota for each country was based on the number of that nationality in the United States in 1920.<sup>1</sup> Each European nation was entitled to send at least 100 immigrants a year, even if its quota did not amount to that many. Quota restrictions did not apply, however, to would-be immigrants from Canada or the Latin-American republics.

As a result of this law and the depression of the 1930's, the number of emigrants practically canceled out the number of immi-

grants in some years.<sup>1</sup> Thus the great river of immigration that had flowed from the Old World to the New for three centuries had now been reduced to a trickle.

**Some Criticisms of the Immigration Laws of the 1920's.** Critics have called these immigration laws prejudiced and un-American. They point out that many of the new immigrants or those from Asia have proved to be as good American citizens as those from any other area. Such criticisms have helped to bring about some changes in the immigration laws since 1945 (page 682). But critics demand more fundamental changes. Some

<sup>1</sup> The law states: "The annual quota for any one nationality shall be the number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 having that national origin bears to the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 of European origin."

<sup>1</sup> Many would-be immigrants in the depression years were refused admittance on the grounds that they might become paupers needing Government support.

suggest that it would be wiser for the United States to select its immigrants on the basis of their character and ability, rather than on the basis of their national origins.

**The Life and Death of the Prohibition Experiment.** The manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors was prohibited by the Eighteenth Amendment, adopted in 1919. An intoxicating liquor was defined in the Volstead Act of the same year as any beverage containing one-half of one per cent alcohol.

**Why the Eighteenth Amendment Was Adopted.** The attempt to prohibit the sale and use of intoxicating liquors dates back to the temperance movement of the Jacksonian period. During World War I, agitation for prohibition increased. All the old arguments against the use of alcoholic beverages (pages 274, 583) were repeated. Here, however, are two of the new arguments that were added: Prohibition, by preventing drunkenness, would result in better soldiers and more efficient workers. And the grain not used for making alcoholic beverages could be used to feed the armed forces, the Allies, and the civilian population.

Prohibitionists from rural areas argued that hard-drinking immigrants tended to settle in cities. They blamed these immigrants for the drunkenness that contributed so much to the crime, corruption, poverty, and immorality of the big cities.

Even before the Federal Prohibition Amendment went into effect in January, 1920, two-thirds of the states had adopted prohibition laws. Practically all of these states were in rural areas. The majority of the people apparently favored the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

**Many Protest Prohibition as an Interference with Their Rights.** By what right, many asked, does the Government tell me whether I may or may not drink? Veterans returning from the war protested that prohibition had been slipped over on them while they were busy fighting. Rebellious young men and women of the 1920's, who thought it was sophisticated to drink, laughed at the law. So,

too, did millions of their elders who made their own "home brew" or "bathtub gin," or crowded into illegal saloons called *speakeasies*. Furthermore, cynicism had replaced wartime idealism. Cynics laughed at the idea that prohibition would solve problems.

**Racketeers Capitalize on Prohibition.** Prohibition, designed in part to prevent crime, helped to make crime a big business. Since so many millions were willing to spend millions to get intoxicating liquor, the criminal element found all sorts of ways to supply it. These suppliers, called *bootleggers*, brought in truckloads of bootleg liquor from Canada. They bribed many policemen and officials, if necessary, en route. Speedy motorboats met liquor-laden ships anchored outside the twelve-mile limit and transported their cargoes to secret destinations along the coast. Soon gangs of bootleggers engaged in violent competition in this profitable racket. In many large cities hundreds of gang murders were committed.

With their bootlegging racket well-organized and with hundreds of gangsters on their payrolls, some gangster leaders soon branched out into other rackets. They forced businessmen in many different businesses to pay them "protection money." If a businessman refused, his store or factory might be bombed and he, members of his family, or some of his employees might be beaten up or even killed.

Some gangsters forced their way into dominating positions in certain labor unions. This enabled them to demand a percentage of the union dues paid by workers or to threaten employers with strikes unless they were paid off.

Gangsters also branched out into running such businesses as gambling houses, road-houses, and race tracks. Kidnaping for ransom became another sideline.

**Why Racketeers Often Went Unpunished.** The Prohibition Amendment grew more and more unpopular with much of the population, especially in the big cities. This made it difficult for law-enforcing agencies to do their job. There were too few Federal agents to

enforce the law and they were too poorly paid. Bribery convinced some of them to look the other way. Bribery or contempt for the law explains why some policemen in some cities even directed inquirers to the nearest speakeasy. Through bribery or intimidation, some gang leaders were even able to place entire city governments under their domination. No wonder many gangsters were not convicted for their many crimes!

Nevertheless, the prohibitionists (called *drys*) insisted that, given time, the prohibition experiment would succeed. They pointed out that rural districts in general were respecting prohibition. They quoted statistics to demonstrate that in the nation as a whole a decline in drunkenness had taken place. Eventually, however, most people came to agree with the antiprohibitionists (called *wets*) that prohibition must go.

'Flaming Youth' Rebels Against Long-established Manners and Morals. This is how the poet Edna St. Vincent Millay expressed the enjoy-life-today-and-don't-worry-about-tomorrow spirit of many young people of the Twenties.

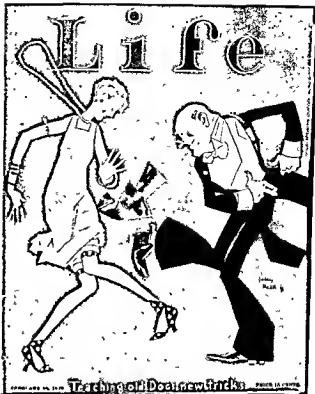
My candle burns at both ends.

It will not last the night,

But ah, my foes, and oh, my friends—

It gives a lovely light!<sup>1</sup>

Because of the prosperity of this period, many found it easy to indulge themselves in the pursuit of pleasure. Many young people looked upon the older generation as stuffy, prudish, old-fashioned bores. The cynical "flaming youth" of the Twenties was in rebellion against the rules for good conduct long held sacred. The idea of throwing themselves into reform movements, as the progressives had, seemed silly to many. Said one cynical writer, H. L. Mencken: "If I am convinced of anything it is that DOING GOOD is in bad taste." Some even admired



Besides the fact that this flapper is teaching the Charleston, what else does this John Held, Jr., cartoon tell about the Twenties?

the bootleggers and other gangsters for making good in a financial way.

**Some Reasons for This Spirit of Rebellion and Desire for Independence.** Not all young people of the Twenties were in the "flaming youth" category. Many were serious-minded and realized that their elders had much to teach them. But even many of these had a strong desire for greater independence. They seemed to feel that, in the past, young people had been too much held in check.

**How the War Stimulated This Spirit and Desire.** The war had drawn millions of men into the service, many of whom had gone away with the feeling that they might not come back. This, plus the hardships at the front, fostered the idea that any person is foolish who doesn't have a good time while he can. Moreover, many who had never been

<sup>1</sup> "First Fig" from *Collected Poems*, Harper & Bros. Copyright 1922, 1950 by Edna St. Vincent Millay. By permission of Norma Millay Ellis.

away from home before saw different ways of life. This encouraged them to question many of the customs and traditions they had been taught to accept. World War I had been the biggest war up to that time. It hit the world so hard and brought about such great changes that many felt that their pre-war ideas were out-of-date in the post-war world.

The war had drawn women into all kinds of jobs to take the place of men drawn into service. Most of these jobs had never before been held by women. In fact, a relatively small percentage of women had ever worked outside their homes before.

***Greater Financial Independence and More Home Conveniences Make Women Feel Freer.*** Partly out of gratitude for women's contributions to the war effort on the home front and behind the lines on the war front, the nation adopted the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 (page 584). Now it was illegal for states to deny women the right to vote because they were women. Now that women had more political power, they demanded more economic and social rights. These demands increased as women became more and more financially independent of their fathers or their husbands. Helping to make them so were the booming industries of the Twenties that provided jobs for millions of women. Many of these industries were relatively new ones that turned out large quantities of vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, washing machines, and other electrical household conveniences. These devices, plus the greatly increased number of laundries, bakeries, and delicatessens, gave the housewife more time for activities outside the home.

***Sensational Movies and Publications—and the Automobile, Too—Encourage Breaks with Traditions.*** In the Twenties, there was a tremendous expansion in the production of movies and in the publication of certain sensational magazines and newspapers. Many movies and such magazines glamorized breaking with traditions. They seemed to suggest that those who didn't make such breaks would lead dull, stuffy lives. The tremendous expansion of the automobile in-

dustry at this time also encouraged the breaking of traditions. Many young people, before the automobile, would have spent their evenings with the family at home. Now many thought it sophisticated to drive their dates to a roadside speakeasy and stay out until dawn.

***Psychology Is Used to Justify the Rebellious Spirit.*** The writings of an Austrian doctor, Sigmund Freud, became quite popular during the Twenties. Often, however, they were misinterpreted to mean that unless one expressed oneself fully, without inhibitions, one might become a mental and physical wreck. Actually, Freud had urged that people learn to understand themselves fully so as to be able to exercise control over their behavior.

***Many Females Show Their Independence in Their Appearance and Behavior.*** "What next?" many parents asked. They found the revolution taking place in their daughters' dress and manners in the 1920's shocking. Many girls bobbed their long hair. Many shortened their long skirts to above the knee and exposed their bare knees by rolling their stockings. Now these stockings were made of silk or rayon, instead of cotton. For many, the corset, the petticoat, and the cover-all bathing suit became as old-fashioned as did lady-like language. Many shocked their elders still more by using lipstick and rouge, and by smoking and even drinking. But soon some formerly shocked mothers were dressing and behaving much like their daughters.

***Many Females Use Their Independence in Constructive Ways.*** It would be a big mistake to believe that all women in the Twenties went to extremes in dress and behavior. Most, for example, never saw the inside of a speakeasy. Many mothers spent long hours in the home, cooking, washing clothes, and scrubbing floors, much as their mothers had. If they went out to work, it was to add to the family income, perhaps to help send their sons and daughters to college. And thousands more daughters were going to college than ever before. When many opportunities were opened to them in business



and the professions in the Twenties, women proved that only prejudice could hold them back.<sup>1</sup> Educated women began making reputations as executives in business and government, as scientists, artists, doctors, and lawyers.

Many women threw themselves enthusiastically into movements to improve politics, education, and the welfare of the poor, the handicapped, and children. The trend toward more comfortable, less cumbersome clothing introduced by the flappers became, in more modified form, the fashion of many women. As women became more independent and influential, they frequently had more to say than their husbands in deciding which products would be bought for the home. Thus manufacturers tended to cater more and more to female tastes.

**Looking at the Twenties Through a Study of Some of Its Writers.** The novelist Sinclair Lewis won the Nobel prize for literature in 1930. Although he was the first American to do so, his winning of the honor angered a good many Americans. They probably would have been equally angry if the award had been given to any one of most of the outstanding American writers of the period. Yet few periods in American history had as many writers who were as creative, dynamic, and interesting as those of the 1920's.<sup>2</sup>

**Many Gifted Writers Ridicule Old Values, But Rarely Substitute New Ones.** What angered quite a few Americans was that many of these writers seemed to see little that was good in American life. They criticized the United States as a land where too many people were spending far too much time chasing the dollar. Too little time, said such authors, was devoted

to literature, art, and music. Their themes often stressed the ugly side of life, often in hard-boiled language. This shocked people accustomed to the more genteel writing of the nineteenth century. Some biographers shocked readers by debunking (casting doubt on) the greatness of many of the nation's past heroes.

Many of the writers sneered at old values. Yet they had no new values to substitute for them. They therefore considered themselves the *Lost Generation*. An important reason for the cynicism, restlessness, and despair of many of them was their disillusionment with the results of World War I. Some fled what they considered vulgar American civilization to live in Paris or on the Riviera.

**Some of the Disillusioned Writers of the Twenties.** In his novel *Babbitt*, Sinclair Lewis satirizes American businessmen as back-slapping, go-getting, apparently self-satisfied individuals. He considers them rather pathetic people, who cannot find in money-making the happiness they seek. In Lewis' novel *Main Street*, small-town life in the Midwest is satirized as narrow, smug, and hypocritical. The practice of medicine is attacked in his *Arrowsmith* as a materialistic jungle, where idealistic researchers face overwhelming obstacles.

Characters in such novels as *This Side of Paradise* and *The Great Gatsby* by F. Scott Fitzgerald are constantly searching for happiness. But having no new values to substitute for the old values they have discarded, they do not find it. They do not find it in speakasies, in fast cars, in fast living at luxurious Long Island resorts, in Paris, or on the Riviera.

To the novelist Ernest Hemingway, the world of the Twenties seemed a confused, almost meaningless one. In it, too many people were always talking too much about ideals in which they did not believe themselves. In his novel *A Farewell to Arms*, Hemingway attacks what he considers the false ideals preached to drag peace-loving individuals into World War I. Typical, cynical, disillusioned characters of the *Lost Generation* are

<sup>1</sup> However, even today in some fields, when a man and a woman are equally qualified for promotion to a certain position, the man, more often than not, gets it. Nor have women in some states won complete legal equality with men.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, many of these writers, as well as many musicians and artists of the period, continued their work long after the Twenties.

depicted in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. They spend their wasted lives in Spain at bullfights, drinking too much, and fighting over a woman.

In Theodore Dreiser's novel *An American Tragedy*, a morally weak young man, ambitious for wealth and power, brings about the drowning of his girl friend. Some say that Dreiser blamed this tragedy not so much on the young man as on society, which made wealth and power seem so important to him. Others see in the novel just an interesting story that shows the evil effects of lack of character training and an unhappy childhood.

*An American Tragedy* made Dreiser famous. His earlier novels, also on sordid subjects, shocked readers accustomed to the sentimental writing of the nineteenth century. Writing in the vein of Crane (page 571), Norris (page 596), and a socialist novelist, Jack London, Dreiser strongly influenced many writers of the Twenties. Dreiser himself eventually became an ardent supporter of Communist Russia.

To many, the greatest American novelist to come out of the Twenties was a Southerner, William Faulkner. A morbid atmosphere of doom pervades such novels of his as *The Sound and the Fury*. Insanity, immorality, and brutality fill his pages. Faulkner's favorite theme is the Old Plantation South decaying under pressure from the new commercial and industrial South.

Faulkner's later novels, like those of certain other writers of the 1920's, were more idealistic. He expressed his later idealism thus, in accepting the Nobel prize in 1950:

[Man] is immortal, . . . because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance. The poet's, the writer's, duty is to . . . help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past.<sup>1</sup>

*Some of the More Traditional Writers of the Twenties.* *Death Comes for the Archbishop* is the title of a novel published in 1927 and written by a woman, Willa Cather. This novel stresses not disillusionment but spiritual goodness. *O Pioneers!* and *My Antonia* are earlier Cather novels. They stress family ties and the goodness of simple immigrants building their lives on the prairies of the Middle West.

Edith Wharton, in such novels as *The Age of Innocence*, shows the psychological effects on the old dying New York aristocracy of the new millionaire class. These *nouveau riche* were products of the nation's industrial expansion. Mrs. Wharton satirizes hypocrisy and narrowness in the old polite society. Yet she pities its members, who find the changing times too much for them.

The change from the Old to the New South is the theme of many of Ellen Glasgow's novels. Instead of writing sentimentally about the Old South, as many other Southern writers had done, Miss Glasgow writes penetratingly about the New South. In it, she sees the growing middle class and iron-willed women as playing major roles. A notable example of such a novel is *Barren Ground*.

*Drama in the Twenties Begins to Be More Experimental and Less Sentimental.* Actors in Eugene O'Neill's play *Strange Interlude* lay bare their innermost thoughts. But this is done in asides supposed to be heard by the audience, but not by the other actors. Their lines to the other actors are far less the truth than these asides.

O'Neill is considered America's greatest playwright. He was strongly influenced in his writing by the tragedies written by ancient Greek playwrights, by the work of such nineteenth-century playwrights as Ibsen, and by the teachings of the Austrian psychiatrist Freud. Many O'Neill plays stress the struggle of individuals to understand themselves in a bewildering or even hostile world. Like that of many of the novelists of the Twenties, O'Neill's point of view is generally pessimistic.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from *The Faulkner Reader*, Copyright 1954 by William Faulkner (Random House, Inc.).

Like O'Neill, other playwrights of this period experimented with new techniques. Elmer Rice did so, for example, in his *The Adding Machine*. Much experimentation also took place as the "little theater" movement swept the nation.<sup>1</sup>

In general, the many playwrights who wrote in the Twenties were more creative and less sentimental and melodramatic than earlier American playwrights. They probed real problems and considered entertainment only a secondary obligation of the playwright.

*Poetry in the Twenties Also Begins to Be More Experimental and Less Sentimental.* "Thesquarerootoofmunusone" appears as one word in the poetry of e. e. cummings, an experimental poet of the Twenties. Not only does he thus make one word of many but he often omits capital letters and punctuation. Most of the experimental poets of the Twenties experimented with unusual verse forms and subjects. They paid little attention to rhyme or traditional meter. They seemed to feel that traditional forms of poetry were like strait jackets, which kept them from expressing fully their thoughts and emotions. Many of them, like the Lost Generation novelists, were disillusioned and skeptical. To them, their times were too vulgar, too materialistic, and too meaningless.

The very title, *The Waste Land*, of a long poem by T. S. Eliot indicates his hopeless and despairing attitude toward his times. Like his fellow American-born poet, Ezra Pound, Eliot exiled himself to Europe. Eliot had little respect for democracy. Pound became a fascist. The daring experimentation of these learned men in style and content has had great influence on other modern poets. In his *Cantos*, begun in 1925, Pound uses themes of Vergil and Dante, medieval songs, allusions to the Chinese dynasties,

some American history, and much else. The poetry of such experimentalists is so unusual and so often difficult to understand that it has not been popular with the general public.

*Some Poets Who Were More Popular Than the Extreme Experimentalists.* Edwin Arlington Robinson was also pessimistic about his times. Yet his poetry shows deep sympathy for the suffering of his fellow men. Through the years, Carl Sandburg has grown increasingly optimistic about his times, his country, and the basic good sense of the people. His poetry glorifies America's bustling industrial cities, its broad prairie farms, and its people, even the humblest of them, at work and play. His poems have such titles as "Smoke and Steel," "Prairie," and "The People, Yes." Their verse is both formless and rhymeless. The first volume of Sandburg's prose biography of Lincoln appeared in 1926. Reading almost like poetry, it sings the praises of the man whom the author considers the finest representative of what America stands for.

"It [a poem] begins in delight and ends in wisdom," wrote the poet Robert Frost. Much delight there is in such poems of his about rural New England as "The Wood-pile," "After Apple-picking," and "Mowing." Frost's language and subjects seem simple. Yet there is so much wisdom in what he says that many a reader has to reread it to appreciate it fully. Here is a sample:

Before I built a wall I'd ask to know  
What I was walling in or walling out,  
And to whom I was like to give offense.  
Something there is that doesn't love a wall,  
That wants it down!<sup>1</sup>

Frost was not disillusioned. Nor did he take extreme positions in his poetry or his politics.

*Americans Become More and More Music-minded.* Musiel Musiel Musiel! Never before had so much music been available to so many Americans as in the period beginning in the 1920's. Music from phonographs,

<sup>1</sup> Strongly influenced by the experimentation of the Twenties were such later playwrights as Thornton Wilder, Tennessee Williams, and Arthur Miller (page 891)

<sup>1</sup> From "Mending Wall" by Robert Frost. Quoted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

radios, musical comedies, and sound films, and, later, music piped into restaurants and even factories—there was music to suit many tastes. More and more Americans developed a taste for concert and operatic music. But far, far more were attracted to jazz and other popular music.

This was the heyday of such composers of popular music as Irving Berlin, Cole Porter, Jerome Kern, and George Gershwin. The creative Gershwin combined jazz and symphonic music in such compositions as *Rhapsody in Blue* and *An American in Paris*. Later he composed the world-famous folk opera *Porgy and Bess*.

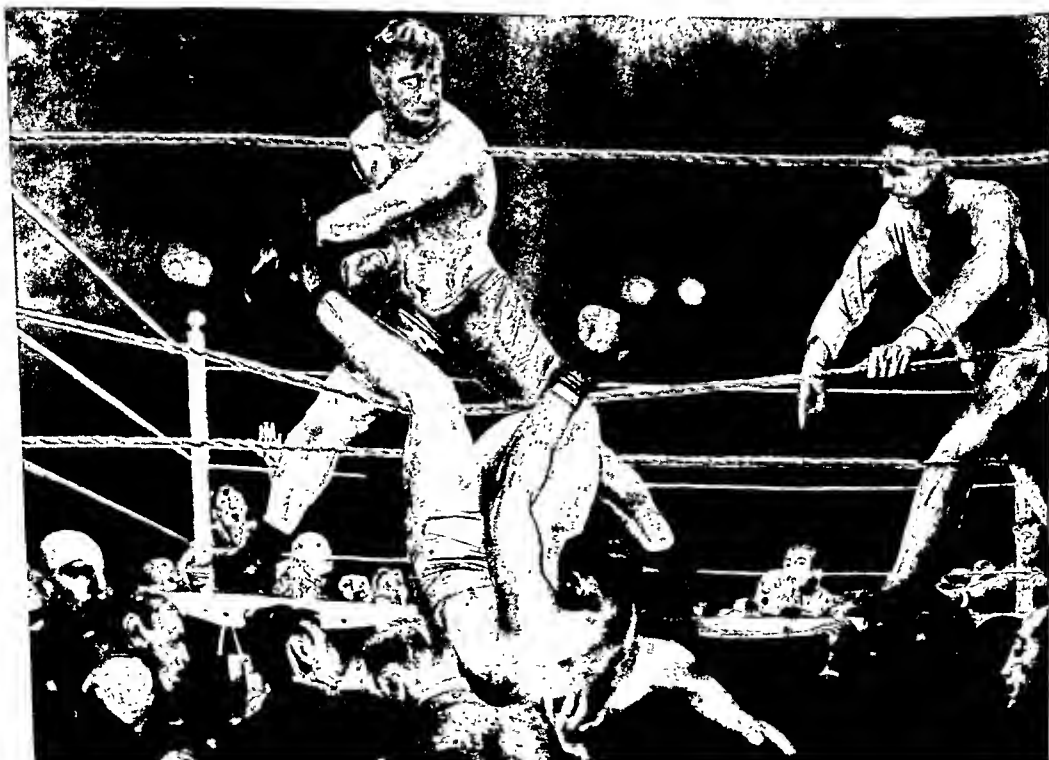
A novel contribution along classical lines was made by composer Deems Taylor and poet Edna St. Vincent Millay. They collaborated on an opera, *The King's Henchman*.

Just as poetry had its daring experimenters in the Twenties, so did music. They were called modernists. Certain compositions of such modernists as Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, and Roy Harris have been so unusual that they have not “caught on” with the general public.

**Artists and Architects: Realists and Modernists.** The art of the Twenties was also sufficiently varied to suit many tastes. Let us look at some of the trends that developed during the period.

*The Earlier Ashcan School Influences Realistic Painting in the Twenties.* Art for art's sake is not enough; painters should also give an insight into life around them: the ugly, as well as the beautiful. This seemed to be the attitude of a group of eight American painters at the opening of the twentieth

*George Bellows' painting of the Dempsey-Firpo fight of 1924. For what reasons do you think this painting has appealed to many?*



century.<sup>1</sup> They painted such subjects as city backyards, saloons, newsboys, drunkards, and pushcart peddlers. That is why they were contemptuously called the *Ashean School* of painters.

These realistic painters were strongly influenced by the realistic painting of Thomas Eakins (page 574). In turn, they strongly influenced many realistic painters of the 1920's and later. George Bellows was one such. In his famous painting of the Dempsey-Firpo prize fight of 1924, he shows Dempsey being knocked from the ring.

*The Paintings of Certain Realists Show Enthusiasm for American Life.* Realistic, too, each in his own distinctive style, have been the painters Edward Hopper, Thomas Hart Benton, and Grant Wood. The loneliness of individuals in a big city is dramatically depicted in Hopper's *Nighthawks*, which shows a few patrons in an all-night cafeteria. In their paintings of their beloved Middle West, Benton and Wood portrayed dynamically and colorfully an important slice of American life. Unlike certain writers of the Lost Generation, such painters as Benton and Wood showed enthusiasm for American history and keen interest in American people. More and more painters of the Twenties began painting scenes of railroad yards, factories belching smoke, immigrants arriving, and other scenes of the many-sided aspects of American life. Such painters lived up to Benton's belief that:

No American art can come to those who do not live an American life, . . . and who cannot find in America justification of their lives.

*Modernists, at First Ridiculed, Steadily Gain Recognition.* Quite different from the realistic painters of the Twenties were the so-called modernists. Modernist painters are

not so much interested in representing what they see, or in conforming to traditions. They prefer to express the emotional reactions their subjects have produced in them. They often do so in some abstract form, such as a geometrical design. Modernists owe much to such European painters as Paul Cézanne, Vincent Van Gogh, and Henri Matisse.

Some modernist paintings are quite unusual and difficult to understand. That is why some viewers have called them the products of fakers and lunatics. However, modern art has steadily gained a larger and larger public. The paintings of such modernists as John Marin and Georgia O'Keeffe, for example, are much in demand for their originality, vitality, and symbolical quality.<sup>1</sup>

Modern art has influenced the designing of furniture, automobiles, kitchen equipment, jewelry, and hundreds of other items.

*Architecture Slowly Becomes More Daring.* To the architect Ralph Adams Gram (born 1863), civilization had reached its greatest heights during the Middle Ages. This explains why his many university and church structures, still being erected during the 1920's, were designed in the Gothic style of the Middle Ages. Then, as now, the influence of the medieval Gothic style, as well as that of the ancient Greek and Roman styles, the Georgian colonial style, the Spanish-mission style, and many other traditional styles of architecture, was far from dead. Structures built in such styles were in sharp contrast to the tallest skyscraper in the world, the 102-story Empire State Building, erected in New York in 1930. In a sense, this building was the culmination of the craze to build skyscrapers in many American cities throughout the prosperous Twenties.

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<sup>1</sup> American sculpture has had its modernists, too. Among the most distinguished have been the French-born Gaston Lachaise, the Lithuanian-born Wilhelm Zorach, and the Ukrainian-born Alexander Archipenko. A foremost American-born modernist, Jacob Epstein, did most of his work in England.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Eight*, as they were called, included William Glackens, John Sloan, George Luks, Robert Henri, Ernest Lawson, Maurice Prendergast, Arthur B. Davies, and Everett Ruess.

The father of the skyscraper, Louis Sullivan (page 575), had developed the theory in architecture that form follows function. Sullivan's pupil, Frank Lloyd Wright, insisted that every building should be in harmony with its location, as well as with its function. This daring experimenter had some, but not much, influence on the architecture of the Twenties. As time went on, however, more people began to show an interest in Wright's radical architectural ideas. One of his buildings, the Guggenheim Museum in New York, is shaped like a bowl. Art is displayed along its ramps.

When Wright died in 1959, his disciples were in the process of constructing museums, theaters, churches, synagogues, hospitals, and motels, as well as private homes. It was Wright who introduced the picture window, the split-level living room, the modern ranch house, and other features typical of many structures today. Yet resistance to the more radical Wright ideas in architecture is still strong, as it is to many forms of modernism in the arts.

## Some Political Highlights Of the 'Golden Twenties'

**The Normally Happy Harding Has a Sad Presidency.** During the Twenties, Republican Presidents Harding (page 689), Coolidge, and Hoover occupied the White House. "Normalcy" was what Harding had hoped for in his Presidency. Instead, lawlessness associated with prohibition, violation of civil liberties associated with the Red scare, and terrorism associated with the KKK helped to make the times abnormal.

In this abnormal period of moving the nation off a wartime basis and back onto a peacetime basis, many groups grumbled. Workers went on many strikes because of the high cost of living. Organized labor complained because courts in the Twenties were generally unsympathetic to unions. Businessmen complained because of the many strikes and the high taxes carried over from war-

time. Farmers complained at the loss of their profitable wartime markets. Veterans complained because they felt that they should receive a bonus to compensate for their wartime financial losses. They argued that they had been paid poorly at a time when civilians were getting high pay. The Allies complained because the United States had refused to cancel the war debts. Americans who believed in international co-operation complained because the nation had not joined the League of Nations.

Some of these complaints were partially answered by the Harding Administration and its successors. Some are still heard. Labor's complaints were softened somewhat by the first immigration quota law in 1921 and by the return of prosperity in late 1922. Labor also liked the fact that Harding got the steel industry to agree to an eight-hour day. Businessmen were pleased when taxes were lowered and the tariff was raised. The creation of the Budget Bureau<sup>1</sup> pleased businessmen, too, because its aim was to prevent waste of Government money by various departments. Big businessmen liked the fact that the anti-trust laws were not used to break up trusts.

Farmers, however, felt that they remained the forgotten men. For the Government seemed to be doing very little to help them. Veterans were indignant because a bonus bill was vetoed by Harding. European nations felt that the United States was not doing enough to help them, even though the Harding Administration reduced war debts—a reduction based on the principle of a nation's capacity to pay. Believers in international co-operation felt it wasn't enough that Harding had called the Washington Conference in 1921, recommended joining the World Court, and sent unofficial observers to meetings of the League of Nations (page 692).

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<sup>1</sup> The Budget Bureau makes a careful study of the financial needs of each Government department. It also estimates the Government's annual income. Thus it helps the President to prepare his annual budget for submission to the Congress.

*Harding's Inability to Say 'No' to His Friends Makes Trouble for Him and for the Nation.* "This White House is a prison. I can't get away from the men who dog my footsteps." If the White House was a prison for Harding, as he thus said it was, he helped to make it so. For the men who dogged his footsteps, seeking favors and usually getting them, were his personal friends. Harding was personally honest. He appointed some of the "best minds" in the nation to high office. However, many of his other appointees were incompetent. Some were downright dishonest. So dishonest were some that his administration, like Grant's, was marked by shocking scandals.

Among the "best minds" Harding appointed were Charles Evans Hughes as secretary of state, Andrew Mellon as secretary of the treasury, Herbert Hoover as secretary of commerce, and former President Taft as chief justice of the Supreme Court. Two Cabinet members who were to damage the reputation of his Administration were his chief adviser, Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, and Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall. Daugherty and many other Harding appointees had helped him to win the nomination and the election. Harding believed that the victor should reward such loyalty in politics. Besides, the soft-hearted Harding hated to turn down anybody.

Weak-willed, pleasure-loving, and poorly informed, Harding turned over Government problems to his subordinates for decision. When he learned that some of these subordinates had, by their corruption, betrayed both him and the nation, he became heart-sick. On his way home from a trip to Alaska in 1923, Harding contracted pneumonia, suffered a stroke, and died.

His own words throw light on Harding's difficulties as President. He had said:

I am not fit for this office and should never have been here. . . . I have no trouble with my enemies. I can take care of them all right. But, my . . . friends, . . . they're the ones that keep me walking the floor nights!

Most shocking of the many shocking scandals of the Harding Administration was the notorious *Teapot Dome scandal*. Presidents Taft and Wilson had set aside, for the future use of the navy, valuable oil reserves in California and at Teapot Dome, Wyoming. Secretary of the Interior Fall got Harding, in 1921, to transfer control of these oil reserves from the Navy Department to his department. Then Fall secretly leased the oil reserves to private oil interests. In each case, Fall accepted large bribes.

A Senate committee headed by Thomas J. Walsh of Montana relentlessly investigated and exposed this corrupt and most unpatriotic deal. The leases were canceled. Fall was convicted of bribe-taking, fined, and given a year in jail. What seems especially shocking about this incident is that the public didn't seem to be especially shocked by it. In fact, the public-spirited Senator Walsh was attacked more fiercely for pressing the investigation than were those involved in the Teapot Dome affair. Perhaps the cynicism of the Twenties helps to explain why.

One of the other scandals involved the first head of the newly created Veterans' Bureau. He was jailed for two years for stealing nearly \$250,000 in Government funds. Wounded veterans lying in hospitals were the chief victims of this cheating, in which badly needed Government medical supplies were sold to private dealers at low prices, in return for kickbacks from purchasers.

As attorney general, Daugherty was responsible for prosecuting illegal acts. Yet he was himself investigated by the Senate for fraud. When he was tried, the jury disagreed as to his guilt. However, Vice-President Calvin Coolidge,<sup>1</sup> who succeeded to the Presidency on Harding's death, had already asked for Daugherty's resignation.

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<sup>1</sup> What had helped Coolidge win the Republican nomination for Vice President had been the publicity given him during the Boston police strike (page 702)

**To Many in the 'Roaring Twenties,' Coolidge Represents Stability and Old-Fashioned Virtues.** In the light of an old-fashioned kerosene lamp, in an old Vermont farmhouse, before dawn on August 3, 1923, Calvin Coolidge took the oath of President on the old family Bible. His father, a justice of the peace, administered the oath. This "homespun inauguration" had been occasioned by the arrival about midnight of a telegram announcing the death of President Harding.

The simple setting of the inauguration scene touched the hearts of many Americans. It reminded them of their image of an older, more wholesome America, so far removed from the sophistication and fast pace of industrialized America. The leading character in this scene seemed to be just what the nation needed in the hysterical Twenties. Lean, plain, and unsmiling, Coolidge inspired confidence. He had a reputation for being honest, thrifty, conscientious, conservative, and deeply religious.

As prosperity increased, so did Coolidge's popularity. His nomination by the Republicans in 1924 was, therefore, practically inevitable.

**Coolidge Wins Election in 1924, Aided by Prosperity and Resistance to Change.** Practically inevitable, too, because of the prosperity and his popularity, was Coolidge's election. Certain significant features stand out in the 1924 campaign. A serious split took place at the Democratic Convention between delegates from rural areas of the West and South, on the one hand, and those from the big cities of the Northeast, on the other. In general, the rural delegates supported prohibition and opposed increased political influence for foreign groups in the American population. In general, the city delegates, many of whom represented foreign groups, favored repeal of prohibition. The split was dramatized when a proposal to condemn the Ku Klux Klan lost by one vote. This proposal had been supported mainly by city delegates.

So strong was the split that it took 103 ballots to nominate a candidate. The com-

promise candidate chosen was John W. Davis, a West Virginian. The brilliant Davis had been a progressive while serving in Wilson's Administration, but was now a conservative New York corporation lawyer. There was little difference between the Democratic and Republican platforms in 1924, except that the Democrats favored joining the League of Nations.

**The New Progressive Party Takes a Bold Stand on Many Issues in the Election of 1924.** However, there was a big difference between the platforms of these two old parties and that of a new third party, called the *Progressive Party*. Many planks in the Progressive platform resembled planks in the Populist platform of the 1890's (page 494) and the Progressive platform of 1912 (page 610). Nominating Wisconsin's Robert La Follette for the Presidency, the Progressives aimed to unite farmers and laborers under their banner.

The Progressive platform of 1924 demanded farm relief, abolition of the injunction in labor disputes, Government ownership of railroads, and an end to private monopolies. It was strongly isolationist. It even demanded that unless the country was invaded, the people's approval be obtained in a referendum before a declaration of war. To the Progressives, the Supreme Court was much too powerful. They therefore demanded that the Congress be given the power to override a Supreme Court decision, just as it can override a presidential veto.

La Follette polled nearly five million votes. But Coolidge's vote, nearly sixteen million, was nearly double that of Davis. Most voters apparently felt that it would be unwise to make a change in the midst of prosperity. The Republicans cashed in on this feeling with the slogan: "Keep cool with Coolidge!"

**Prosperity Reigns and Few Problems Trouble the Coolidge Administration.** Throughout Coolidge's Presidency, business kept booming. And just as the people tend to blame the party in power for a depression, they tended to credit Coolidge and the Republicans for this prosperity. In general,



Coolidge's policies were much like those of Harding. This was true of tax cuts, economy in government, and encouragement of business. Coolidge, too, vetoed the bonus bill. But the Congress passed it over his veto. Although the trend of the time was strongly isolationist, Coolidge, like Harding, favored joining the World Court. And, just as the Harding Administration had called the Washington Conference, the Coolidge Administration played a leading role in negotiating the Kellogg-Brand Pact (page 694).

Unlike Harding, who liked to talk, Coolidge did so sparingly. "Silent Cal," as he was nicknamed, once said: "The things I don't say never get me into trouble." Although generally popular, Coolidge became increasingly unpopular with farm groups. This was because he twice vetoed bills for farm relief (page 736).

**The Coolidge Administration Paves the Way for Friendlier Relations with Latin America.** Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson, as we know, had practiced "big-stick" diplomacy in the Caribbean. The protection of the Panama Canal route, the protection of American investments, and the prevention of European intervention were all reasons why. For similar reasons, Presidents Harding and Coolidge also intervened in Caribbean countries. By 1924, the financial affairs of ten Latin-American nations were in the hands of the United States and American marines were occupying several Caribbean countries.

Yet in that very year, American occupation forces were withdrawn from Santo Domingo. In a sense, this represented a turning away from the "big-stick" policy. The next year, American forces were withdrawn from Nicaragua. But then a revolution broke out there. Thus worried Coolidge, Nicaragua was too close to the Panama Canal for comfort. The existing Nicaraguan Government was friendly to American interests. Rumors were being circulated that the Nicaraguan revolt was being aided by Communists from Mexico. Consequently, Coolidge decided to answer an appeal from the Nicaraguan Govern-

ment. He sent 5,000 marines to crush the revolution.

In Latin America, angry outbursts denounced Coolidge's intervention. In the United States, he was vigorously attacked for waging a "private war." Coolidge then decided to send a skilled diplomat, Henry L. Stimson, to Nicaragua to bring about peace. Stimson made it clear to both sides that the United States would no longer take sides. He also arranged a fair presidential election under American military supervision. The situation improved. Nevertheless, one revolutionary leader, Augusto Sandino, and his supporters were dissatisfied. They continued waging guerrilla warfare against United States Marines until their withdrawal in 1933.

**Morrow and Mexico Prove That Mutual Understanding Is the Basis for Good Relations Among Nations.** War between the United States and Mexico had been narrowly averted during the Wilson administration (page 644). The bad relations were made worse by Mexico's new constitution, adopted in 1917. This constitution aimed to raise the standard of living of Mexico's poverty-stricken peasants and workers. It broke up large estates to make land available for peasants. It declared that all minerals below the surface of the land, such as oil, gold, and silver, were the property of the nation.

The American and other foreign investors who owned some of the large estates and much mineral land were furious. For one thing, they felt that the Mexican Government was not offering them enough compensation for their seized estates. Owners of mineral lands also feared that the Mexican Government might seize their private property, even that which had been acquired before 1917. As the years passed, ill will mounted, and war between Mexico and the United States threatened.

Coolidge sent Dwight W. Morrow as ambassador to Mexico in 1927. His mission was to try to settle differences between the two nations. Morrow was not a professional diplomat, but a banker. Yet by understanding,

tact, and friendliness,<sup>1</sup> he succeeded in getting the Mexicans to compromise the dispute over oil lands. Mexicans were pleased, too, because Morrow had publicly condemned dollar diplomacy. Morrow got Mexico to agree to spread its seizures of American-owned estates over a period of time. It was also agreed that foreigners might keep the property they had obtained before, but not after, 1917. The Morrow-Mexico understanding suggested that henceforth relations between the United States and Latin America would be handled through talks, rather than by troops.

**Still More Foundations for Friendlier Latin-American Relations Are Laid by the Hoover Administration.** "We have no desire for territorial expansion, for economic or other domination of other peoples." This statement by President Herbert Hoover in 1929, plus the good-will tour of Latin America he had made a few months earlier were welcomed by Latin Americans. So was the *Clark Memorandum* of 1930. This rejected the Roosevelt Corollary as part of the Monroe Doctrine. It declared, too, that the Doctrine "states a case of the United States *versus* Europe, and not of the United States *versus* Latin America."

Several actions proved that the Administration meant what the Clark Memorandum said. In 1932, for example, United States Marines were withdrawn from Haiti.

**The Election of 1928: A Case Study of the Kind of Issues That Sometimes Determine Elections.** "I do not choose to run for President in 1928," Calvin Coolidge had stated in 1927. The 1928 Republican Convention assumed that he meant what he said. It nominated Herbert Hoover, his secretary of commerce.

**Why Republican Candidate Hoover Had Great Appeal for Many Voters.** The compe-

tent and conscientious Hoover was a natural choice for the nomination. There was so much in his life story that would appeal to so many voters. Orphaned as a young boy, he had worked his way through college. He had become a multimillionaire as a mining engineer and business promoter. Many admired him as a great humanitarian for his work as head of Belgian War Relief. As food administrator during the war, he was known to every family in the nation. As secretary of commerce under both Harding and Coolidge, he had done much to aid business. Thus he had won the backing of some of the most influential businessmen in the nation. Many thought that prosperity would surely be here to stay under the guidance of such an efficient administrator.

**Why Democratic Candidate Smith Had Great Appeal for Many Voters.** The Democratic nominee in 1928, Alfred E. Smith, appealed to many voters for different reasons. Many working people in the cities felt especially close to Smith because of similar backgrounds. Smith had been born in a tenement on the Lower East Side of New York in 1873, the year before Hoover was born in an Iowa farmhouse. To help support his widowed mother, Smith had quit school at fourteen. Later in life, someone asked him why he had no college degree. He replied that he did have one: "F.F.M.," meaning the Fulton Fish Market, where he had worked as a peddler.

Tammany Hall, which he joined as a youth, soon discovered that they had in witty, hearty, earthy "Al" Smith an excellent vote-getter. In his various political jobs he showed exceptional administrative skill and ability to get along with people. In his four terms as governor of New York, he enjoyed remarkable success in promoting education, conservation, and social legislation. He had almost won the Democratic nomination in 1924. But his Roman Catholic religion, his slum background, and his opposition to prohibition and the Ku Klux Klan had combined to overcome his bid.

**Some Reasons for Smith's Defeat in 1928.**

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<sup>1</sup> Friendship with Mexico was also promoted by a good-will tour of Mexico made at this time by the popular Charles Lindbergh. Lindbergh had just completed his solo flight across the Atlantic. Romance entered the picture when the touring Lindbergh met Morrow's daughter. They later married.

As in 1924, the Democratic platform was not very different from that of the Republicans. Compared with the Democratic platforms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was fairly conservative. Businessmen were assured that if the Democrats won, the tariff would be kept high and that there would be little Government regulation of business.

Prosperity probably played the most important part in the overwhelming defeat of Smith. Voters were convinced that with another Republican in the White House, the prosperity of the Coolidge years would continue. Republican campaigners played this up with such slogans as, "A chicken in every pot, a car in every garage!"

The religious issue cost Smith many votes. Propaganda was spread in many subtle ways, and sometimes in crude fashion, that if elected, he would take his orders from the Pope, Hoover, a Quaker, and many leaders in both political parties condemned such intolerant tactics. But the propagandists never let up.

Being a "wet" on the prohibition issue cost Smith many votes, too, especially in the rural areas of the South and West. "Alcohol Al" he was labeled by many "dry" campaigners. On the other hand, the "drys" applauded Hoover when he said of prohibition that it was "a great . . . experiment, noble in motive."

Voters in rural areas and small towns viewed with suspicion Smith's Tammany Hall connections. To them, Tammany was a typically corrupt big-city machine that maintained its political power through control of the votes of immigrant Americans. To them, Smith seemed a typical city politician, with his brown derby, his ever-present cigar, his uncultivated speech, and his theme song, "The Sidewalks of New York." To them, he seemed a far cry from the traditional President, born not in a city but in a log cabin or on a farm, and descended from early settlers.

In winning, Hoover broke the Solid South. He captured Tennessee, Texas, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia. Except for

Tennessee, not one of these states had voted for a Republican since Reconstruction. On the other hand, Smith, though beaten, broke the long-time Republican control of the industrial East. He captured the twelve largest cities in the nation. Ever since this election, Democrats have tended to look more and more to cities, rather than to rural areas, for support.

### **The Twenties' Business Boom Inspires Hope That 'Poverty Will Be Bonished'**

Business profits in general were higher in the 1920's than they had ever been in American history. At no time before had stock market prices soared so high. During the eight years between 1920 and 1928, the population had increased by eight per cent. But the national income had increased by more than forty-five per cent and savings bank deposits had doubled.

Some Government officials recognized that farmers in general, some industries, and some wage earners were not enjoying the benefits of this prosperity. However, as Hoover said in accepting the nomination in 1928:

... Given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, we shall soon with the help of God be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation.

What policies was Hoover referring to? Let us look at some of them.

**Business Is Strongly Supported by Both the Government and the People in the Twenties.** "We want a period in America with less government in business and more business in government." This statement by President Harding fairly well expresses the attitude of his Republican successors, Coolidge and Hoover, as well. They felt that the Government should not operate business, rarely regulate business, but always assist

business. Reverence for business was so great that Coolidge once declared:

The man who builds a factory builds a temple; the man who works there worships there.

"The man who builds a factory," or starts any business, was, according to Hoover, a "rugged individualist." "Rugged individualism," he believed, had built the nation and created the highest standard of living of any nation. Hoover believed that if the Government aided the rugged individualist, it would benefit not only him but the entire nation. He seemed to fear that if the Government interfered with the economic freedom of the rugged individualist, it might eventually interfere with the political freedom of everybody. Millions of Republicans and many Democrats, too, agreed.

**Ways by Which the Government Tried to Encourage Business in the Twenties.** Hoover, an efficiency enthusiast, hated waste. To him, when Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson had encouraged competition, they had been encouraging waste and hampering business.

**Consolidations Are Encouraged.** As secretary of commerce under Harding and Coolidge, Hoover had persuaded many companies in given industries to combine into voluntary associations. His purpose had been to get such associations to reduce competition by agreeing to fix prices and adopt common labor policies and production methods.

Wilson had hoped, through the Clayton Act, to check the spread of monopoly. But now in the Twenties, in order to encourage the growth of big business, the courts rarely enforced either the Sherman or the Clayton Antitrust Acts. As a result, more and more businesses joined together in big consolidations. In almost all major industries, a few large corporations soon dominated.<sup>1</sup>

At this time, too, many American big business firms formed combinations with foreign big business firms to create international big business firms. These *international cartels*, as they were called, had aims similar to national monopolies, except on a world-wide scale. On a world-wide scale, they could curb competition, gain access to raw materials and markets, and agree on prices and policies.

**Big Business Wins Much Popular Support in the Twenties.** In the progressive era and even earlier, big business had been looked upon with suspicion and even fear. But in the Twenties, millions of Americans were proud to see business grow bigger and bigger. For one thing, the big businesses created millions of jobs. Furthermore, millions of Americans had invested in the stocks of these corporations and stocks were zooming. Millions realized that only big business could afford to take full advantage of the great technological revolution taking place in the Twenties.

**Labor Organizations Lose Much Support in the Twenties.** In 1919, American labor organizations were quite strong. By 1929, they had grown quite weak. Why? To begin with, most American workers were better off than they had ever been before. Their wages were higher and their hours shorter. True, there were about a million unemployed from time to time in the Twenties. But the percentage of unemployed was small as compared with other periods. Some workers asked: What can membership in a union get for us that we haven't already got?

Furthermore, many businessmen introduced policies to try to show workers that their companies could do more for them than any union. They introduced pension plans, profit-sharing plans, annual picnics, recreational facilities, and medical and dental care. Many of them established their own unions, called *company unions*. Membership in a company union was limited to a company's employees. Its major policies were determined by the employer. At this time, too, employer associations waged an all-out war against noncompany unions. Such employer

<sup>1</sup> This was true of the aluminum, automobile, electric light, oil, rubber, steel, and telephone industries, among others. The expansion of chain stores at this time indicated that big business was moving into retail selling, too.

associations campaigned vigorously for the open shop (page 505).

The Palmer raids, the efforts of the radical IWW to organize workers, and antiunion propaganda gave the false impression that all unions were Communist-controlled. In spite of the Clayton Antitrust Act, some courts gave decisions indicating that unions were conspiracies in restraint of trade. Once again, injunctions were issued against strikes, boycotts, and picketing. Moreover, the Supreme Court declared that an employer had the right to require an employee to sign a yellow-dog contract (page 506).

**The Technological Revolution of the Twenties Gives a Great Boost to the American Standard of Living.** It was in the Twenties that countless new and mighty machines, mainly electrically powered, were invented. Such machines were used both in the expanding old and the fast-growing new industries. In this *technological revolution*, *scientific managers* (efficiency experts) were hired by big business to study every detail of production. One of their goals was the elimination of waste in the operation of machinery and the utilization of manpower. Another was the promotion of standardization. Mechanization, plus scientific management led to a tremendous expansion in mass production.<sup>1</sup>

During the Twenties, industrial research made great strides. Hundreds of corporations established laboratories. Here experts learned how to improve old products, invented new products, and discovered how to utilize wastes to make by-products. The technological revolution contributed so much to the general prosperity that many looked upon it as America's "Aladdin's lamp."<sup>2</sup> But the ever-expanding mass-production industries needed ever-expanding mass markets. This explains why installment selling and advertis-

ing also became big businesses in this period.

**Railroad Regulation Provides an Interesting Study of the Changing Attitude Toward Consolidation.** Before World War I, railroad consolidations had been discouraged. After the war, they were encouraged. Why this change? During World War I, the nation's railroads had been worked very hard. As a result, much of their equipment was badly worn down. Furthermore, they were facing increasing competition from passenger cars, bus lines, and trucking companies, and from ships using the Panama Canal and waterways within the United States.

The Government, which had operated the railroads during the war, had learned that running them as a single system eliminated much wasteful duplication (page 673). After the war was over, just before Harding's inauguration, the Congress passed an act returning the railroads to their private owners. But it didn't seem fair to turn them back to face ever-increasing competition in their worn-down condition. Therefore, this act, the *Transportation Act of 1920*,<sup>1</sup> aimed to help the railroads recover and make a decent profit. To eliminate wasteful competition and thus promote efficiency, it encouraged the many railroad companies to combine into a small number of railroad systems. Such combinations were exempted from the antitrust laws. Pooling agreements and the charging of a higher rate for a short haul than for a long one were also permitted.

These formerly illegal practices were, of course, permitted only if they benefited the railroads without harming the public. To make use of them required the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The ICC was also given complete power to fix rates. It was instructed to use this power to enable the railroads to make a decent profit and their stockholders to receive "a fair return."

So much power did the ICC now have that states exercised very little control over even intrastate railroad traffic. "Commerce

<sup>1</sup> The "father of scientific management" was Frederick W. Taylor, who did his work in the late nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Despite some temporary technological unemployment (page 451).

<sup>1</sup> Also known as the *Esch-Cummins Act*

is a unit and does not regard state lines" was the opinion of Chief Justice Taft. Yet, in actual practice, fixing rates proved to be a very difficult problem. Nor did the ICC get very far with the plan to create a small number of railroad systems. However, by 1928, there were fewer than 1,000 railroad lines, compared with the 6,000 that existed before consolidations were encouraged.

**Mellon Persuades the Congress to Cut Taxes in Hopes of Helping Business.** High taxes decrease or even destroy incentives of businessmen, according to Andrew Mellon, secretary of the treasury under the three Republican Presidents of the Twenties. Decreasing incentives or destroying them meant, Mellon said, that many a man would not start a new business or expand an old one. Thus, in Mellon's words, "the country will be deprived of the energy on which its continued greatness depends."

Again and again throughout the Twenties, Mellon persuaded the Congress to cut taxes. The income tax on \$1 million in 1921 had been nearly \$700,000. In 1926, it was about \$200,000. Some economists blame the tax cuts for letting loose a flood of money that was used by some to speculate in the stock market. This, they claim, contributed to the terrible stock market crash of 1929 (page 733).

Besides the sharp tax cuts, there was much tax evasion in the "Lawless Decade." Yet the national debt resulting from the war had been cut by one-third by 1930. This in itself is proof of the fabulous prosperity of the Twenties: many more individuals and many more businesses were paying taxes.

**The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Boosts Duties to Great Heights.** The highest tariff up to that time was passed in 1922. This *Fordney-McCumber Tariff* was the product of pressure brought by various groups. Not only did many old industries demand protection but also many new industries that had sprung up during the war. In particular, new industries producing chemicals and dye-stuffs demanded protection against German firms long specializing in such products.

Farmers, as we know, ordinarily prefer a low tariff. However, after World War I, they complained that European farm products were flooding American markets. Congressmen representing farm areas—from both houses and both parties—combined to demand tariff protection for farm products. This group, called the *farm bloc*, succeeded in getting high protection for farm products included in the Fordney-McCumber Tariff.

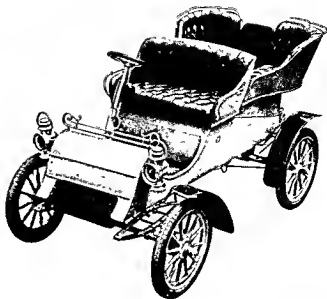
Some hope was held out in the high Fordney-McCumber Tariff for those who favored a low tariff. This hope took the form of a provision permitting the President to lower or raise existing duties by as much as fifty per cent. He could do so if the existing duties did not equalize costs of production here and abroad. The President's action was supposed to be based on the advice of a *Tariff Commission*, which studied costs of production here and abroad. If the costs of production abroad rose higher, then the commission would recommend that the President lower duties, and vice versa.

Presidents Harding and Coolidge altered rates thirty-seven times, but only five times downward. Among the five reductions were rates on bobwhite quail, paintbrush handles, and cresylic acid. But on widely used, important items, the commission's few recommendations for reduction were ignored. Nevertheless, the clamor for more protection grew louder. As a result, a still higher tariff was passed in 1930 (page 741).

## **Industries That Helped to Build The Business Boom of the Twenties**

**The Automobile Industry 'Spark-Plugs' the Business Boom.** Beginning in the 1860's, Germans and Frenchmen had experimented with vehicles powered with internal combustion gasoline engines. But the first person to file for a patent for such a vehicle was an American, George B. Selden, in 1879. In the 1890's, other Americans—the Duryea brothers (Charles E. and J. Frank), Ransom E. Olds, Elwood Haynes, and Henry Ford,

*A 1903 Ford. Buying such a Ford in 1903 probably gave the family purchasing it more thrills than would the purchase of a luxury car today. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.*



among others—were all experimenting with gasoline-driven automobiles. But by 1900, this horseless buggy was still a luxury to be enjoyed only by the rich.

**Ford Makes It Possible for Millions with Modest Incomes to Own Automobiles.** In 1903, Henry Ford's factory began turning out cars by the hundreds. All were alike, being made of standardized, interchangeable parts. Such mass-production methods had been suggested by Eli Whitney (page 300) and Oliver Evans (page 302) about a century earlier. In fact, many industries had been using mass-production methods before the Ford Motor Company. And many automobile companies were using mass-production methods at the same time as Ford. But Ford's great contributions were the introduction of the moving assembly line and, in 1913, the five-dollar-a-day wage.

In the Ford Motor Company, the worker stayed put while conveyor belts brought the unfinished product to him so he could perform his specific assigned task. Such tasks were so simple and had been performed so many times that a worker could do them practically blindfolded. Under the old system, time and effort had been wasted while the worker moved around the factory to do his specific assigned task.

Ford did not want to be dependent on other industries. He did want to cut costs. For these reasons, he operated his own iron and coal mines, steel mills, parts factories, steamships, and railroads. In short, he created a vertical combination (page 432).

Ford's *Model T*, as the car he produced from 1908 to 1927 was called, had little eye appeal. It had to be cranked by hand. To prevent the motor from stalling, the driver had to race back to his seat to manipulate the spark and throttle. But the *Model T* was sturdy. Furthermore, it was relatively cheap. In 1908, a Ford car had cost nearly \$900. In 1924, one cost less than \$300. Such was the effect of Ford's production methods and scientific management.

The five-dollar-a-day pay Ford introduced was considered a high wage in those days. But, as he said, "Industry must manage to keep wages high and prices low. Otherwise it will limit the number of its customers."

The number of customers for Ford's and other automobiles steadily increased. In 1919, there had been fewer than seven million cars on the road. By 1929, there were more than twenty-six million. By this time, eighty per cent of all American cars were being produced by the "big three": Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler. Nearly 200 other

automobile companies had not been able to survive the competition.

**New Industries and New Life in Old Industries Are Promoted by the Automobile Industry.** By 1930, the automobile had become so important to many an average American that, in his budget, it came before housing, clothing, or medical care. In a fairly short time—from the 1890's to the 1920's—the automobile industry had become America's Number One industry. In its own industry or in related industries, the automobile created millions of jobs. It helped to create new industries and expand old ones. Gasoline stations and garages, tourist cabins and motels, hot-dog stands and roadside taverns dotted the landscape from coast to coast. The tourist business became big business. Real estate prices in formerly remote areas, such as Florida and California, skyrocketed. So did those in suburbs of cities.

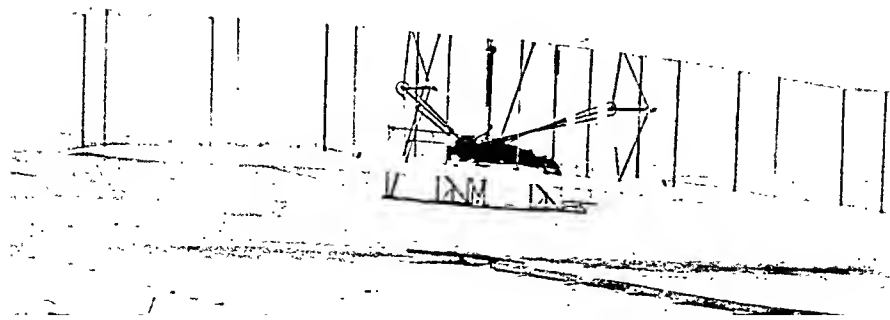
Moreover, the giant automobile industry consumed huge quantities of steel, nickel, copper, aluminum, plate glass, rubber, upholstery, and leather. Hundreds of thousands of miles of hard-surfaced highways were constructed all over the nation. Gas-engined farm machines began replacing horses, mules, and oxen on farms. Farmers could now get their perishable foodstuffs to market or to railroads by fast trucks.

**The Electrical Industry Also Generates Many New Industries.** The electrical industry became the Number Two industry of the 1920's. In 1900, only a tiny percentage of homes had had electricity (page 442). By 1929, although very few farm homes had it, practically all other homes did. By this time, too, about seventy per cent of factory machinery was electrically powered. To service all these homes and factories, more than twice as much electricity was being produced in 1929 as in 1920.

As more homes became wired for electricity, more housewives demanded more electrical appliances. Fortunes were made by manufacturers of washing machines, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, toasters, stoves, curling irons, weight reducers, and hundreds of other electrical appliances. Besides, how prosperous could the automobile, radio, and movie industries have been without the expanded production of electricity in the Twenties?

**The Aviation Industry Picks Up Speed in the Twenties.** It was biting cold on the beach at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, on December 17, 1903. Lying on his stomach in the home-made contraption he and his brother Wilbur had put together, Orville Wright made a twelve-second, 100-foot flight. In doing so he made history, for this was the first flight

*Orville Wright in his first flight lies prone on the lower wing of the plane. If the Wright brothers had been able to foresee the future history of airplanes, do you think they would have continued their experiments? Explain.*





of a heavier-than-air, man-controlled, gasoline-driven machine.<sup>1</sup> Flying was no longer just for the birds. The Wright brothers were especially proud of their contribution because they believed the airplane would prevent wars. They reasoned that reasonable people would not even entertain the thought of war, since planes could drop explosives on cities.

***Dramatic Flights Draw Eyes to the Skies.*** When World War I ended, the Government practically stopped buying planes. The aviation industry almost died. Certain flights by courageous pioneers helped to keep aviation interest alive, however. In 1919, two flights were made across the North Atlantic. One, by the crew of a United States Navy seaplane, included a stop at the Azores. The other, by John Alcock and A. W. Brown, was nonstop. In 1926, Richard Byrd and Floyd Bennett flew over the North Pole. But the flight that dramatized the aviation industry as no other was that of Charles Lindbergh in 1927 (page 702). Lindbergh's flight stimulated scores of others by both men and women seeking fame and fortune.

***The United States Government Gives a Big Lift to Aviation.*** The financial foundation for commercial aviation in the United States was really laid by the Federal Government. From the inauguration of airmail service in 1918 to 1925, the United States Post Office carried airmail in its own planes. But beginning in 1925, the Government awarded to private airlines contracts for airmail service amounting to many millions of dollars. In a sense, the Air Commerce Act of the following year was the birth certificate of commercial aviation. Under this act, Federal

funds were provided, weather information was furnished, and airports were built for commercial airlines.

Thus aided, commercial aviation expanded until, in 1930, there were more than 100 airlines carrying passengers and freight on scheduled flights. But even then the great bulk of income of these airlines came from carrying mail. All in all, however, the Twenties saw only a shadow of the shape of things to come in both commercial and military aviation.

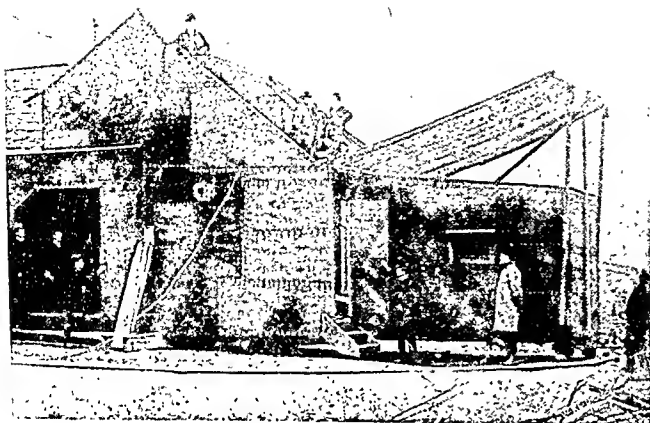
***The Movies Become a Main Source of Entertainment in the Twenties.*** You dropped a nickel into a slot machine. Peering in, you could just about make out flickering pictures of people moving about. This, an invention of Thomas A. Edison about 1896, was the first movie. By 1905, movie techniques had been sufficiently improved so that the picture could be flashed on a large screen. Throughout the nation, enterprising businessmen rented stores, installed chairs and a piano for accompaniment, and showed one-reel films to patrons. Because the admission price was five cents, these early moving-picture theaters were called *nickelodeons*.

One early film, *The Great Train Robbery*, released in 1903, told a story. However, most merely showed fires, floods, mad chases, and slapstick comedy. Soon serials were introduced. At the end of each weekly episode, the heroine was always a hairbreadth away from death. Viewers could scarcely wait until the next episode to see how the hero would rescue her in the nick of time. Then, in 1915, D. W. Griffith produced *The Birth of a Nation*. This movie laid the foundation for modern film techniques. Griffith introduced close-ups, fade-outs, and long shots.

By the Twenties, movie theaters had become virtual palaces. Movie stars such as Douglas Fairbanks, Greta Garbo, and Mary Pickford, as well as Valentino and Chaplin, were worshiped by millions. Movies set standards and styles in clothing, hairdress, furniture, and manners, and even in marriage relationships. With the introduction of

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<sup>1</sup> Another pioneer in aviation was Samuel P. Langley. In the 1890's, he worked out the first scientific principles of flight. His small model airplane, powered by steam, flew successfully for three-quarters of a mile in 1896. However, when his man-carrying machine failed to fly in 1903, Langley was showered with ridicule. Some years later, an improved Langley machine was flown. And aviation experts today recognize the great value of Langley's theories.



*The "Black Maria," the first motion-picture studio in the world, was erected in 1893 on the grounds of Edison's West Orange, New Jersey, laboratory. Mention as many occupations as you can that have benefited from the work of pioneers such as those pictured here.*

"talkies" in the Twenties and technicolor in the Thirties, the movie industry became truly a multibillion-dollar industry.

**The Radio Also Revolutionizes Recreation in the Twenties.** From the stage of the Metropolitan Opera House in 1910, the magnificent voice of the famous tenor Enrico Caruso was broadcast. The broadcast was staged by one of the pioneers of radio, Lee De Forest<sup>1</sup> (page 442). But it was not until ten years later that the first broadcasting station, *KDKA*, was set up in Pittsburgh by the Westinghouse Company. About five years later, when the National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System were established, there were about 700 stations.

In the "Golden Twenties," the radio industry proved to be a gold mine to the advertising industry, to advertisers, to manufacturers of sets, and to many entertainers.

**The Chemical Industry and Other Industries Become Giants, Too.** Before World War I, Americans had depended on Germany for most of their chemicals, especially dyes. The war made it almost impossible to import German chemicals. As a result, the infant American firms began to get more orders

for dyes and other chemicals. Chemical companies made millions, filling the tremendous orders for explosives. As farmers expanded their acreage to meet wartime needs, chemical fertilizer orders mounted, too.

Government policies greatly aided the chemical industry. During the war, German-owned patents for chemicals were turned over to domestic firms. After the war, high tariffs prevented foreign competition from stifling the growth of these firms. By 1929, several American chemical companies were bigger than those of any other country.

This was the period when the newly developed synthetics became a major factor in the prosperity of the chemical industry. The sales of rayon, Celanese, cellophane, and plastics, for example, soared. To produce some synthetics, many farm products were used by chemists (pages 448, 484). In the Twenties, when farmers were suffering so much from overproduction, this use of certain of their crops by the chemical industry was most welcome.

Some other industries that grew increasingly healthier in the Twenties were the building, telephone, and canning industries. But agriculture and certain industries were quite sick at this time (page 737). Their sickness played a part in changing the prosperity of the Twenties into the depression of the Thirties.

<sup>1</sup> De Forest, like Reginald Fessenden, Edwin Armstrong, and others, had built upon the work of Guglielmo Marconi, inventor of wireless telegraphy in the 1890's.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 29

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Model T	F. Scott Fitzgerald	Thomas Hart Benton	Alfred E. Smith
Charles Lindbergh	Ernest Hemingway	Grant Wood	international cartels
flappers	Theodore Dreiser	John Marin	technological revolution
Dry Decade	William Faulkner	William Zoraeh	Frederick W. Taylor
Palmer raids	Willa Cather	Ralph Adams Cram	Transportation Act of 1920
second KKK	Edith Wharton	Frank Lloyd Wright	Fordney-McCumber Tariff
National Origins Act of 1924	Ellen Glasgow	normalcy	farm bloc
Eighteenth Amendment	Eugene O'Neill	Budget Bureau	Tariff Commission
Volstead Act	e e cummings	Andrew Mellon	George B. Selden
speakeasies	T S Eliot	Teapot Dome scandal	Wright brothers
bootleggers	Ezra Pound	Progressive Party of 1924	Samuel P. Langley
Twenty-first Amendment	Edwin Arlington Robinson	Henry L. Stimson	Air Commerce Act
Edna St. Vincent Millay	Carl Sandburg	Dwight W. Morrow	nickelodeons
Sigmund Freud	Robert Frost	Mexican Constitution of 1917	D. W. Griffith
Sinclair Lewis	George Gershwin	Clark Memorandum	Lee De Forest
Lost Generation	Aaron Copland		Station KDKA
	Ashcan School		
	George Bellows		
	Edward Hopper		

### ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

- What were five general characteristics of the "Golden Twenties"?
- Prove by examples that there was much gaiety and restlessness in the Twenties.
- Connect with the antiradical fever of the Twenties (a) World War I, (b) Russia, (c) aliens, (d) strikes, and (e) bombings.
- Describe the (a) aims of, (b) methods used in, and (c) public reaction to the Palmer raids.
- For what reasons did specific groups urge restricted immigration in the Twenties?
- Describe the (a) aims and (b) methods of the KKK of the Twenties.
- Give the chief features of the quota laws of (a) 1921, (b) 1924, and (c) 1929
- Give the arguments of (a) those who favored prohibition and (b) those who opposed it.
- Show (a) why and (b) how racketeering flourished during the "Dry Decade."
- Give (a) some reasons for and (b) evidences of the outlook of many young people of the Twenties.
- Sum up the major characteristics of the writing of the Twenties.
- In what specific ways did the writings of any three novelists of the Twenties show their disillusionment?

13. Give evidence that not all writers of the Twenties were disillusioned.
14. What were some of the characteristics of the experimental (a) plays and (b) poetry of the Twenties?
15. Mention some interesting features of the poetry of (a) Sandburg and (b) Frost.
16. Prove that there was music to suit many tastes in the Twenties.
17. Show that the Twenties produced painters who were (a) realists and (b) modernists.
18. What features of the architecture of the Twenties were (a) imitative and (b) original?
19. Prove by examples that there were many dissatisfied groups during Harding's administration.
20. Describe four highlights of Harding's administration.
21. Concerning the Progressive Party of 1924, describe (a) its political ancestry, (b) what it was for, and (c) what it was against.
22. What were President Coolidge's (a) domestic and (b) foreign policies?
23. With respect to the election of 1928, describe (a) the background of the candidates, (b) some reasons why the Republicans won, and (c) the significance of the election.
24. Connect with the business boom of the Twenties (a) the Government's attitude, (b) the attitude of the general public, and (c) the technological revolution.
25. Give reasons for the weakness of labor organizations in the Twenties.
26. Show (a) why and (b) how the Government's attitude toward railroads changed.
27. For what reasons were (a) taxes cut and (b) the tariff raised in the Twenties?
28. What contributions to the prosperity of the Twenties did each of the following industries make: (a) automobile, (b) electrical, (c) aviation, (d) movies, (e) radio, and (f) chemical?
29. What (a) influences or (b) individuals played roles in the rise of each of the industries mentioned in Question 28?

## ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. To what extent do you think "the sordid and the silly" is a fitting description of the Twenties? Be specific.
2. For what reasons do you think the Twenties have been a favorite setting in movies, television, and novels?
3. What aspects of life in the Sixties resemble aspects of life in the Twenties?
4. What do you think was the main cause of the spirit of intolerance following World War I? Justify your answer.
5. Write your opinion of Charles Evans Hughes' opinion on the Palmer raids.
6. Which arguments for restricted immigration do you consider (a) valid and (b) invalid?
7. What reasons might explain why people joined such organizations as the KKK in the Twenties?
8. If you had been a congressman then, tell whether you would have voted (a) for or (b) against the immigration laws of the Twenties. Give reasons why.
9. Explain whether you agree or disagree that the sharp restriction of immigration conflicts with the American Dream.
10. Enemies of prohibition said: You cannot legislate morals. Explain what they meant and whether you agree.
11. Do you consider the reaction of millions of Americans to prohibition (a) a healthy sign or (b) a dangerous sign? Explain.
12. Compare the youth of today with the "flaming youth" of the Twenties.
13. What do you think was the main reason for the rebellious spirit of the Twenties? Give reasons for your choice.
14. Since many of the writers of the Twenties were disillusioned and even cynical, America might have been better served if they had done no writing at all. Explain fully whether you agree or disagree.
15. Of the writers mentioned in this chapter, which interests you most? Why?
16. The plays of Eugene O'Neill reflect the spirit of the Twenties. Explain to what extent you agree or disagree.

learning of Harding's death, (c) Robert M. La Follette on learning that he had polled about five million votes in 1924, or (d) Alfred E. Smith on losing the election of 1928.

15. From any one of the source books listed on page xv, read any document on the 1920's. Report on how this reading has enriched your knowledge of the era.
16. In *The Human Side of American History*, edited by R. C. Brown, read pages 248 through 265. Then write an essay entitled "Some Human Interest Aspects of the Twenties."
17. Read the account of the election of 1928 in any three of the college textbooks recommended on pages xv-xvi, or in any

other sources. Point out similarities or differences in their interpretations of this election.

18. Make a series of newspaper headlines that would tell the history of the business boom of the Twenties.
19. Glance through books that include pictures on the Twenties. Sum up in a chart what these tell you about the political, social, and economic life of the period.
20. Imagine yourself public relations man for any one of the industries that helped to build the business boom of the Twenties. Outline the material for an advertising pamphlet in which you indicate the progress made by your industry and its contribution to American life.

## CHAPTER

# 30

### *The United States Is Hard Hit In a World-wide Depression*

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#### **Some Causes Frequently Given for the Great Depression**

• The Stock Market Crash of October, 1929 • Most Farmers Suffer Economic Depression During the Prosperous Twenties • Certain Sick Industries Aggravate the Causes of the Depression • Inadequate Purchasing Power • Effects of World War I • Fewer American Loans and Higher Tariffs Result in Fewer European Purchases Here

#### **The Hoover Administration's Policies During the Depression**

• Conferences Are Called to Restore Confidence • A Two-Billion-Dollar Public Works Program • Bolstering Faltering State and Local Programs and Aiding Homeowners • Bolstering Certain Businesses Through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation • The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Seriously Affects American Foreign Trade and Foreign Relations • The Hoover Foreign Policy Is Greatly Affected by the Depression

#### **The Depression Contributes to a Democratic Victory in 1932**

• Franklin D. Roosevelt Pleads for the 'Forgotten Man' and Pledges a 'New Deal' • The Odds Against Hoover's Re-election Are Overwhelming • Roosevelt and Hoover in the Campaign • Radical Parties Make a Poor Showing in This Election • Between Election Day and Inauguration Day the Depression Deepens

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### **A Snapshot of the Great Depression**

"Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" was a hit tune in 1932. Nineteen thirty-two was one of the worst years of the Great Depression, which began in 1929. Things were so bad in the early Thirties that many thousands who had never had to accept charity before stood in lines waiting for a slice of bread or a bowl of soup. A common sight was a side-

walk piled with the furniture of a family evicted for nonpayment of rent.

Many desperate fathers pounded the streets searching for any kind of job. Many unhappy mothers had to send their children to school hungry. Many discouraged boys, girls, and grownups, too, left home and hitch-hiked or hopped freight trains, hoping to find a job somewhere.

The fear of being unable to support a

family delayed many a marriage. Births decreased. Suicides increased. Many a family lost its home because it couldn't keep up the mortgage payments. On the outskirts of cities, the homeless put up crude shacks made of scrap wood, scrap metal, and tar paper.

As for the cities themselves, many couldn't collect enough taxes to pay their teachers, policemen, and firemen. No wonder millions who had been optimistic in the prosperous Twenties became pessimistic in the depression-ridden Thirties!

**Some Depressing Statistics of the Depression Years.** By the end of 1932, about thirteen million Americans were unemployed. This was about twenty-five per cent of the breadwinners of the nation. Many who had jobs had their wages or salaries cut. Many a woman in the big city of New York in 1933 was paid no more than \$3 a week. Industrial output had declined by about fifty per cent and foreign trade by about seventy per cent. Farm income, which had fallen very low in the Twenties, fell another fifty per cent between 1929 and 1932. The price of corn dropped to thirty cents a bushel—its lowest price since the War Between the States. Bankruptcy was the fate of thousands of businesses and banks. And millions who lost their life's savings were saying bitterly that the lessons taught about the value of thrift had been one big lie.

**The Depression Causes Resentment Among Many Americans, But Few Become Radicals.** Not only the United States but the whole world was hit by the Great Depression. In fact, many countries had suffered depression ever since World War I. In some hard-hit countries, conditions were so miserable that demagogues were able to make themselves dictators. In their misery, the desperate people were only too eager to believe the extravagant promises made by such opportunists. This helps to explain the rise of a number of fascist and communist dictatorships. But to both communism and fascism, the United States and many other nations said, in effect: "A plague on both your houses!" Most Americans had full confidence that their

democracy would weather the storm of the depression.

Only a small percentage of Americans became radicals. Many retained their sense of humor and even told depression jokes. However, millions became bitterly resentful. Just as they had credited the Republican Party and Coolidge with the prosperity of the Twenties, so they now blamed the party and Hoover for the depression of the Thirties. Angrily, they labeled the communities of crude shacks built by the homeless "Hoover-villes." So plainly did many show their resentment that some feared that a revolution would take place.

By 1933, angry farmers were blocking roads to stop trucks carrying farm products to market. They destroyed the products in hopes of forcing city markets to pay higher prices for farm products. In some areas, farmers banded together to prevent sheriffs from auctioning off the farms of their neighbors for nonpayment of taxes. At the same time, labor leaders were warning that if something was not done for labor, a nationwide strike would break out. And again and again, in city after city, huge milling crowds clamored for jobs or relief.

**Some Veterans Show Their Resentment by a Bonus March on Washington.** On to Washington, D.C., in the summer of 1932, marched thousands of hungry, unemployed World War I veterans from all over the nation. Some came with their families. They slept on the grass in parks, on the floor in unused Government buildings, or in tents. Some put up tar-paper shacks on empty lots on the outskirts of the capital. They hoped that their presence in Washington would pressure the Government into granting them immediate payment of a bonus.

As we know, in 1924, the Congress had passed over President Coolidge's veto a bill granting World War I veterans a bonus. The bill had provided for full payment in twenty years. But the *bonus army*, as the marchers on Washington were called, was so hard pressed by the depression that it demanded immediate payment. When the demand was

rejected by the Senate, many feared that the veterans would resort to violence. Instead, terribly disappointed though they were, the thousands waiting in front of the Capitol to hear the Senate's decision began singing "America."

About 6,000 then accepted the Government's offer to pay their fares back home. Those who remained—about as many—were ordered to leave. They refused. Then, under orders from President Hoover, troops forced them out of Washington.<sup>1</sup>

**Radical Parties Make a Poor Showing in the Election of 1932.** A few months after the bonus march came the presidential election of 1932. The Socialist candidate, Norman Thomas, polled about 885,000 votes. The Communist candidate, William Z. Foster, polled only a little more than 100,000. Together the Democratic and Republican candidates (pages 742, 743) polled nearly thirty-nine million votes. The results indicated that even in the depths of the depression, few Americans were willing to exchange their economic system for any radical one.

**Some Extremists Take Advantage of the People's Resentment to Woo Supporters.** Yet millions of Americans became converts to one extreme idea or another advanced by various individual extremists during the Thirties. Many such Americans did so because they hoped that the scheme advanced by their favorite extremist would relieve their poverty. One such extremist, United States Senator Huey Long of Louisiana, ran his state practically as if he were an autocratic king. With the slogan "Every man a king," he initiated a "Share the Wealth" program, under which he promised every family an income of \$5,000 per year. He would raise the necessary money, he said, by seizing the wealth above \$50 million of multimillionaires. Long's ambition to become President of the United States was blasted by an assassin's bullet in 1935.



*Herbert Hoover, who, in looking back on his career, has said "I've lived a long life. I have witnessed, and even taken part in, many great and threatening crises. With each time they have been surmounted, the American dream becomes more real."*

Another of the many extremists of the Thirties was a retired physician, Dr. F. E. Townsend. Townsend proposed a plan by which every person over sixty would receive a pension of \$200 a month. However, under this *Townsend Plan*, each recipient would have to retire and spend the money within each month. Townsend insisted that his plan would guarantee security for the aged, take America out of the depression, and prevent future depressions. But the more one studies the depression, the more one realizes that its causes and the way out of it were not as simple as extremists like Townsend seemed to think.

### **Some Causes Frequently Given For the Great Depression**

**The Stock Market Crash of October, 1929 Contributes to the Great Depression.** Up, up, up went stock prices in the late Twenties. In

<sup>1</sup> Eventually, in 1936, over President Franklin D. Roosevelt's veto, the veterans won their fight to get the bonus prepaid in full.



a mad rush to get rich, people who had never speculated before competed with one another to buy stocks. They were inspired by so-called "hot tips" and rumors. They were encouraged by optimistic statements of Government officials, bankers, and economists. Some warning voices were raised. But few listened.

Then, on October 24, 1929, many competed feverishly with one another to unload their stocks. Down, down, down went stocks, on this *Black Thursday*. Still further down, in a wave of panicky selling, went many more stocks on *Black Tuesday*, five days later. Day after day, the panicky selling continued and stocks continued to fall. Before the stock market crash, the total value of all stocks as listed on the exchange had been about \$90 billion. By midsummer of 1932, the value had fallen to about \$16 billion.

**Some Reasons Given as to Why the Stock Market Crash Came When It Did.** Why the stock market crash occurred just when it did is not certain. But the fact that many speculators had been buying stock with very little of their own money and a great deal of borrowed money had created an unhealthy situation. From 1927 to 1929, borrowing to speculate had increased from more than \$3 billion to more than \$8 billion.<sup>1</sup> Such speculators were said to be *buying on margin*.

In brief, here is why many persons bought on margin and how margin buying worked: If a person had only \$100 and wanted to buy stock selling at \$100 a share, obviously he could buy only one share. But he could buy ten shares if he put up \$10 of his own money (called *margin*) for each share and borrowed \$90 for each share through his broker. If the stock's price went up, he made a profit on ten shares, instead of on one. But suppose the stock dropped to a price close to the \$90 that the broker had lent

the speculator. Neither the broker nor the bank from which he borrowed the money to lend would want to run the risk of losing out on the loan. Therefore, the broker would ask the speculator to put up more margin to "cover" the loan. If the speculator couldn't, the broker would sell the stock.

When so little margin was required to buy stock, and a number of stocks dipped in price, many frightened speculators would tend to sell out quickly. Either they *could* not afford to put up more margin or they *would* not, for fear the price of the stock would fall still lower. Stock market prices began to dip also when many English investors began to sell their American stocks in order to invest their money at home. The stock dip frightened many Americans into unloading their stock, too. And then the Panic of 1929 was on.

**Loss of Confidence Causes Chain Reactions That Intensify the Depression.** Thus hundreds of thousands lost their savings in the stock market crash. And businessmen lost confidence. They cut down on production. Some, in time, even went out of business. In the modern world, many businesses are closely dependent upon one another. Therefore, a cut in the production of one led to cuts in the production of others. For example, a cut in automobile production was a severe blow to the steel, chromium, rubber, and oil industries in the United States and abroad. And, in turn, these hard-hit industries, as in a chain reaction, seriously affected still other industries.

More and more weak banks began to close. This, too, led to a chain reaction. For it caused people to lose confidence in all banks, thus contributing to the failure even of sound banks. Millions of depositors rushed to demand their money at once. And because, as we know, no bank can pay all of its depositors at one time (page 613), many had to shut their doors. Hoarding money at home then became a common practice. When consumers lost confidence, too, and cut down on their buying, this was another blow to business. But as we shall now see, such chain

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<sup>1</sup> Shortly before the crash, the Federal Reserve Board had tried to discourage this wild borrowing for speculating on the stock market. But in the hysteria of the stock market boom, neither the banks nor the speculators paid any attention.

reactions had causes other than the stock market crash. The crash itself was only a symptom of certain unhealthy economic conditions in the United States and abroad.

**Most Farmers Suffer Economic Depression During the Prosperous Twenties.** Most farmers had worn smiles during the first twenty years of the twentieth century. But the smiles changed to scowls in the Twenties. What explains the smiles? What explains the scowls? In the early 1900's, prices for farm products had climbed and the value of farm property had risen greatly. Farmers prospered far more during World War I. So great was the demand for farm products for home consumption and for both the armed forces and the Allies abroad that farm prices boomed. So did the price of farmland.

But shortly after the war ended, the farm boom turned into a bust for most farmers.<sup>1</sup> Farm prices dropped sharply. The price of a bushel of wheat, for example, declined from an unusually high almost \$2.50 in 1920 to less than \$1 in 1921. At the height of the prosperity of the Twenties, the income of the average Southern farmer was less than \$200 a year. The average farmer in other sections made a little more than \$500.

So heavily in debt did many farmers fall that they lost their farms.<sup>2</sup> Many became farm laborers. Many gave up farming and moved to the cities. Many who lost their farms rented farms. They thus became tenant farmers. By 1930, nearly forty-three per cent of American farms were worked by tenant farmers. Many of them lived wretched lives. They found it difficult to get out of debt or to give their families even the bare necessities of life. Once more, as in the lat-

ter part of the nineteenth century, farmers felt that they were the victims of villains (page 480). Actually, however, they were the victims of circumstances. What circumstances? Let us see.

**The Root of the Farmers' Problem: The Creation of a Surplus.** From about 1900 to the outbreak of World War I, there was a pretty good balance between the amount the American farmer produced and the amount he could sell. During World War I, he could sell so much in the greatly expanded market that he wanted to expand his production. He did so by buying more land and more farm machinery and by making greater use of scientific farming methods. The price of both the land and the machinery was much higher than usual. This meant that most farmers had to borrow the money—and at high interest rates. As security for loans, they usually used their farms and machinery. Many farmers also expanded their production by planting crops on former grazing land.

Shortly after the war ended, the farmer made a sad discovery. He found that he had expanded for a market much of which no longer existed. Since farmers were producing far more than they could sell, farm prices tended to drop. Ever since then, the farmer's Number One problem has been how to dispose of the surplus he produces each year. This surplus is mainly in such staple products as wheat and cotton.

**Foreign Markets for American Farm Products Fall Off Sharply After World War I.** After the war, European farmers went back to producing their own farm products—and on an even larger scale than before. In this strongly nationalistic period, nations raised their tariffs to cut down on imports from other nations. Anyway, European nations asked: Why should we buy farm products from the United States, when the high American tariff makes it so hard for us to sell anything there? If we can't sell manufactured goods there, how will we get American dollars to buy there?

Europeans therefore shifted a good deal

<sup>1</sup> Yet some farmers continued to prosper. Among these were producers of fruits, vegetables, and dairy products, some who ran big farms like efficient factories, and some who cut down on middlemen's costs by joining co-operatives (page 490).

<sup>2</sup> The farm population dropped by about one-and-one-half million between 1920 and 1930. But, with the increased use of scientific agriculture and farm machinery, the average farmer could do the work that formerly required fifty

of their purchases of wheat and meat to such countries as Canada, Australia, and Argentina. And more European orders for cotton went to India, Brazil, and Egypt. Such countries were good customers for European manufactured goods.

***The Domestic Market for Farm Products Falls Off, Too.*** The domestic market for farm products had grown smaller, too. There were fewer mouths to feed because of the sharp cut in immigration and a decline in the birth rate. As many Americans became vitamin-conscious and calorie-conscious, a shift took place in their eating habits. Many ate less meat and grain products and more dairy products, fruits, and vegetables.

At one time, horses and mules would consume much of the corn, oats, or rye crops. But such tractor-pulled farm machinery as four-row cultivators, big combines, disk plows, and power drills consumed gasoline instead. Prohibition cut the farmer's market for grain still more. Cotton planters were especially hard hit as people began wearing more rayon and other synthetic fabrics and less cotton.

***The Average Farmer's Heavy Costs Aggravate the Farm Surplus Problem.*** Even though surpluses kept piling up in the Twenties, farmers kept on feverishly producing more and more. One reason why they did so was their hope of selling more in order to pay their heavy fixed expenses. Fixed expenses are called *overhead*. The farmers' overhead included interest on mortgages, payments on items bought on the installment plan, and taxes. Their heavy borrowing to buy land and machinery to meet the expanded market of World War I was responsible for much of this heavy overhead.

Furthermore, the prices the farmer received for his products were low compared to the prices he had to pay for manufactured goods. One reason for this was the high protective tariff. But as the average farmer produced more in order to pay his heavy overhead costs and to buy the comparatively high-priced manufactured goods, the farm surplus kept growing. This ever-increasing

surplus made it increasingly difficult for the farmer to pay his debts.

***Farmers Demand That the Government Help Them Catch Up in Income with Non-farmer Groups.*** In the 1920's, many farmers made less than three per cent on their investment, while they paid out as much as seven per cent on their mortgages. Feeling that farming was the backbone of the nation, farmers resented the fact that in 1920 farmers received only fifteen per cent of the national income. They were even more resentful when by 1929 their share had dropped to nine per cent. If the Government would help us as it helps manufacturers with the tariff and laborers with restricted immigration, maybe we'd get a fairer share of the national income, farmers argued.

***The McNary-Haugen Bill, Intended to Solve the Surplus Problem, Is Vetoed.*** To try to solve the problem of big surpluses, the *McNary-Haugen Bill*, backed by the farm bloc, was introduced. Here, briefly, is how the bill was supposed to work: The Government would buy up certain farm surpluses and sell them in foreign markets at prices fixed in the world market. This would raise farm prices at home by creating an artificial scarcity. Farmers would compensate the Government for its loss by paying a special tax. Twice in the Twenties, the McNary-Haugen Bill was passed by the Congress, and twice it was vetoed by President Coolidge.

In vetoing the bill, Coolidge argued: It would lead to even bigger surpluses every year, because the Government would be required to buy up surpluses. It would antagonize foreign nations, which would resent the United States' dumping of surpluses on the world market. It was socialistic, since the Government would be running a business. Finally, it was unfair, because it favored special interests, such as wheat, cotton, and corn farmers.

***The Government Attempts to Control Surpluses by Encouraging Farm Co-operatives.*** As a kind of substitute for the McNary-Haugen Bill, President Hoover got the Congress to pass the *Agricultural Marketing Act*

of June, 1929. This act set up a *Federal Farm Board* with an appropriation of \$500 million. From this fund, money was to be lent to farm co-operatives so that they, not the Government, could control surpluses. For example, such co-operatives could use the money to buy and store farm surpluses when the price was low, and to market them when the price was high.<sup>1</sup>

**Control of Surpluses, Both Through Co-operatives and Through Government Aid, Fails.** But then, as the Twenties ended, the Great Depression struck. The farm surplus problem became more serious as farm prices declined sharply. It was obvious that farm co-operatives could not handle the problem, especially as it pertained to controlling surpluses in cotton and wheat.

As a result, in 1930, the Federal Farm Board created special governmental organizations to buy up surpluses in order to keep prices up. The net results of all this were warehouses bulging with surpluses, and greatly shrunken Federal Farm Board funds. As the depression deepened in the Thirties, the Federal Farm Board went out of business. Farm prices tobogganed. Cotton dropped to five cents a pound and wheat to less than sixty cents a bushel. Not only the depression but droughts and dust storms in the Thirties were to make the farmer feel more miserable than ever.

**Certain Sick Industries in the Prosperous Twenties Contribute to the Depression.** Railroads, partly because of intense competition from other forms of transportation (page 721), enjoyed few of the fruits of the prosperity of the Twenties. As the depression grew worse, so did the troubles of the railroads. So did the troubles of the many banks, insurance companies, and individuals who had invested in railroad bonds (long considered a very safe investment). So did the troubles of thousands of railroad workers who were laid off.



A cartoon on the storage of farm surpluses entitled "The Leaning Tower of Agriculture" Why is the problem pictured here one for (a) the farmer, (b) the Government, and (c) all of us?

About 1900, about ninety per cent of the energy other than manpower used in the United States came from coal. By 1930, because so much energy was coming from the use of oil, natural gas, and hydroelectric power, the use of coal-produced energy was cut in half. Thus the coal industry became a sick one.

The American cotton textile industry was also sick during the prosperous Twenties. This was partly because of competition coming from such countries as Japan and India, and partly because of competition from synthetics (page 736).

Some industries that had been the bulwark of the boom of the Twenties had begun to taper off even before the depression. The automobile and construction industries, for example, expanded much more slowly after 1925 than they had in the early Twenties. This was mainly because most people who could afford new automobiles and new homes had already purchased them.

**Inadequate Purchasing Power in Proportion to Production Contributes to the Depression.** True, most American workers were

<sup>1</sup> Earlier, in 1922, the Capper-Volstead Act, exempting farm co-operatives from the antitrust laws, had been passed.

## From the 'Golden Twenties' To the Depression Days of The Early Thirties

1920

- First radio broadcasting station • Return of railroads to private control • The year of the Palmer raids • Nineteenth Amendment adopted • Harding elected President • Bootleggers and speakeasies begin making headlines

1921

- Budget Bureau created • Emergency Quota Act restricts immigration • Veterans' Bureau created • Washington Conference meets

1922

- Fordney-McCumber Tariff adopted • Capper-Volstead Act aids farmers

1923

- Intermediate Credit Act aids farmers • Vice-President Coolidge becomes President • Dance marathon craze hits nation

1924

- Teapot Dome scandal breaks • Soldiers' Bonus Act passed • National Origins Act favors immigration from Northwestern Europe • Dawes Plan cuts German reparations • Citizenship granted all Indians • New Progressive Party nominates La Follette • Coolidge elected President • Crossword puzzle craze begins

1925

- F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* expresses disillusionment of Jazz Age • Billy Mitchell, supporter of air power, court-martialed • Scopes tried for teaching evolution

1926

- Byrd and Bennett make first flight over North Pole • Gertrude Ederle becomes first woman to swim English Channel

1927



- First talking movie, *The Jazz Singer* • Television successfully demonstrated • Telephone service between New York and London introduced • Rust brothers invent mechanical cotton picker • Lindbergh's solo flight across Atlantic • Morrow improves United States relations with Mexico • Babe Ruth hits sixty home runs

1928

- Kellogg-Briand Pact to outlaw war • O'Neill's experimental, psychological play *Strange Interlude* opens • Hoover elected President

1929



- St. Valentine's Day massacre dramatizes gang warfare • Federal Farm Board created • Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* displays disillusionment • Stock market crash

1930



- London Naval Conference • Hawley-Smoot Tariff adapted • Hoover initiates public-works program to fight depression

1931

- Hoover maratorium recommended on reparations and war debts



As other nations raised their tariffs in retaliation, America's foreign trade fell off still more. As the depression deepened in the United States, times grew even harder in Europe and in the rest of the world—and vice versa. Never had it been so clear that the world is an economic unit.

## **The Hoover Administration During the Great Depression**

How is it possible for a country as rich and powerful as the United States to fall deeper and deeper into a depression? Why should millions go hungry when warehouses are bulging with food? Why should millions be unemployed while thousands of modern, well-equipped factories are shut down? Such questions were asked by millions of puzzled, impatient, and frightened Americans. They wanted something done—and done fast.

Many businessmen, Government officials, and economists felt that the most important thing to be done was to restore the country's confidence. Said one banker: "I know of nothing fundamentally wrong with the stock market, or with the underlying business and credit structures." New York's mayor asked movie houses to run optimistic movies that would "reinstate courage and hope in the hearts of the people." Administration officials kept repeating: "Prosperity is just around the corner." People wore buttons reading: "I'm sold on America. I won't talk depression!"

Presidents preceding Hoover had done practically nothing to combat panics and depressions. People in general had believed that it was up to business, not the Government, to find the way out of such economic disasters. And in all earlier depressions, the country had worked its way back to prosperity without Government interference. Hoover, like other believers in "rugged individualism," felt that the United States had become a great industrial nation because the Government had placed few restraints on business. At first, Hoover looked upon the depression as if it were a sick individual

running a high fever. He seemed to believe that given time and some, but not too much, assistance from the Government, the fever would subside.

But then the depression deepened. It looked as though the nation's entire economic structure might collapse. This explains why, as time went on, Hoover took more and more unprecedented steps to combat the depression. In fact, some historians assert that the foundations for the great changes introduced by the next Administration, that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, were laid by President Hoover.

**Conferences Are Called to Restore Confidence.** Shortly after the stock market crash, President Hoover called a series of conferences at the White House. Present were bankers, businessmen, and labor leaders. Hoover made suggestions as to how they might co-operate with one another to help themselves and to help restore the confidence of the nation. Here is the gist of some of these suggestions: To industrialists: Don't cut wages. Don't lay off workers. Don't stop expanding. To labor leaders: Don't make unreasonable demands. Don't call strikes. To bankers: Don't stop lending. He advised the conferees that if sacrifices must be made, they should come out of profits and not out of wages.

The conference idea was in keeping with Hoover's philosophy that a nation should depend upon voluntary co-operation among groups, rather than upon Government-imposed controls. Although not compelled to, the various groups tried to live up to Hoover's suggestions. But times grew worse and markets fell off. Then many industrialists felt that they had to cut wages and lay off men.

**The Two-Billion-Dollar Hoover Public Works Program.** To put men back to work, Hoover suggested, in 1930, that the Congress vote money to construct public buildings, dams, and roads, and to improve rivers and harbors. It was at this time that the construction of the huge Hoover Dam across the Colorado River was begun. This project

provided jobs. When completed in 1936, it also provided a water supply for the city of Los Angeles, water for irrigation, and hydroelectric power for surrounding areas. All in all, more than \$2 billion was spent by the Hoover Administration on public works.

**The Administration Bolsters Faltering State and Local Relief Programs and Aids Homeowners.** Hoover, who had won a reputation as a humanitarian, was deeply troubled by the hardship he saw about him. But he did not want to see the Federal Government giving direct relief to the unemployed. He reasoned this way: The spending of Federal funds for relief would destroy people's self-respect and self-reliance. It would create a greatly unbalanced budget and thus endanger the nation's credit. If the Federal Government handed out relief, then the private charities and local communities, whose responsibility it was, would be less liable to do so. Furthermore, politicians might use the relief funds more to advance their own political futures than to help the needy. For opposing direct relief, Hoover became increasingly unpopular with the victims of the depression. He was nicknamed "Hardhearted Herb."

But there was so much unemployment and so much suffering, and local communities had so little money that the Federal Government with its great resources finally stepped in. Much surplus wheat and cotton held by the Federal Farm Board (page 737) was used to feed and clothe the unemployed. Federal funds were also lent to states and local governments that ran out of funds for relief. Stress was placed on giving Federal jobs to unemployed veterans. To save homeowners threatened by foreclosure, the Congress, on Hoover's recommendation, created twelve *Federal Home Loan Banks*. These provided easy credit to homeowners.

**The Administration Creates the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to Bolster Certain Businesses.** Get business back on its feet. Once business prospers, the prosperity will trickle down to the people as a whole. A good way to get business on its feet would

be to extend credit to financial institutions. Thinking along these lines, Hoover recommended to the Congress that it establish a lending agency called the *Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)*. The Congress did, in 1932. It lent money to financially weak banks, life insurance companies, farm mortgage corporations, and railroads in which banks had invested heavily. In Hoover's administration alone the \$2 billion that was lent by the RFC saved many a business from ruin. However, some such businesses were so unsound that, in the opinion of some critics, the nation would have been better off if they had been permitted to go bankrupt.

In spite of the efforts of the Hoover Administration to combat it, the depression continued. Many Democrats and some Republicans blamed this on the failure of the Government to do still more. But for the Government to have done more would, in Hoover's view, have been to lead the United States down the road to socialism.

**The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Seriously Affects American Foreign Trade and Foreign Relations.** Many protested strongly when the highest tariff in American history, the *Hawley-Smoot Tariff*, was passed in 1930. The American Bankers Association feared that the tariff would prevent Europe from selling goods in the United States. Thus it would be difficult for Europe to get money to pay debts owed American private investors. Some American exporters feared that European nations would retaliate by raising their tariffs, thus reducing American exports.

A thousand economists made formal protest in a statement urging Hoover to veto the Hawley-Smoot Tariff. To the above arguments they added these: The tariff would result in higher prices for consumers. It would protect inefficient businesses, which might better be out of business. It would not protect the farmer, since he had huge surpluses to export. It would make it more difficult than ever for European nations to pay their war debts. Finally, it would make foreign nations hostile to the United States.

President Hoover, who had wanted only



limited upward revision of the tariff, signed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff. He felt that he could, on the advice of the Tariff Commission, use the flexible provision (page 722) to change unfair rates.

Almost as soon as the tariff was signed, many nations, in revenge, raised their tariffs. Many foreigners boycotted American goods. American foreign trade dropped sharply. Encouraged by the protection of the tariff, many American firms overproduced. This was unfortunate in a depression period, when purchasing power was low. Many American firms that wanted to sell goods to foreign countries built branch factories in such countries. Thus they got around the *retaliatory tariffs* such countries levied on American goods. In such American factories abroad, foreigners worked for low wages. The goods they produced competed with goods produced in American factories by better-paid laborers.

**The Foreign Policy of the Hoover Administration Is Greatly Affected by the Depression.** "Our foreign policy has one primary object, and that is peace. We have no hates. We wish no further possessions. We harbor no military threats." The peace-loving Hoover showed that he meant what he said when he spoke these words. Peace and disarmament were especially practical and popular policies during the depression. With so many needy, it seemed almost inhumane to spend huge sums on armaments. To promote peace and economy, Hoover took the lead in bringing about the London Naval Disarmament Conference in 1930 (page 694). For similar reasons, he made his dramatic proposal to the Geneva Conference in 1932 that all offensive armaments—land, sea, and air—be abolished.

To promote friendship and to increase trade, Hoover made a good-will tour of Latin America. The Clark Memorandum adopted in his administration canceled out the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine (page 718). And Hoover further promoted good neighborliness with Latin America by arranging for the withdrawal of troops from Nicaragua and Haiti.

Hoover came to feel that the depression was largely the result of World War I and unhealthy world economic conditions. World recovery, he felt, was being hindered by, for example, the problem of war debts and reparations. This explains why, in 1931, he made his proposal of a one-year moratorium on the payments of war debts and reparations (page 696). But, as we know, as the depression grew steadily worse, practically all nations stopped making payments anyway.

In the Thirties, as we shall see, Japan used military force to try to slam the Open Door shut in China. Hoover's secretary of state, Henry L. Stimson, strongly condemned Japan. He refused to recognize a puppet state that Japan set up in Manchuria (page 788). Stronger measures than these, however, the peace-loving Hoover refused to sanction.

## **The Depression Plays a Big Part In Insuring a Democratic Victory In the Election of 1932**

**Roosevelt Pleads for 'the Forgotten Man' and Pledges a 'New Deal.'** "These unhappy times [the depression] call for . . . plans . . . that build from the bottom up and not from the top down, that put their faith once more in the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid." Thus, early in 1932, did Franklin D. Roosevelt, governor of New York, sound a theme he was to repeat many times in his subsequent campaign for the Presidency. To Roosevelt, "the forgotten man" was the laborer, the farmer, and the small businessman. He alleged that these were not getting enough consideration from the Administration.

In the summer of 1932, the Democrats nominated Roosevelt for President. In his speech accepting the nomination, he strongly criticized the Hoover Administration for its method of fighting the depression. Giving Government aid to big corporations so that "some of their prosperity will leak through to



Franklin D. Roosevelt arriving in Portland, Oregon, September, 1932 While campaigning here, candidate Roosevelt called for strict regulation of public utilities and for Government development of power to be used as a yardstick to measure the rates charged by private utility companies

[the forgotten man]" wouldn't work, he said. He went on:

I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people.

**The Odds Against Hoover's Re-election Are Overwhelming.** Hoover, whom the Republicans had renominated, had almost no chance of re-election. Millions of voters held him responsible for the depression. They tended to forget what he had done to try to combat it. As the depression deepened, Democratic campaign speakers provoked gales of laughter by ridiculing the Republican slogan, "Prosperity is just around the corner."

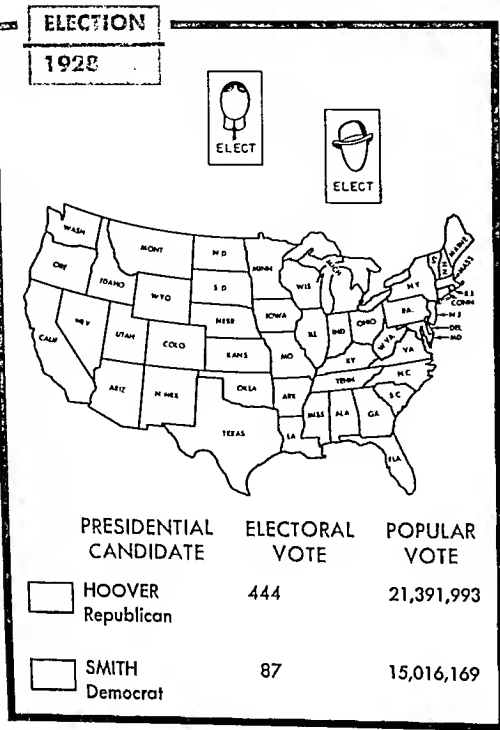
For millions of voters, Roosevelt had great personal magnetism. His vibrant voice and self-assured manner seemed to inspire their confidence. Bearing the Roosevelt name, made famous by Theodore, was also a political asset. Franklin was Theodore's fifth cousin, and his wife, Eleanor, Theodore's niece. In fact, the background and early political career of Democrat Franklin resembled that of Republican Theodore. Both were

born of well-to-do parents, and attended Harvard University and Columbia Law School. Both had served in the New York State legislature and as assistant secretary of the navy. Both had been candidates for Vice-President, although Franklin had lost in 1920, when he had been the running mate of Cox (page 689). Both had served as governor of New York—Franklin twice, having been elected in 1928 and 1930.

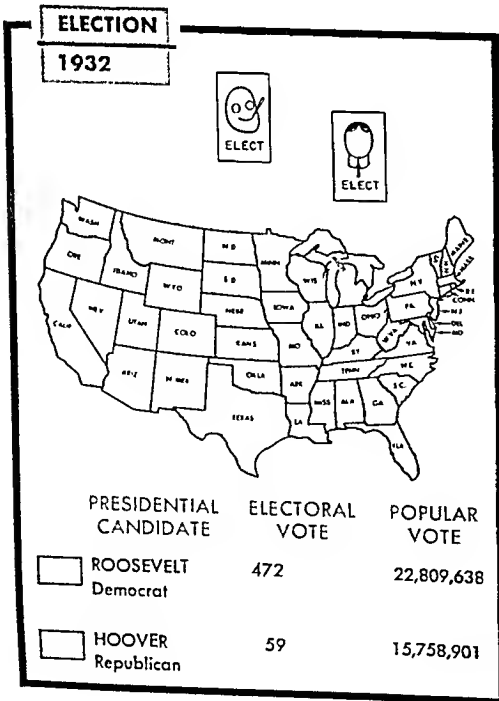
**Roosevelt and Hoover in the Campaign.** Ever since 1921, when he was thirty-nine, Franklin had been crippled by infantile paralysis. Nevertheless, he carried on a vigorous campaign across the country. The polio attack seemed to have strengthened his courage and will power. As he put it:

Once I spent two years lying in bed trying to move my big toe. That was the hardest job I ever had! After that, anything else seems easy!

In his campaign speeches, Roosevelt promised that the "New Deal" he would initiate as President would go all out to help "the forgotten man." Yet his promises were not



## A STUDY IN CONTRASTS



always precise and sometimes were even inconsistent. In some speeches, he recommended economy and a balanced budget, and in others, Government spending to get the nation out of the depression.

Roosevelt said that Hoover was wrong in stressing the world-wide causes of the depression. Instead, Roosevelt blamed the Republican policies of the 1920's.

Hoover, on the other hand, maintained that the depression would have been much more severe had it not been for his policies. He accused the Democrats in the Congress of obstructing many additional measures by which he had sought to combat the depression.

To Hoover, Roosevelt's talk about a "New Deal" and "the forgotten man" seemed dangerously radical. Radical, too, seemed Roosevelt's insistence that the national Government do far more to fight the depression. Hoover said:

Our opponents are proposing changes and so-called New Deals which would destroy the very foundations of our American system. You cannot extend the mastery of government over the daily life of a people without somewhere making it master of people's souls and thought.

If Roosevelt won, Hoover warned:

... grass would grow in the streets of one hundred cities, ... churches and schoolhouses would decay.

Singing "Happy Days Are Here Again, the Skies Above Are Clear Again," the Democrats went on to an overwhelming victory.<sup>1</sup> Many who had never voted the Democratic ticket did so. They seemed to feel that things couldn't get much worse, and that they might get better. Furthermore, the Democrats' stand on prohibition won them

<sup>1</sup> The Republicans won only six states. Roosevelt polled nearly twenty-three million votes to Hoover's nearly sixteen million. Both House and Senate went Democratic by big majorities. And in this sweeping victory, many Republican senators and representatives long in office were unseated.

many votes. They had promised flatly to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. The Republican platform on prohibition was much more vague.

**Between Election Day and Inauguration Day the Depression Deepens.** Never before had so many Americans been unemployed as in the winter of 1932-1933. By Inauguration Day, then March 4, the nation's stock exchanges had closed down. By then, too, practically every bank in the nation was also closed. Many of them had gone bankrupt. However, most of them, although sound, had been closed on orders from state governors, in order to prevent runs on them by depositors. The governors planned to reopen the banks when confidence returned.

**'Lame Ducks' Make Combating the Depression Difficult.** Having been defeated at the polls, President Hoover felt that it was not proper for him to initiate any new policies to combat the depression. According to the Constitution, Roosevelt could not take office until March 4. Thus *he* could not take any official action. And congressmen defeated in November met in December with the rest of the Congress to make laws right up to Inauguration Day. This short session of the Congress was called the *lame-duck* session and such defeated congressmen were called *lame ducks*.

Since the lame ducks had been repudiated at the polls, many of them did not feel that it was proper for them to propose new legislation. Unless the President called a special session after March 4 in the odd years, the newly elected congressmen did not take seats in the Congress until thirteen months after they had been elected. Thus, at a time when

the nation was economically paralyzed, it was, unfortunately, politically paralyzed as well.

Back in Washington's time, there had been much sense in delaying the inauguration of the newly elected President and congressmen. Because of poor communication, it took some time to know who the victors were. Because of poor transportation, it took some time for them to get to the nation's capital. But Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska and many others felt that there was no excuse for such delays in the twentieth century. As a result of Norris' efforts especially, the Twentieth Amendment (*Lame-duck Amendment*) was adopted. (But it did not go into effect until 1933, too late to apply to the 1932 election.) According to this amendment, the Congress elected in November takes office on January 3 and the newly elected President on January 20.<sup>1</sup>

During this lame-duck period, President Hoover tried to get President-elect Roosevelt to make certain pledges. He wanted him to pledge, among other things, not to inflate the currency or to build up heavy governmental debts. Hoover admitted that if Roosevelt had given such pledges, it would have meant "the abandonment of ninety per cent of the so-called New Deal." But Roosevelt was determined not to do so. Because he was not yet in office, he declared: "It's not my baby."

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<sup>1</sup> The Twentieth Amendment also provides for the presidential succession in case the President-elect or the Vice-President-elect shall have died or failed to qualify. (See the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution in the Appendix.)

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 30

### ☆ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

bonus march	buying on margin	Federal Home Loan Banks	"the forgotten man"
Norman Thomas	overhead		lame-duck session
William Z. Foster	McNary-Haugen Bill	Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)	lame ducks
Huey Long			Lame-duck Amendment
Townsend Plan	Agricultural Marketing Act	Hawley-Smoot Tariff	
Black Thursday		retaliatory tariffs	
Black Tuesday	Federal Farm Board		

### ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Mention four specific reasons why people became pessimistic in the depression-ridden Thirties.
2. Cite some specific statistical evidence of the severity of the Great Depression.
3. Give examples of the different ways in which various individuals or groups of Americans reacted to the depression.
4. Concerning the bonus army, describe (a) its aim, (b) its method, and (c) how it was handled by the Hoover Administration.
5. Explain by what means (a) Senator Huey Long and (b) Dr. F. E. Townsend appealed to the people.
6. What explanations have been given for the stock market crash of October, 1929?
7. Give examples of chain reactions that intensified the depression.
8. For what reasons were many farmers suffering hard times during the "Golden Twenties"?
9. With respect to the McNary-Haugen Bill, give (a) its aim, (b) how it was expected to operate, (c) reasons why Coolidge opposed it, and (d) its fate.
10. Explain the (a) function and (b) fate of the Federal Farm Board.
11. For what reasons were specific industries sick in the Twenties?
12. What reasons explain the inadequate purchasing power of many Americans in the "Golden Twenties"?
13. For what reasons was Europe suffering hard times throughout the Twenties?
14. What policies of certain Americans and the United States Government toward Europe in the Twenties boomeranged?
15. What were the (a) purposes of, (b) recommendations made at, and (c) results of the Hoover conferences during the early days of the depression?
16. For what reasons was President Hoover at first opposed to Federal grants for direct relief?
17. Describe specific steps taken by the Hoover Administration to combat the depression.
18. Describe the results of the passage of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff.
19. What efforts were made by President Hoover to promote peace and friendship with other nations?
20. Describe some (a) campaign tactics used and (b) arguments advanced during the presidential campaign of 1932.
21. For what reasons did the Lame-duck Amendment seem a "must" to many?

### ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. In some ways the effects of the depression on family life were saddest of all. Discuss fully.
2. How would a knowledge of the statistics of the depression years, such as those mentioned on page 732, be of value not

- only to Government officials and businessmen but to all of us?
3. To what extent was the reaction of most Americans to the suffering caused by the depression a tribute to the American way of life?
  4. What are your reactions to the story of the bonus march on Washington?
  5. What flaws can you see in the schemes advocated for combating the depression by (a) Huey Long and (b) Dr F. E. Townsend?
  6. Show that emotion played a big part in causing stock market prices to go up early in the Twenties and down in 1929.
  7. What do you think was the major cause of the Great Depression? Why?
  8. Economic interdependency among the people of the nation and among the nations of the world gives us all many benefits. Yet it also intensifies depressions. Explain fully, giving proof.
  9. Which do you think was more to blame for the farmer's troubles in the Twenties, his own policies or circumstances? Justify your answer.
  10. What suggestions would you make for handling the perennial problem of farm surpluses?
  11. Do you agree or disagree that farmers require more governmental help than any other group? Give reasons.
  12. Comment on each of the reasons given by President Coolidge for vetoing the McNary-Haugen Bill.
  13. It was inevitable that the Federal Farm Board would be unable to do the job for which it was created. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
  14. Some say that, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as overproduction of goods at any time. What do they mean? What is your opinion of the statement?
  15. What steps might be taken to counteract the heartaches caused by technological unemployment?
  16. In what sense were the United States and Europe mutually responsible for the depression?
  17. What do you think was the most important step taken by President Hoover to combat the depression? Justify your choice.
  18. Comment on each of the reasons given by President Hoover for opposing direct Federal relief to the unemployed.
  19. The establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation illustrates what has been called "the trickling-down theory" for stimulating recovery from the depression. Give arguments (a) for and (b) against the practicality of this theory.
  20. Give your reactions to the Hawley-Smoot Tariff.
  21. Prove by examples that President Hoover was forceful in promoting peace.
  22. For whom would you have voted in the election of 1932? For what reasons?
  23. Give your opinions on each of the quotations in the discussion of the election of 1932.
  24. In today's crucial times, the Lame-duck Amendment should be amended. Explain whether you agree or disagree, giving reasons.
- ★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check President Hoover. Cite your sources of information.
  2. Interview several persons who were living during the Great Depression, asking them for their experiences and observations during it. Sum up their answers for the class.
  3. In committee, as a research project, find out (a) the effects of the Great Depression on your local community or city and (b) what was done to combat these effects.
  4. Write an imaginary dialogue that might have taken place during the depression between (a) a capitalist and a communist, (b) a bonus marcher and a critic of

- the bonus march, or (c) Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Use as many sources of information as possible.
5. Select any document relating to the information in this chapter from any one of the source books recommended on page xv. Report on (a) what you consider the most significant statements in it, (b) how it appeals to the emotions, and (c) how it appeals to reason.
  6. Prepare an oral report on "The Great Wall Street Crash" by J. K. Galbraith in *Gentlemen, Scholars, and Scoundrels*, edited by H. Knowles.
  7. For a committee-made report, investigate what might have been done to prevent the stock market crash of 1929. Cite your sources.
  8. Draw a diagram for the bulletin board illustrating the chain reaction that led to a deepening of the depression.
  9. Write an imaginary letter to a newspaper such as a farmer of the Twenties might have written explaining why he is giving up farming.
  10. Write a page in the diary of (a) a victim of technological unemployment or (b) a civil service employee whose city could not pay him his salary during the depression.
  11. In committee, find out which sick industries of the Twenties are still sick.
  - Report on reasons why these industries are still sick.
  12. Express your feelings on the depression or any aspect of it in (a) an editorial, (b) a poem, or (c) a cartoon.
  13. In committee, collect the following dealing with the depression period: (a) songs, (b) poems, (c) anecdotes, (d) quotations, (e) pictures, and (f) bits of wry humor.
  14. Write a report tracing the history of the tariff from the War Between the States to the Hawley-Smoot Tariff.
  15. Read any one of the following speeches of Herbert Hoover: (a) "The Fruits of Individualism" (August 11, 1928—see *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link); (b) his campaign speech of October 4, 1932 (in the same book); or (c) "The Philosophy of Rugged Individualism" (October 22, 1928—see *Documents of American History*, edited by H. S. Commager). Indicate which statements in the speech appeal to you and which do not, giving reasons.
  16. Read Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech of September 23, 1932 in *Great Issues in American History*, Vol. 2, edited by R. Hofstadter. Indicate which statements in the speech appeal to you and which do not, giving reasons.

## CHAPTER

# 31

### *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*

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#### **Efforts to Aid the Needy, Bankers, Businessmen, and Farmers**

• New Deal Coals: Relief, Recovery, Reform • CCC: To Conserve Human and Natural Resources • WPA: The Biggest Employer During the Depression • Social Security Act Aids the Aged and Jobless, Among Others • Regulation of Banking Is Increased, Bank Deposits Are Insured • NRA Encourages Industrial Self-Government • PWA Primes the Pump • Prohibition Is Repealed • Foreign Trade Is Encouraged • Controlled Inflation Is Tried • AAA of 1933: Farmers Are Paid to Produce Less • Other Farm Legislation

#### **Efforts to Aid Labor, Homeowners, and Investors, and to Promote Conservation**

• The Wagner Act Is Considered a Magna Carta by Labor • Union Membership Soars • A Wages and Hours Act Is Passed • HOLC, FHA, and USHA Improve Housing • The SEC: To Protect Investors • Attempts to Break Up Big Public Utility Holding Companies • The TVA: To Rehabilitate a Region • The Conservation Program Is Expanded

#### **The New Deal Begins to Slow Up**

• Opposition to the New Deal Grows Strong After Its 1936 Election Victory • Roosevelt's 'Court-packing' Plan Makes Him Many Enemies • Roosevelt, to Get Support for His Foreign Policy, Halts New New-Deal Legislation • The New Deal Means Different Things to Different People • Some Effects of the Depression and New Deal on Writers and Artists

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### **The New Deal Ushers In Great Social and Economic Changes**

Roosevelt's Inaugural Address Stimulates Confidence in Many and Arouses Fear in Others. "This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself . . ." Thus Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed in confident tones in his Inaugural Address.

There was no excuse for poverty in the midst of the plenty of this great nation, said Roosevelt. He blamed the national economic crisis largely on those he called "the money changers" (meaning bankers, speculators, and brokers). Roosevelt continued:

There must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investment, there must be an end to speculation with other people's money; and there must be provisions for an adequate but sound currency.



But suppose the Congress failed to provide for all this? Roosevelt promised that in that event:

I shall ask the Congress for . . . broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe. . . .

This last statement in particular caused some to fear that Roosevelt was seeking the powers of a dictator. Others, however, saw in these New Deal proposals many aspects of Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal and Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom.

**Some Examples of the Great Social and Economic Changes Made in the Famous 'Hundred Days.'** "This nation asks for action and action now," President Roosevelt had declared in his Inaugural Address. Action, he felt, would lift the people's morale, which had sunk so low. And what better way of lifting morale, he thought, than getting banks re-opened? Contradictory though it may seem, the President's first step was to order the banks that had not already been closed to close temporarily. The object was to permit time for an examination of all banks in order to find out which were sound enough to be re-opened. The President's order was issued on March 5, the day after his inauguration. On the same day, he ordered the Congress to meet in special session. It did, on March 9. Speedily, an emergency banking bill presented to the Congress by the President was passed.

The *Emergency Banking Act* gave the President tremendous emergency powers over banking. It also made the hoarding of gold and silver a crime. Under the act, financial experts appointed by the President investigated the banks and permitted the reopening of sound banks. Within a few days, most of the nation's banks were back in business.

The speed with which the President acted restored confidence in banking. So did the first of his so-called "fireside chats" to the people over the radio on March 12. In it, he said: "I can assure you that it is safer to keep

your money in a re-opened bank than under the mattress!"

Morale was further lifted as, almost daily, new bills to combat the depression were framed by the Administration and passed, with little debate, by the Congress. This frantic special session ending June 16 came to be known as the *Hundred Days*. It passed more far-reaching social and economic legislation than any other session in the history of the Congress. And there was more to come in other sessions during the long Roosevelt Presidency. This legislation gave the national Government so much power over so many phases of life that people began to talk about "big government."

Much of this legislation was drawn up in advance by college professors, lawyers, and experts in various fields. This group was called the *brain trust*. Some of its members had far more influence in the Government than most congressmen or Cabinet members. Although Roosevelt leaned heavily on the advice of the brain trust, it was he who dominated the New Deal.

**Why the 'Hundred Days' Session of the Congress Played 'Follow the Leader' to the President.** A "rubber-stamp" Congress was what some called this special session. This was because it passed quickly and with very little study almost any bill the President asked for. Why did it do so? In the critical emergency, congressmen, like most of the people, wanted action, not debate. Furthermore, Roosevelt was a dramatic leader who knew how to win popular support. He showed an uncanny sense of timing in deciding when to deliver a fireside chat or a message to the Congress. In his many press conferences, he made many newspaper reporters feel almost as though they were members of the Roosevelt "team." Thus his program was presented sympathetically to readers. Furthermore, his campaign manager and postmaster general, James Farley, made sure that congressmen who voted against Roosevelt's program received no patronage (page 133).

**Some Patterns That Emerged from the New Deal.** "The country needs . . . bold, per-

sistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something. . . ." This statement of Roosevelt's explains why he recommended to the Congress such a wide variety of bills to benefit bankers, businessmen, the unemployed, wage earners, farmers, debtors, investors, and consumers. Obviously, some of these bills, designed to please so many different groups, were bound to be compromises or to contradict one another. Often a bill to help one group annoyed or even angered another.

**New Deal Goals: Relief, Recovery, Reform.** Nevertheless, confusing and chaotic as it sometimes seemed, New Deal legislation followed a general pattern. This pattern was designed to aid the needy and to help business and agriculture get on their feet. It also aimed to correct certain weaknesses in the business world that had contributed to the depression. In short, the pattern was: relief, recovery, reform. Such aims overlapped. Obviously, for example, many measures designed for relief would help recovery, and vice versa.

**The New Deal Has Two Main Phases.** Still another pattern emerges from the New Deal. That is that, essentially, it had two main phases. In the first, although the Administration tried to help all groups, it concentrated on aid to businessmen. Like the Hoover Administration, it did so in hopes that financial help to business would promote prosperity, which would trickle down to the people as a whole. Like the Hoover Administration, too, but on a much larger scale, it appropriated money for public works and indirect relief through states and cities. Such an effort to get business on its feet again through pumping Federal funds into circulation is known as *pump-priming*.

In early 1935 began the second phase of the New Deal. The Administration continued to help all groups. However, it concentrated on financial or other aid to small farmers, small businessmen, wage earners, the unemployed, and the aged. Roosevelt expected

that this type of financial aid at the bottom would create widespread spending. Thus it would also be a tonic to business at the top.

In 1939, World War II broke out in Europe. It soon looked as though the United States might become involved. This is a main reason why there were few New Deal measures introduced after 1939. Roosevelt felt that the nation's problem was not so much to fight the declining depression as to be prepared in case of foreign aggression.

**The New Deal and Roosevelt Win Warm Supporters and Make Bitter Enemies.** Few Presidents have been so widely loved as Franklin D. Roosevelt. None of his predecessors had been elected to more than two terms, he was elected to four. Nevertheless, few Presidents have been as deeply hated as Roosevelt, either. Let us now study the major New Deal measures to gain some insight into why those whose views were at such opposite extremes felt as they did.

### **Efforts to Give Assistance to The Needy Young, the Unemployed, Unemployables, and the Aged**

**The Civilian Conservation Corps Aims to Conserve Human as Well as Natural Resources.** The number of job-hunting young men hitchhiking across the nation or hopping freight cars had swelled to alarming proportions by the time Roosevelt took office. In their frustration and desperation, many had gotten into trouble. To try to remedy the situation, the Roosevelt Administration, in March, 1933, created the *Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)*. The CCC enlisted needy, young, unmarried men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. It stationed them in camps scattered in rural areas throughout the nation. In such areas, they planted trees, fought forest fires and soil erosion, built roads and bridges, and improved beaches and national parks. For this work, they received food, clothing, shelter, and \$30 a month. Part of this money they had to send home to their families on relief.



*The Civilian Conservation Corps fighting a forest fire in the West. What arguments might have been given for or against making the CCC a permanent institution?*

A Communist official called the CCC an attempt to "legalize a system of forced labor." Since the army helped run its program, which had been mapped out by the Forestry Service, some called the CCC a trick to build up a powerful military machine. But before long, many outspoken critics of other New Deal measures were expressing approval of the CCC. Morally and spiritually, as well as physically, most young men benefited from the program. Youths from city slums and country towns got to know one another, and all got to know their country better.

**From FERA to WPA: A Shift in the Federal Government's Attitude Toward Relief.** In May, 1933, the *Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)* was created. Its director was Harry Hopkins, soon to become Roosevelt's closest adviser. Using FERA grants, states could supply work relief or make a cash payment (called a *dole*) to an unemployed person. In practice, it proved to be cheaper and easier to give the unemployed

person a small check than to find or create a public job for him. Therefore, by 1935, ninety per cent of the "reliefers" were on the dole.

By 1935, too, one out of every six Americans was on relief. It looked as though large-scale relief would be necessary for some time. But Roosevelt and Hopkins feared that the dole received by so many under FERA was undermining the self-respect and initiative of American workers. Besides, the dole caused work skills to become "rusty." There did not seem to be much likelihood that the states could provide enough work relief. Finally, more and more "reliefers" on the dole were, in their despair, listening to Communist propaganda.

By this time, too, Roosevelt seemed to feel that if private employers could not provide enough jobs, it was up to the Federal Government to do so. All this explains why, in 1935, a new relief agency, the *Works Progress Administration (WPA)*, was created to replace FERA.

**The WPA: The Biggest Employer in the Nation During the Depression.** From 1935 until it ended in 1943, the WPA spent more than \$13 billion on 250,000 projects to provide work relief for a total of eight million people. Until he became secretary of commerce in 1939, Hopkins was administrator of the WPA. It was his policy to try to place the jobless in jobs for which they had training, experience, or talent.

Some WPA projects were useless, some showed poor workmanship. Sometimes politics influenced job assignments and the share of WPA funds that went to a given community. Many workers loafed on the job. Some taxpayer groups feared that the Government might go bankrupt, because work relief was so much more expensive than the dole. Such reasons explain why the program was severely attacked.

Yet parks and playgrounds, schools and hospitals, highways and bridges, post offices and courthouses, swimming pools and golf courses were constructed by WPA workers. Many an unemployed writer and teacher, doctor and dentist, artist and actor practiced his profession in WPA projects. The Federal Theater Project of the WPA made it possible for many persons in many sections of the nation to see a legitimate theatrical production for the first time. However, the theater project was abandoned when rumors spread that Communists had infiltrated it.

**The Social Security Act Aids the Aged and the Jobless, Among Others.** Government systems of old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and other forms of social security had been adopted by many European nations by 1920. But Americans, with their long tradition of self-reliance, had long thought that such systems were not for the United States.

**Some Reasons for the Adoption of the Social Security System.** The depression, however, caused many Americans to become much more sympathetic to social security. The savings on which many had depended for security in time of unemployment and old age had been wiped out. Moreover, with

medical advances and the decline in the birth rate, the percentage of the population sixty-five years old and over was constantly increasing. Few employers were willing to hire older workers. The result, therefore, would be a heavy financial burden in the future for the younger generation.

If old people had buying power derived from a social security system, it was reasoned, depressions would be less severe. Extremists such as Huey Long and Townsend (page 733) were promoting extravagant pension schemes that, if adopted, might have bankrupted the nation. To head off such schemes, which were growing in popularity, a moderate Federal social security system seemed wise.

**The Social Security System in Operation.** The Social Security system set up by the Congress in 1935 is the joint responsibility of the Federal Government and the state governments. Except for certain groups exempted, aged workers who retire get an old-age pension.<sup>1</sup> Funds to pay these pensions are raised through a payroll tax that is shared equally by employers and employees. Pensions vary according to wages earned and the length of time a worker has been contributing to the Social Security program. This old-age insurance phase is handled exclusively by the Federal Government.

Needy aged not covered by the old-age insurance system receive cash payments out of contributions by both the Federal Government and the state governments. Similar Federal-state financial help is furnished to such unemployables as the needy blind, the needy ill, and dependent mothers and dependent children.

The states alone handle the unemployment-insurance phases of the Social Security Act. The states finance this insurance through a payroll tax on employers.

As we shall see, the Social Security Act as a whole has been extended to include more

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<sup>1</sup> At first, workers became eligible for this pension at the age of sixty-five. Since 1959 for women, and since 1961 for men, the age has been sixty-two.

# **Social Security Bill Voted; Will Benefit 30,000,000**

**Measure Sent to Roosevelt Provides for Old-Age Pensions, Job Insurance, Aid for Blind, Disabled Mothers and Destitute Children.**

*Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.*

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9.—President Roosevelt's Social Security Bill, designed to make the American people secure "against the major hazards and vicissitudes of life," and the keystone of his whole program for social reform, ended its long course through Congress today when the Senate ratified the conference report on the measure without a record vote. The House acted favorably yesterday.

*New York Times headlines reporting passage of the Social Security Act.*

groups, and its benefits have been increased. Of the act, Roosevelt said that it was the New Deal's "supreme achievement."

## **Efforts to Help Bankers And Businessmen and Those Who Do Business with Them**

**Regulation of Banking Is Increased and Bank Deposits Are Insured.** To correct banking evils that had helped cause the depression, the *Glass-Steagall Act* was passed in June, 1933. To prevent banks from extending loans that seemed bad risks, this act increased the regulatory power of the Federal Reserve Banks. To prevent, in Roosevelt's words, "speculation with other people's money," it required commercial banks to divorce themselves from investment banking. To inspire confidence, and thus prevent runs on banks, the Government guaranteed bank deposits, within limits, through the establishment of the *Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)*. A depositor in a bank that became a member of the FDIC received up

to \$10,000 of his deposit, if the bank failed.<sup>1</sup> A high banking official had called the deposit insurance plan "unsound and unscientific" when it was proposed. Roosevelt was also skeptical about it. Yet few would question its value today.

By the Banking Act of 1935, Federal control over private banking was increased still more. Moreover, through its Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its many other special lending agencies, the Government was virtually in the banking business itself.

**The NRA Encourages Industrial Self-Government to Fight the Depression.** Suspend the antitrust laws during the depression, urged many businessmen. Here are the advantages they said would result: Industries would have an opportunity to combine or co-operate to eliminate wasteful cutthroat competition. Agreements could be made among businessmen to plan production so that the amount of goods they produced would tend to balance the amount of goods they could sell. Such co-operation would also tend to raise prices from their very low levels. Finally, wages could be raised and hours shortened by virtue of the resulting prosperity.

Make a thirty-hour workweek compulsory for all industries, urged labor leaders. This, they said, would spread the work among more people, and thus increase purchasing power.

**Main Features of the National Industrial Recovery Act.** The *National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)*, which the Congress passed in June, 1933, took into account the urging of businessmen. And, although it made a number of concessions to labor, too, it did not go so far as to establish a thirty-hour week. Under the act, a *National Recovery Administration (NRA)* got industries in the same line of work to draw up "codes of fair competition." Most codes included agreements on price control, production con-

<sup>1</sup> In 1935, this sum was dropped to \$5,000, but in 1950 it was raised to the original \$10,000.

trol, maximum hours, and minimum wages, and a ban on child and sweatshop labor. To permit such industry-wide agreements, the antitrust laws were suspended

Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act guaranteed labor's right "to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing." Employers or their agents were forbidden to interfere with this right to organize.

**Various Groups Attack the NRA.** Small businessmen complained that the codes in their industries were drawn up by big businessmen to favor big businessmen. They added that the suspension of the antitrust laws had enabled big business to create monopolies and gobble up still more of the limited market. Consumers protested because price agreements led to price rises. Many people were angered by the fact that businessmen who violated the code were seldom prosecuted. Many employers objected to the concessions to labor. Labor called the wage scales far too low. It charged that in labor disputes involving the codes, Government officials favored employers. Soon labor was labeling the NRA "the National Run-Around."

**The NRA Is Dealt a Deathblow.** The Supreme Court, in May, 1935, unanimously declared the NRA unconstitutional. For what reasons? As we know, the Constitution gives the Congress the power to regulate interstate, but not intrastate, commerce. The Court ruled that in the case brought before it the NRA codes were regulating both interstate and intrastate commerce. This was being done under the NRA's loose interpretation that almost any business was involved in some way in interstate commerce.

Furthermore, the NRA codes were, in effect, laws. The power for industries to draw up such codes was granted to them by the President. But, according to the Constitution, it is the Congress, not the President, that has lawmaking power. The Congress had no right, the Court decided, to delegate its lawmaking powers to the President. Therefore, the NRA was declared unconstitutional for

a second reason: that it violated the principle of separation of powers.

Yet the influence of the NRA did not die. Many of the labor concessions in the codes were written into later laws. So, too, for a time, was price fixing.

**The PWA Primes the Pump to Stimulate Business and to Create Jobs.** If there isn't enough business, why not create more? asked New Deal officials. To create more business and, by so doing, to create more jobs, the *Public Works Administration* (PWA) was set up. It spent about \$4 billion on a giant program involving the construction of thousands of useful public works. The private companies participating in the various public works projects were permitted to hire regular workers, not necessarily workers on relief.

The PWA meant much business not only for builders but for companies supplying steel and other materials that went into these heavy construction projects. Built by the PWA were highways and hospitals, bridges and tunnels, aircraft carriers and aviation fields, sewage disposal systems and water supply systems, schools and jails, and gigantic dams, such as the Grand Coulee on the Columbia River. Harold Ickes, secretary of the interior, was director of the PWA.

**Prohibition Is Repealed in Hopes of Aiding Business and for Other Reasons.** Nationwide prohibition, established by the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919, was repealed by the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933. This, it was expected, would be a factor in fighting the depression. It would mean business for grain-growing farmers, brewers, bottlemakers, bartenders, and others connected with the liquor industry. It would also mean a big increase in Government income from taxes. There were, of course, other major reasons why repeal was brought about, including inability to enforce prohibition, the increase in crime connected with it, and the belief that prohibition was a state problem.

**Business Is Aided by Encouragement of Foreign Trade.** Don't we want the United States and the rest of the world to benefit

from an increased volume of international trade? Don't we want to promote friendly relations with other nations? If so, tariffs around the world should be lowered. So argued Roosevelt's secretary of state, Cordell Hull. Hull and Roosevelt were especially troubled because American exports had dropped more than fifty per cent between 1929 and 1934, and world trade much more so.

*How the Reciprocal Tariff Program Operates.* On the recommendation of Hull and Roosevelt, the Congress passed the *Trade Agreements Act* in 1934. This law gave the President special tariff powers for a three-year period. He was authorized to negotiate special tariff arrangements on specific products with separate countries. In making such arrangements, the President bargained somewhat like this: You lower your duties on certain American products and the United States will lower its duties by as much as fifty per cent on certain of yours.

Actually, these *reciprocal trade agreements*, as they were called, affected many countries besides those with which the United States negotiated them.<sup>1</sup> Here is why: In many trade treaties that the United States had signed in the past, a *most-favored-nation clause* had been included. According to this clause, any time the United States grants a special tariff concession to any country, it must grant the same concession to the nations with which it has most-favored-nation agreements. This does not apply, of course, in the case of a nation that discriminates against the United States.

The Trade Agreements Act was renewed in 1937. Renewed several times since, the act has led to still more such agreements. Following the example of the United States, many other countries have signed reciprocal trade agreements with one another.

*Some Effects of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements.* Between 1934 and 1940, more

than sixty per cent of the foreign trade of the United States was covered by reciprocal trade agreements. During this same period, the volume of American foreign trade had doubled that of 1932. And, as Hull had hoped, relations among nations having reciprocal trade agreements became much more friendly.

Strong objections to reciprocal trade agreements came from businesses on whose products duties were reduced. But the attitude of the Congress seemed to be that it had to consider the greatest good for the greatest number.

**Roosevelt Tries Controlled Inflation to Raise Prices, to Increase Exports, and to Help Debtors.** During the depression, there was great pressure on the Government to cheapen the value of the dollar and thus bring about inflation.

*Inflation Is Considered an Economic Cure-all by Some.* Here is how inflationists argued:

Cheapening the value of the dollar would cause prices to rise. Higher prices would help business, which has suffered so long from excessively low prices. A cheaper dollar would raise the comparative value of foreign currencies. Foreign countries would then buy more American goods, because they would be getting more for their money. Great Britain and other countries have already gone off the gold standard. Thus they have cheapened their currencies in hopes of thereby increasing their exports. Unless the United States gets off the gold standard, too, it will lose the international race to export more goods. Finally, inflationists asked, is it fair that debtors should have to pay their debts in dear dollars, when they borrowed cheap dollars?

*Some Steps Toward Inflation Taken by the Administration.* The Congress, in answer to the pressure of inflationists, gave great inflationary powers to President Roosevelt. However, Roosevelt wanted only moderate inflation. Therefore, he did not use all of these powers. Eager to raise prices, increase exports, and help debtors, he decided to take the United States off the gold standard and

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<sup>1</sup> The idea of reciprocal tariffs had been first proposed by Secretary of State Blaine in the late nineteenth century (page 556).

place it on a *managed currency*. A managed currency would, Roosevelt hoped, "establish and maintain a dollar which will not change its purchasing and debt-paying power."

What steps did the Roosevelt Administration take to bring about controlled inflation and a managed currency? Shortly after Roosevelt's inauguration, he issued a proclamation making it illegal to redeem paper money in gold or to export gold. By this basic step and by later steps authorized by the Congress, he took the nation off the gold standard. He then tried to manage the currency by reducing the gold content of the dollar to about fifty-nine per cent of its former value.<sup>1</sup> In theory, this so-called cheaper dollar should have caused a sharp rise in prices. It is true that for this and other reasons, prices and exports rose in 1933. Yet they did not rise as much as expected. Moreover, when the United States cheapened its dollar, other nations cheapened theirs still more. This international currency war was bad for international trade, because currencies tended to fluctuate from day to day.

It was apparent that "tinkering" with or manipulating the currency was not the only means of affecting prices. Perhaps even more important factors to be dealt with were the supply of and demand for products, the amount of credit being extended, and the amount of Government spending.

## Attempts to Aid the Big Farmer, And the Small Farmer, Too

### Some New Deal Goals for Agriculture.

Low prices, bankruptcies, and foreclosures had created a feeling of panic among farmers and brought them to the brink of rebellion. The Administration responded with a farm program that had these aims: to re-



A camp doctor at a Farm Security Administration agricultural camp ministers to a patient.

duce farm surpluses so as to raise farm prices, to extend credit to farmers to save them from bankruptcy or mortgage foreclosure; to promote soil conservation; to move farmers from unproductive land to more fertile land; and to give advice on scientific methods of farming.

**The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933: Farmers Are Paid by the Government to Produce Less.** Income of farmers in the years from 1909 to 1914 was considered fair in relationship to the income of nonfarmers. The goal of the *Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)* of 1933 was to raise farm income to the same fair relationship. In line with the act, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace signed contracts with farmers. In these, farmers promised to reduce their production of livestock and the acreage on which they produced certain staple crops. Such staple crops included wheat, cotton, tobacco, and

<sup>1</sup> The nation's huge gold supply was melted down into bars of bullion and stored away as backing for the currency. Thus it was said that the United States was on a *gold bullion standard* or on a *modified gold standard*.



corn. It was hoped that these reductions in the surplus would bring about prices that would give the farmer the desired fair relationship of income. Such prices are called *parity prices*.<sup>1</sup>

Farmers who signed such contracts received cash payments from the Government for cutting down on production. The cash paid to the farmers by the Government came from a special tax, called a *processing tax*. This tax was collected from processors of farm products, such as flour millers and meat packers. The Government considered it fair to tax such middlemen because there was a big spread between what the farmer got for his product and what the ultimate consumer paid for it. It was assumed, therefore, that most of the profit went to the middlemen. In any case, the processors merely passed the tax on to consumers in the form of higher prices.

Apparently, the AAA was fairly successful. Farm prices rose. Farm income increased by about one-third between 1932 and 1935. However, it may be that this rise in income was also due to a drought that had reduced production, to the money spent on relief, and to the moderate inflationary measures of the New Deal.

*How Its Critics Attacked the AAA.* The AAA program did not become official until after many farmers had planted their crops and had raised many young pigs. In keeping with the contracts they signed, farmers destroyed great quantities of crops and slaughtered more than six million pigs. It seemed shocking to many that in the depression years, when so many were hungry, crops and meat should be destroyed to create an artificial scarcity. Furthermore, the AAA benefited big farmers producing big staple crops such as wheat much more than it did small farmers producing a variety of crops. Many processors who paid the tax, and consumers to whom they passed it on, felt that they were suffering so that farmers could benefit. Some farmers themselves considered the program

dangerous governmental regimentation that contradicted the farmers' traditional individualism.

*How Its Supporters Defended the AAA.* Supporters of the AAA retorted with questions like these: Don't manufacturers cut down on production when they want to create artificial scarcity to get better prices, as in the NRA? In a sense, isn't the average consumer paying a special subsidy to manufacturers when the tariff keeps him from buying cheaper foreign goods? Did not railroads get big subsidies from the Government in the nineteenth century?

*The AAA Is Declared Unconstitutional.* In any case, the Supreme Court, in 1936, declared the AAA of 1933 unconstitutional. The Court argued thus: Agriculture is an *intrastate* activity and, therefore, the Congress has no right to regulate it. Concerning the processing tax, the Court ruled that it was a tax not for the general welfare but for the benefit of a specific group. As such, the Court concluded, the tax was unconstitutional.

*SCADAA: Aims Similar to Those of the AAA, But Methods Different.* It is constitutional for the Congress to conserve the soil. The staple crops covered by the AAA of 1933 are those that exhaust the soil. Certain crops, such as clover and alfalfa, conserve the soil. These are crops that have little effect on the farmer's income. Why not, New Dealers asked, urge farmers to plant less of the soil-exhausting staple crops and more of the soil-conserving crops? This would be constitutional. At the same time, it would achieve the same aims as the AAA of 1933. This idea was the basis for the *Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (SCADAA)*, passed in 1936. For growing more soil-conserving crops, and then fewer soil-exhausting crops, farmers received cash payments from the Government. Payments were made from the United States Treasury, instead of from a processing tax.

But in the year in which SCADAA was born, a terrible drought occurred. To take advantage of the high prices resulting from

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<sup>1</sup> Essentially, *parity* means *equality*.

scarcity, farmers increased their production in 1937. As a result, overproduction occurred again, and prices dropped. As a result, the Government passed still another farm bill, the *Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938*.

**The AAA of 1938 = The AAA of 1933 — The Processing Tax + SCADAA + Additional Features.** The Government, under the 1938 AAA, decided how many acres should be devoted annually to the growing of such basic crops as cotton, wheat, or corn. Committees of farmers within each locality then decided what the individual farmer's acreage allotment should be, within the nation-wide acreage allotment. Individual farmers who joined the plan got benefit payments from the Government. However, they were required to plant soil-conservation crops on the acreage on which they were forbidden to plant basic crops.

But suppose, because of good weather or intensive cultivation, surplus basic crops were produced in or out of the plan. Then, if two-thirds of the farmers agreed, the Government could establish marketing quotas for each crop. If a farmer tried to market more than his allotment, he was fined. The surplus above an individual farmer's marketing quota was stored by the Government for future years when there should be crop failures. This was called the *ever-normal granary* arrangement. On the amount so stored, the Government made loans to the farmers. If the price of a given crop went up, the farmer had the right to take his share of the stored crop and to pay off the loan. But if the price dropped, he lost nothing. For the Government held the crop and he kept the loan.

Thus the Government continued to try to give the farmer that fair relationship in income between farmers and nonfarmers which prevailed between 1909 and 1914. It aimed to do so in still another way. If prices were low, it granted farmers special payments so as to achieve parity prices.

Wheat farmers got special consideration in the AAA of 1938 in the form of crop insurance against losses from plant diseases, droughts, floods, and other natural disasters.

This second AAA helped to put many farmers back on the road to prosperity. After World War II broke out in 1939, the demand for farm products increased greatly. Then most farmers saw boom days again.

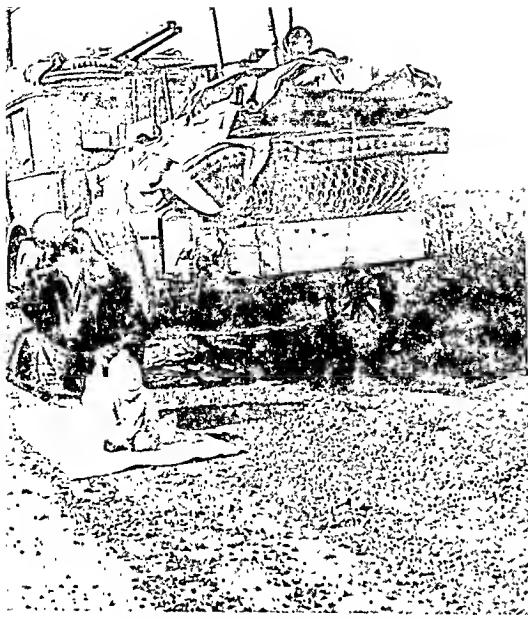
Strong farm organizations played a big role in getting the Government to pass and retain favorable New Deal farm legislation. So influential did they become that some began to talk about "big agriculture," just as they talked about "big business" and "big government" and "big labor" (page 761).

**Some Other New Deal Attempts to Aid Farmers.** During the depression, many more farmers might have lost their farms had it not been for the *Frazier-Lemke Act* of 1934. Under this act, debt-ridden farmers threatened by foreclosure were granted a five-year delay before they had to pay their mortgage installments. A farmer whose mortgage had already been foreclosed might buy his farm back on fairly easy terms for a sum fixed by a Federal court.

The *Rural Electrification Administration* (REA), created in 1935, extended loans to state and local governments and to farm cooperatives for the building of power lines. This brought electricity to some farm families in areas not served by private companies.

**The New Deal Tries to Salvage the Dust Bowl.** During the boom days of World War I, farmers had been eager to take advantage of the big demand for their products. Many had even expanded into very dry areas of the Great Plains. The plowing of the soil and the overgrazing of cattle there created a serious problem. Such practices tended to destroy the grass and it was the grass that retained the moisture from the infrequent rains and kept the strong winds from blowing the topsoil away.

From 1934 to 1937, severe droughts struck the Great Plains. Terrible tragedies resulted. Howling winds swept across this sun-baked area. They carried with them the precious topsoil, thus ruining millions of acres of farmland. So thick was the dust that the sun was blocked out and lights had to be burned in the daytime. Crops dried up. The carcasses



*A drought-refugee family stalled on the highway in 1937. Do you believe that the problems of such families are the concern of all of us? Give reasons for your answer.*

of cattle dead from thirst or—their grass gone—from hunger dotted many a farm. Parts of the Great Plains began to look like a desert in a sandstorm. Thousands of farmers abandoned their farms in the southern Great Plains, known as the *dust bowl*. They then became what were called *migratory laborers*. Many of them piled their families and their meager belongings into dilapidated old cars and headed for California's fertile valleys.

The New Deal tried to bring new life to the dust bowl. A 100-mile-wide shelter belt of nearly 200 million trees was planted on the Great Plains from Mexico to Canada. Its purpose was to check the force of the wind, to retain the moisture from rains, and to help anchor the topsoil. Also to anchor the topsoil, dust bowl farmers were encouraged to plant grasses. It was hoped that this area might thus become cow country, rather than crop country.

**The Small Farmer Becomes an Object of the New Deal's Attention in Its Second Phase.** About 1935, farm laborers (thousands of

them migratory), tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and farmers with very small or almost barren farms began to receive the attention of the New Deal. It was estimated that tenant farmers and sharecroppers made up about fifty per cent of the farm population of the South, about thirty per cent of that of the North, and about twenty-five per cent of that of the West. Most of these lived in shocking poverty in crude shacks without plumbing. Their children got very little food or schooling. The families of migratory laborers were often even worse off.

Evidently, the two AAAs had done very little for such people. In fact, by cutting down on acreage, they had put many out of jobs. Now, in keeping with the aim of the second phase of the New Deal, many agencies were set up to help these people. Let us look, for example, at the *Farm Security Administration (FSA)*.

The FSA aimed to move poverty-stricken farmers from barren land and resettle them on fertile land to start life afresh. It furnished them with loans to buy better land and with advice on scientific agriculture. It bought up much unproductive land and turned it over to state or Federal agencies to be made into pastures or forests. Thus, such land was taken out of cultivation. Camps for migratory workers were set up. The FSA also saw to it that medical and dental care, diet advice, and better education were available to poor farm families.

### **The New Deal, Especially In Its Second Phase, Throws Its Weight Behind Labor**

"The President wants you to join unions." By so saying, labor organizers influenced many workers to become union members. The feeling that Roosevelt was pro-labor explains why labor in general was behind him all four times he ran for President. What reasons are usually given for Roosevelt's pro-labor policies?

During the prosperous Twenties, the labor

movement, as we know, had been quite weak. If unions had not lost so many members, they would have been in a stronger position to prevent drastic wage cuts during the depression. So reasoned labor groups, and even some nonlabor groups. This had been an important reason why the Congress had passed, and President Hoover had signed, the *Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act* in 1932. This act forbade Federal courts to issue injunctions to prevent strikes, boycotts, or peaceful picketing. It also outlawed yellow-dog contracts (page 506). In the act's own words, "federal courts may not prohibit workers from . . . joining a union, . . . or urging others to join."

Thus, some say, the spirit of the times was in part responsible for Roosevelt's prolabor policies. Roosevelt also felt that strengthening unions would lead to higher wages. This increased purchasing power, he thought, would be a powerful weapon against the depression. He believed, too, that only through stronger labor organization would labor receive a fairer share of the national income. By the second phase of the New Deal, he had come to feel that such "big labor" was needed to counterbalance "big business." Moreover, labor votes seemed necessary to keep the New Deal in power so that its recovery program could be carried out. Finally, some say, Roosevelt threw the New Deal's weight behind labor so that the Democratic Party would stay long in power.

**Labor Sections of the NIRA, Especially Section 7A, Strengthen the Labor Movement.** Unions gained many members when collective bargaining was guaranteed in Section 7A of the NIRA. This and other labor sections of the NIRA caused wages to rise and the length of the workweek to fall. Then, in 1935, the NIRA was declared unconstitutional. Now, with NIRA out of the way, will labor once more receive the low wages it did before the NIRA codes? wage earners asked fearfully. In answer, the New Deal put through legislation that helped to make labor one of the most powerful forces in American life.

**Why Labor Considered the Wagner Act o Magna Carta for Labor.** Unions cheered when the most prolabor of all New Deal prolabor laws was passed in 1935. This act, the *Wagner-Connery Act* (*National Labor Relations Act*), applied to workers in firms engaged in interstate commerce. It stated that

employees shall have the right of self-organization to form, join, or assist labor organizations to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing

Not only did the Wagner Act declare that unionization was a good thing, but it also specified what would be considered unfair practices on the part of employers. Such so-called unfair practices were employer interference with the right of workers to bargain collectively, employer domination of any labor organization, employer refusal to bargain collectively with representatives of his employees, and employer blacklisting of employees who engage in union activity.

To enforce the Wagner Act, a *National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)*, with strong powers, was set up. The NLRB was granted the power to hold secret elections to determine which union the employees of a given company wanted to represent them. If the majority of the employees selected a given union, the employer was required to bargain with it as the representative of *all* his employees. Furthermore, the NLRB was authorized to listen to complaints of employees and to call employers to account for them.

**Some Effects of the Wagner Act.** Many strikes were prevented by the NLRB. Far more were settled by it. The Wagner Act led to a big boom in union membership generally, but to a decline in company unions. It helped to increase wages and to bring about better working conditions for many workers. It won the New Deal millions of voters. Henceforth, bringing big pressures on "big government" to win big favors were not only "big business" and "big agriculture" but "big labor."

As time passed, many businessmen protested that the Wagner Act had gone far too far in favoring unions over employers. Much of the public agreed. Why doesn't the Wagner Act also list unfair practices of unions? critics asked. They charged that the law interfered with both the employer's freedom of enterprise and the employee's freedom of contract. They complained that unions had become so powerful that employers had practically lost the power to hire or fire their own employees. Such complaints explain the passage, in 1947, of the Taft-Hartley Act (page 870), amending the Wagner Act.

**Encouraged by the Pro-labor New Deal, a New Labor Organization Emerges, and Union Membership Soars.** John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers union, hit William Hutcheson of the Carpenters Union so hard that blood covered his face. This blow was an indication of the passions that flared at the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

**Why Certain AFL Leaders Were Critical of the AFL.** What explains these passions? The AFL had not bothered much to organize the big mass-production industries, such as the automobile, radio, steel, aluminum, and rubber industries. These industries employed, for the most part, unskilled and semi-skilled workers. And the AFL, under its president, William Green, as under Samuel

Gompers, was mainly interested in organizing skilled workers by their crafts.

Lewis and other aggressive leaders in the AFL were severely critical of this attitude. They wanted to organize all the workers in each mass-production industry, both skilled and unskilled, into one big union. In short, they preferred *industrial (vertical) unionism* to *craft (horizontal) unionism* (page 509). They condemned many of the other AFL leaders as being too conservative. They accused them of selfishly opposing industrial unionism for fear that they might lose their power over their craft unions.

**Certain Suspended AFL Leaders Organize the CIO.** Lewis and the leaders of several other AFL unions were encouraged by the pro-labor policy of the New Deal. They proceeded to "organize the unorganized" along industrial union lines. Their action led to their suspension by the AFL. In 1938, they formed a new labor organization, the *Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)*, with Lewis as its head. Many CIO members were recent immigrants, Negroes, and women—groups that the AFL had never tried too hard to organize. By 1941, the CIO had organized the steel and automobile industries, as well as many other mass-production industries. It had five million members to the AFL's four-and-one-half million. This AFL membership figure represented a big increase over the two million the organization had had in 1933. The pro-labor New Deal and the stimulation of CIO competition help to explain this increase.<sup>1</sup>

**Some Problems Associated with the CIO Organizing Drive.** The CIO, even before it was officially organized, introduced a new technique to get its demands recognized. Strikers remained in the factory without working, instead of going out and picketing. This technique was called the *sit-down strike*. Its purpose was to prevent the com-

A cartoon on the quarrel between the AFL and the CIO over NLRB recognition. How do you think (a) many union members, (b) many employers, and (c) many consumers reacted to the problem depicted in this cartoon?



<sup>1</sup> Just as part of the CIO's membership was in craft unions, so part of the AFL's membership was in industrial unions. Independent unions had about one million members in 1941.

HOLC even made money on its investment.

**The Federal Housing Administration Stimulates the Building and Improvement of Homes for Middle-Income Groups.** In the depths of the depression, banks were very cautious about making loans to would-be home-buyers or to homeowners who wished to renovate their homes. They became much more willing to do so when the Government guaranteed such loans through the *Federal Housing Administration (FHA)*, founded in 1934. Millions of middle-income families have thus purchased homes, or used FHA loans to improve their homes. Builders and suppliers of building materials welcomed the program, too.

**The United States Housing Authority Promotes Slum Clearance and Better Housing for Low-Income Groups.** During the depression, about one-third of the nation lived in city slums or other substandard housing. Private builders felt that they couldn't afford to erect housing for such low-income groups, who were unable to afford even moderate rentals. Some of the building projects planned and financed by the PWA had been for low-income housing. But relatively few housing projects were built under the PWA, and rentals were still too high for far too many. This explains why the *United States Housing Authority (USHA)* was created in 1937. The USHA was given the power to make long-term, low-interest loans to state and city public-housing agencies for slum clearance and for building low-rental housing projects.

By the time the United States entered World War II, in late 1941, approximately 250,000 families were living in the low-rental housing the USHA had financed. Yet 250,000 families were only a tiny fraction of the one-third of the nation in need of better housing.

## **Protection of Investors Is A Goal of the Government**

During the Twenties, many persons had bought worthless securities. They had been

hoodwinked into doing so by the glittering prospects painted by certain bankers and brokers handling such securities. Furthermore, certain unwary investors had been cheated by unscrupulous "insiders," who manipulated stocks to make them rise or fall on the stock market. As we know, too, many who bought stocks on margin, putting up very little money, contributed to the wild speculation that led to the stock market crash in 1929. These are some reasons why the Government put through a series of laws to protect investors.

**Truth in the Sale of Securities Is the Aim of the Securities Act of 1933.** Don't make any false statements about the stocks or bonds you are offering for interstate sale. Don't omit any pertinent information that prospective buyers ought to know. If you do, you will have committed a crime. This was the gist of the warning the *Securities Act of 1933* made to officers of corporations.

**A Securities and Exchange Commission Is Created with Great Powers Over the Sale of Securities and the Operation of Stock Exchanges.** A Government agency established in 1934, the *Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)*, provides certain protections for the stock market investor. All securities traded on stock exchanges must be registered with the SEC. All pertinent information about such securities and the corporations issuing them have to be given to the SEC. All stock exchanges and brokers are subject to rules made by the SEC.

To make wild stock market speculation difficult, the Federal Reserve Board, in 1934, was given the power to fix margin requirements.

**The New Deal Tries to Break Up Big Public Utility Holding Companies.** These consolidations are similar to "a ninety-six inch dog being wagged by a four-inch tail," observed President Roosevelt. He was referring to the fact that during the Twenties, individuals or groups with a relatively small investment had often built huge consolidations of public utilities worth billions of dollars. This was done by creating or gaining control of hold-

ing companies (page 438), many of which controlled many operating companies.

Defenders of such public utility holding companies maintained that through the consolidation many small companies were getting expert managerial advice and financial aid that they could not otherwise afford. However, many stockholders in such companies complained that the builders of such huge consolidations were manipulating the stocks of the various companies for their own profit. Many consumers of gas and electricity complained that these huge monopolies were keeping rates high.

In answer to such complaints, the Congress passed the *Public Utility Holding Company Act* in 1935. The act granted the SEC the right to supervise the financial operations of such holding companies. It also ordered the SEC to begin breaking up the big public utility holding companies.

### **The Tennessee Valley Authority: A Federally Sponsored Plan To Rehabilitate a Region**

Through seven Southern states<sup>1</sup> flow the Tennessee River and its tributaries. The people living in this Tennessee Valley region were long among the most poverty-stricken in the nation. Thousands were disease-ridden, suffering especially from diet deficiencies. Wasteful farming methods, wasteful cutting of forests, and torrential annual floods had left this region tired and worn-out.

What could be done to reclaim this region and give its people a decent standard of living? Senator George W. Norris and several of his colleagues had for years insisted that the answer lay in a Federally sponsored plan to rehabilitate the entire Tennessee Valley region. In this region, at Muscle Shoals in Alabama, the Government had dur-

ing World War I built a hydroelectric plant and two munitions plants. Thus, Norris pointed out, the Government had a start from which to expand his regional plan. This expansion began when the Congress created a *Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)* in 1933.

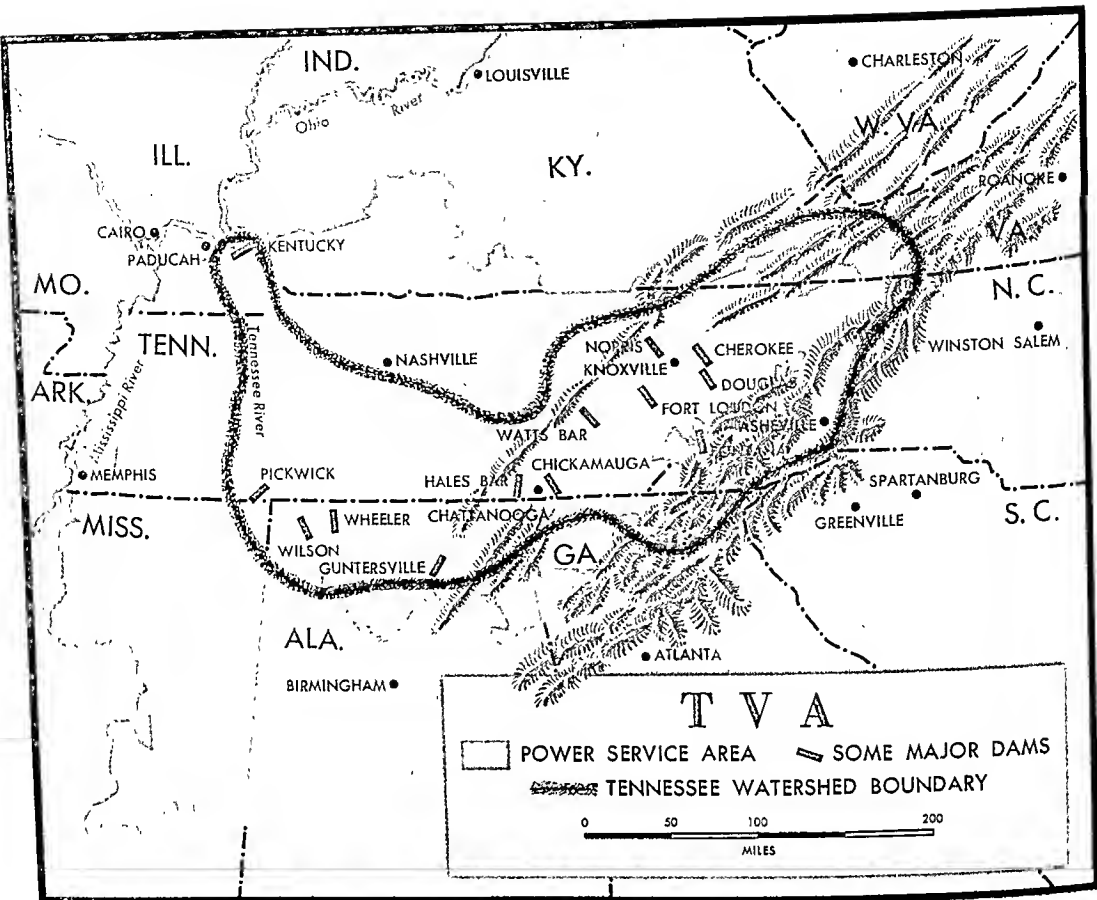
**What Supporters Pointed to in Praising TVA.** TVA harnessed the Tennessee River and its tributaries by building twenty huge dams. It bought five others from private companies. What did these dams do? They made the Tennessee Valley flood-free. They created a 650-mile system of navigable inland waterways. They generated millions of kilowatts of hydroelectric, and, later, coal-burning steam power. TVA sells its electric power wholesale, mainly to city and rural communities, co-operatives, and private companies. Much of this power is, in turn, sold to individual consumers.

Before TVA, only two per cent of the people of the region had electrified homes. But TVA electric rates were cheap. Soon the average person in the region was using far more electricity than the average person anywhere else in the nation. This meant a bigger market for companies producing electrical appliances. Before TVA, there were relatively few industries in the region. Cheap electric power and improved navigation resulted in the expansion of these industries and attracted many new ones.

The lives of the region's farmers were greatly changed by electricity, as they were by such TVA activities as flood control, reforestation, fertilizer production, agricultural education, restoration of eroded soil, and resettlement of marginal farmers on better land. Besides, TVA, in co-operation with local governments, encouraged the construction of schools, hospitals, libraries, parks, fish hatcheries, and low-cost housing.

Supporters of TVA also pointed out that TVA provided an effective yardstick for measuring the fairness of rates charged by private electrical companies throughout the nation. They argued that TVA's competition played a big part in forcing down electric

<sup>1</sup> An area of about 40,000 square miles in Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia.



rates of private utilities. This, in turn, they asserted, had increased the business of all such companies.

**What Opponents of TVA Said in Criticizing It.** Opponents of TVA charged that it was just another dangerous example of too much national interference in state and local matters. They attacked TVA's sale of public power as socialistic. There was a strong feeling that such projects, if encouraged, would "break down the initiative and enterprise of the American people." Critics also protested that such projects would ruin the private utility companies in which stockholders had billions invested. They ridiculed the idea that TVA rates were a fair yardstick. They pointed out that TVA paid neither taxes nor dividends and accused TVA officials of manipulating its bookkeeping in its own favor.

Actually, conditions differ so much in various parts of the nation that it is difficult

to measure what rates ought to be everywhere. In any case, the Congress has opposed granting such far-reaching powers as TVA has to other regional power projects constructed since.

## The New Deal Expands Conservation

CCC, SCADAA, FERA, PWA, TVA—these are some of the New Deal alphabetical agencies that have had conservation of natural resources as an important part of their programs. The *Soil Conservation Service*, created in 1934, carried on a crusade among farmers to teach them the most scientific methods of fighting soil erosion. For conservation purposes, the Government closed the door on any further sale of public lands. All in all, the New Deal built many projects to harness water power, reclaimed much submarginal land, and promoted the preservation of soil, forests, minerals, and wildlife.

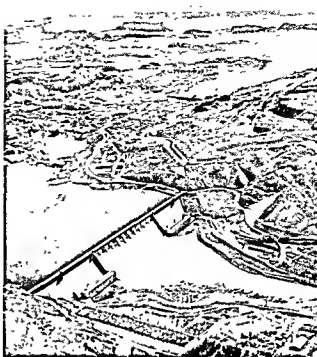


## Some Reasons Given for the Shift from the First to the Second Phase of the New Deal

Extremists, such as Senator Huey Long (page 733), accused the New Deal of favoring big business and of not doing enough for the aged, the unemployed, and the poverty-stricken. Many other extremists, such as Socialists and Communists,<sup>1</sup> also condemned Roosevelt, especially in the first phase of the New Deal. Roosevelt feared that extremist leaders would, by their promises, lure the poor away from support of the New Deal. To prevent this from happening was one reason why he introduced the second phase of the New Deal. Another reason for the second phase was the increasingly aggressive demand of organized labor for legislation in its favor.

Relations between businessmen and Roosevelt at the beginning of his administration had been so good that the period had been referred to as a "honeymoon." But then, in August, 1934, the anti-New Deal *American Liberty League* was formed. Its membership included many big businessmen and bankers, as well as many conservatives in general. Some members of Roosevelt's own party joined the organization, including former presidential candidates John W. Davis and Alfred E. Smith. They and many other anti-New Dealers had come to the conclusion that the New Deal was socialistic and that Roosevelt was, in essence, a "dictator."

Supporters of the New Deal argued that once it had helped to lift business out of the depths of the depression, many Liberty Leaguers and other conservatives had no further use for it. They pointed out that New Deal efforts to help business at the top had not done enough to help people at the bottom. Nor, they said, had such efforts brought about recovery. They agreed when



*The gigantic Grand Coulee Dam, which began operating in 1941, is part of a project to harness the Columbia River for hydroelectric power, irrigation, and flood control. Find out what is the nearest similar project to your community.*

Roosevelt asserted that the first phase of the New Deal had shown too great a concern for those who had "an appetite for great wealth and great power."

Roosevelt justified the shift from the first to the second phase of the New Deal thus.

*In spite of our efforts, and in spite of our talk, we have not weeded out the over privileged, and we have not effectively lifted up the underprivileged.*

*Evidence of this shift has already been studied. A few reminders follow: the Wagner Act, passed to meet the demands of organized labor, the Farm Security Administration, created to meet the demands of small farmers, the WPA, set up in behalf of the unemployed.*

<sup>1</sup> The Communist Party, however, tended to support the second phase of the New Deal. As we shall see, there were more shifts in the Communist attitude toward the Roosevelt Administration.

## Strong Criticism Fails to Prevent Roosevelt's Re-election in 1936

Most newspapers and magazines supported the Republican candidate, Alfred M. Landon, against Roosevelt in the election of 1936. As governor of Kansas, Landon had made a reputation for thrift, sincerity, and simplicity.

In the campaign, Republican speakers condemned numerous aspects of the New Deal, using many of the arguments of the Liberty Leaguers. The Republican platform, however, did not protest many New Deal measures. What it *did* protest mainly were New Deal methods. In fact, both party platforms stressed the need for the Government to do more toward promoting the welfare of various groups. In short, the Republicans promised to do many of the things that the New Deal had done. However, they promised to do them less extravagantly, and in a way that would not threaten "the American system of free enterprise," or "the rights and liberties of American citizens."

In attacking the Republicans, Roosevelt charged that "economic royalists" were running the party and trying to set up an "industrial dictatorship." "They are unanimous in their hatred for me," he said, "and I welcome their hatred." He promised to expand the New Deal program and declared: "For these things . . . we have only just begun to fight!"

Roosevelt won more than sixty per cent of the popular vote and the electoral votes of all the states except Maine and Vermont. Not since Monroe's re-election in the era of good feelings in 1820 had a candidate won such an overwhelming victory.

**Some Significant Aspects of the Election of 1936.** For a long time, the Democratic Party had been the defender of states' rights. In this campaign, the Republicans claimed this title. They attacked certain New Deal measures, such as TVA, for expanding Federal power and interfering with states' rights. For a long time, most Negroes had voted Republican. In this election, a majority of them

voted Democratic. For a long time, the American Federation of Labor had refused to endorse one political party over another. In this campaign, too, the AFL officially stated that it would stick to "a non-partisan policy." However, many AFL leaders and the CIO as a body actively campaigned for Roosevelt.

Also significant in this election was the small vote polled by radical parties. The Socialists behind Norman Thomas polled less than 200,000 votes. The Communists behind Earl Browder polled only about 80,000. A new party, the *Union Party*, backed Republican Congressman William Lemke for President. Standing for inflation as a cure for the nation's economic ills, Lemke polled 900,000 votes.

## Opposition to the New Deal Grows Stronger After the 1936 Victory

I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions. I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope—because the nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out.

So said Roosevelt in his Second Inaugural Address, on January 20, 1937.<sup>1</sup> Preventing the painting out of such injustice, Roosevelt was convinced, were certain justices of the Supreme Court. Why was he so convinced? How did he act upon his conviction?

**Roosevelt Gets a Supreme Court to His Liking, But Makes Many Enemies in Doing So.** Nine major New Deal measures had come before the Supreme Court. Seven of these had been declared unconstitutional, several by five-to-four decisions. The reasons often given were that the legislation

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<sup>1</sup> Roosevelt became the first President to be inaugurated on this date, in line with the Lame-duck, or Twentieth, Amendment (page 745).

interfered with states' rights or property rights as guaranteed in the Fifth Amendment. On the other hand, state laws that attempted to regulate wages and hours, for example, were also declared unconstitutional. Here the reason given was that they interfered with property rights as guaranteed in the Fourteenth Amendment. As a result, protested Roosevelt, a no man's land had been created in which neither the Federal Government nor the state governments could act on vital economic matters.

Should the opinion of a handful of judges prevail over the will of the large number of voters who had endorsed New Deal policies in the 1936 election? Roosevelt asked. The Constitution, he argued, is a flexible instrument, and the Supreme Court ought to be flexible enough to interpret it in accord with the needs of the times. He felt that the majority of the judges were being guided not so much by the Constitution as by their anti-New Deal prejudices.

Roosevelt tried to put through a plan to get a Court sympathetic to New Deal legislation. He pointed out that in the administrations of several earlier Presidents, the Congress had increased the number of judges on the Supreme Court. Five of the existing judges were about seventy-five years old and one other over seventy. Under Roosevelt's plan, if a judge over seventy failed to retire, the President would appoint an additional judge. However, the total number of judges was not to exceed fifteen.

Throughout the nation, both in and out of his party, Roosevelt's proposal aroused passionate opposition. It was a scheme, opponents charged, to "pack" the Court with six judges who would be yes men for the President. They accused him of violating checks and balances by trying to dominate the judiciary, as, they said, he had tried to dominate the Congress. The unpopular "Court-packing" plan died in the Senate. However, Roosevelt achieved his goal anyway. In the midst of the controversy, the Supreme Court suddenly began rendering some pro-New Deal decisions. It even reversed some previous

anti-New Deal rulings. Some explained the Court's switch as a means of forestalling the "Court-packing" plan. They joked: "A switch in time saves nine [the judges]!"

Soon, too, some of the judges retired. In fact, before Roosevelt's death in 1945, he had appointed nine judges. In general, the new judges tended to support Roosevelt's policies.

Nevertheless, Roosevelt's "Court-packing" plan was his first major defeat in the Congress. It caused a split in the Democratic Party that was never entirely mended. From then on, many conservative Southern Democrats in particular became suspicious of Roosevelt. They sometimes combined with Republicans to oppose New Deal measures.

**The Congressional Election of 1938 Shows a Sharp Decline in New Deal Strength.** Naming names, Roosevelt asked the voters to defeat certain congressmen in his own party who were up for re-election in 1938. These congressmen, all but one of them Southerners, had voted against much New Deal legislation. Dictators Hitler of Germany and Stalin of Russia had, in the 1930's, eliminated members of their organizations who had not slavishly supported their policies. Such eliminations were called *purges*. Roosevelt's angry critics in and out of his party likened his action to these purges. But Roosevelt succeeded in "purging" only the one Northern congressman.

The Democrats retained control of the Congress in 1938. But the Republicans increased their representation greatly. The Supreme Court fight, a business slump, and the "purge" help to explain the Republican gains.

### **The Hatch Act Aims to Purify Politics, Especially With Respect to Relief**

It is illegal for Federal employees to withhold, or to threaten to withhold, relief funds from a needy person in order to influence his vote. It is illegal to solicit or accept political

campaign contributions from WPA workers. This was the gist of the *Hatch Act* of 1939.

The Hatch Act was introduced because of indications that some WPA officials were using relief funds to get out a large vote for the New Deal. The act also made it illegal for Federal officeholders below the policy-making level to take an active part in political campaigns. Similar restrictions were placed the following year on state and local officials who receive even part of their salaries from the Federal Government. Furthermore, the annual expenditures of political parties were limited to \$3 million, and individual or corporation campaign contributions to no more than \$5,000. Obviously, enforcing such restrictions is not an easy matter.

### **Roosevelt, to Get Support for His Foreign Policy, Halts Any New New-Deal Legislation**

By 1939, it was obvious that dictatorships in Germany, Italy, and Japan were bent on conquering the world. Roosevelt felt that the United States should do all it could to help the democracies of Western Europe, which were threatened by the German and Italian dictators. A strong foreign policy needed all the support he could get in the Congress. But Southern Democrats in the Congress had been growing more and more hostile to Roosevelt because of the "purge." They also disapproved of many measures in the second phase of the New Deal. Southern congressmen were very influential because, having seniority, they were chairmen of many important committees. So, to win their support, Roosevelt decided to call a halt to any new New-Deal legislation.

Besides, Roosevelt feared that the United States might be next on the dictators' timetable. He felt, therefore, that it would be wise to concentrate on war preparation, rather than on new legislation. Finally, the results of the Congressional election of 1938 indicated that opposition to such legislation would be hard to overcome.

## **How New Was the New Deal?**

Back in 1844, Britain had passed a law making it a crime for a person or corporation selling securities to give false information about them. In the 1880's, Germany had pioneered in passing social security legislation. And long before the New Deal, certain European countries had strictly regulated private banking, introduced slum clearance and low-cost housing projects, and tried to raise farm prices by paying subsidies to farmers to cut down on production. Moreover, Grangers and Populists, in the late nineteenth century, had pressed for programs similar to the New Deal. So had Theodore Roosevelt with his Square Deal and Woodrow Wilson with his New Freedom. In fact, members of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Cabinet had been leading progressives in the Theodore Roosevelt period. One such was Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, first woman Cabinet member in the United States.

Attempts under the New Deal to increase regulation of banking and child labor recalled similar efforts by the Wilson Administration. The New Deal's *Federal Communication Commission (FCC)* and *Civil Aeronautics Authority (CAA)*<sup>1</sup> were reminiscent of the Wilson Administration's Federal Power Commission (FPC).<sup>2</sup> But the ancestor of all these regulatory agencies was the Interstate Commerce Commission of 1887. The New Deal increased the power of the ICC by giving it regulatory power over buses and trucks in interstate commerce similar to its powers over railroads.

In many ways, the ancestor of the NRA was the War Industries Board of World War I, and their descendant, as we shall

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<sup>1</sup> The FCC regulates the telephone, telegraph, television, and radio industries. The CAA has great power over airlines.

<sup>2</sup> When created in 1921, the FPC was given power to license the operation of power plants on navigable rivers and public lands. In the 1930's, it was given control over interstate electric and gas rates.

see, was the War Production Board of World War II. In some ways, the NRA was descended from the co-operative businessmen's associations recommended by President Hoover (page 740).

Yet in some respects, the New Deal *was* new. When depressions had occurred in the past, the Government had tried to promote recovery by cutting expenses and seeking to balance the budget. The New Deal tried to promote recovery by spending billions, even though this meant a lopsided budget. Besides, the New Deal went much further than the progressive movement. It seemed to take the attitude that the Federal Government was responsible for practically guaranteeing that every American should have a minimum standard of living, and, if possible, better than that.

### **The New Deal Means Different Things to Different People**

Too much centralization of power in the Federal Government, too much concentration of power in the President, too many impractical, nonelected professors running too many alphabetical agencies, too much Government regulation, too much concern for the security of individuals and not enough for rugged individualism, too much Federal spending and yet too little progress toward recovery—these are some of the key criticisms leveled at the New Deal.

Here are some questions critics have asked by way of supporting such criticisms:

When before has the Federal Government taken such great control over industry, agriculture, banking, labor, conservation, and social and economic life in general? What President in the short span of 100 days (page 750) ever received so many legislative powers from the Congress merely for the asking? Was not the President, by asking the Congress to delegate such powers, violating the constitutional principle of checks and balances? Was he not doing likewise when he tried to "pack" the Supreme Court? Is not

TVA socialistic, when it owns means of production and competes with private utility companies? Are not the roles played by the Government in banking and public housing further examples of "creeping" socialism? Aren't the people looking too much to the Government to guarantee them security? Wouldn't it be better if they depended on such traditional American virtues as industry and initiative? Wasn't it World War II, with its tremendous demand for American products, that brought about real recovery, rather than the New Deal?

Here are some questions New Dealers have asked by way of supporting the New Deal:

Isn't it true that ever since the War Between the States, the Federal Government has found it necessary to expand its power? Isn't it true that as life became more and more complicated in the twentieth century, many problems became too big for the states to handle? In our complicated society, isn't the Federal Government almost compelled to insure not only political but social and economic rights of the people? Did not the Congress concentrate great power in the hands of Presidents Lincoln and Wilson in emergency periods? Wasn't the great depression one of the greatest emergencies that ever hit the nation?

New Dealers add: If Roosevelt had been a socialist, could he not have used the great powers granted him to place banks, mines, and railroads under Government ownership? Did he not instead strengthen capitalism with Government loans and by protecting investors and bank depositors? Did not the New Deal give more groups a stake in capitalism by providing jobs, preventing the foreclosure of homes and farms, and setting up a

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<sup>1</sup> Oddly enough, because of the complex character of modern society, states and cities, as well as the nation, have assumed increased responsibilities. Never before has there been so much local legislation, for example, on sanitation, education, and taxation. Furthermore, states co-operate more and more with other states and with the Federal Government in handling many common problems.

social security system? Did not the New Deal, by trying to preserve small business, give more people opportunities to become capitalists?

The national income increased from about \$40 billion in 1932 to about \$71 billion in 1939, New Dealers point out. Here are other points they make: The New Deal kept millions from going hungry and restored self-respect and hope to people made panicky by the depression. Millions in the current generation and in future ones stood to benefit from the New Deal's conservation policy. The 1930's were a time when dictatorships in Europe and Asia were calling democracy a weak and spineless thing. In spite of waste, confusion, and many blunders, New Deal measures helped to convince doubters here and abroad that democracy had a backbone.

Finally, say the New Dealers, the best test of the New Deal is that few political leaders today in either party recommend abolishing the major New Deal measures.

### Some Effects of the Depression and New Deal upon Writers and Artists

U.S.A. was the title of the book. John Dos Passos was the author. Publication came deep in the depression period. The book's theme was a savage attack on the American economic system. This was the theme, too, of certain other novelists and playwrights (but far from all of them) during the depression. They blamed the economic system for the terrible suffering of depression days. Some of these propagandist writers merely wanted to bring about reforms in the system. Others, Communists or Communist sympathizers, wanted to destroy it entirely.

But beginning about 1940, many such writers had switched from praising radicalism to praising Americanism. They had been awakened by the march of fascism and the horrors it left in its wake. And they were horrified when they saw the U.S.S.R. they admired signing a nonaggression pact with

Nazi Germany and bullying little Finland. In 1940, for example, Dos Passos wrote *The Ground We Stand On*, in which he enthusiastically praised American ideals as exemplified by Thomas Jefferson.

Like Dos Passos, the playwright Clifford Odets wrote on radical themes in the Thirties. The plays *Waiting for Lefty* and *Awake and Sing* are examples. Later, Odets' writing became more conservative.

A best-selling novel of the Thirties was *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck. It tells the sad story of a family of migratory farmers making its way from drought-ridden Oklahoma across the plains and mountains to seek work in the fertile valleys of California. Steinbeck seemed to imply that the Government should do more for migratory workers.

Such New Deal projects as the Federal Writers' Project, Federal Theater Project, and Federal Art Project gave many a writer or artist his start during the depression. Research projects in American history and in native American music, such as cowboy tunes and Indian songs, were carried on. The walls of many public buildings were decorated with murals painted by WPA artists. Some of these expressed radical themes in their work. However, like Dos Passos and others, many had by the 1940's changed their point of view.

For a while in the Thirties, the motion-picture industry produced an unusual number of pictures dealing with social and economic problems. *Dead End*, about slum problems, and *The Black Legion*, about native fascists, are examples.

However, in the Thirties, as in every period, there were writers and artists who did not stress social and economic problems. Love, nature, religion, family relationships, history, and often pure entertainment were featured in their work. For example, Thornton Wilder's play *Our Town* strikes a religious note. It pays a deep tribute to the nobility of villagers in their day-to-day living in a small American town. Thomas Wolfe's novels, such as *Look Homeward, Angel*, give

a picture of the American scene in terms of the author's own relationships to his friends and family. Toward the end of his short life, Wolfe expressed, in his *You Can't Go Home Again*, a grand tribute to his country (page 3). Finally, many movies of the Thirties

were not "message" movies aimed at exposing evils or solving problems. There were many comedies, such as *It Happened One Night* and *My Man Godfrey*, and many historical dramas, such as *Gone With the Wind* and *The Informer*.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 31

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

the "Hundred Days"	Twenty-first	migratory laborers	SEC
Emergency Banking Act	Amendment	FSA	Public Utility Holding Company Act
fireside chats	Export-Import Bank	Norris-La Guardia	TVA
brain trust	Cordell Hull	Anti-Injunction Act	Soil Conservation Service
James A. Farley	Trade Agreements Act	Wagner-Connery Act	American Liberty League
pump-priming	most-favored-nation clause	NLRB	Alfred M. Landon
CCC	managed currency	John L. Lewis	"Court-packing" plan
FERA	gold bullion standard	industrial unionism	Hatch Act of 1939
dole	AAA of 1933	craft unionism	Frances Perkins
Harry Hopkins	Henry A. Wallace	CIO	FCC
WPA	parity prices	sit-down strike	CAA
Social Security Act	processing tax	jurisdictional disputes	John Dos Passos
Glass-Steagall Act	SCADAA	Fair Labor Standards Act	Clifford Odets
FDIC	AAA of 1938	HOLC	John Steinbeck
Banking Act of 1935	ever-normal granary	FHA	Thornton Wilder
NRA	Frazier-Lemke Act	USHA	Thomas Wolfe
Section 7A of NIRA	REA	Securities Act	
PWA	dust bowl		
Harold Ickes			

### ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. What program did Franklin D. Roosevelt outline in his First Inaugural Address?
2. For what reasons was President Roosevelt able to get the Congress to pass almost all the legislation he asked for during the "Hundred Days" of 1933?
3. Describe the (a) purposes and (b) main phases of the New Deal.
4. Concerning the CCC, indicate (a) its aims, (b) how it operated, (c) what services it performed, and (d) reactions to it
5. Describe the (a) origins of, (b) work of, and (c) reactions to the WPA.
6. Describe the (a) origins, (b) aims, and

- (c) operation of the Social Security system.
7. How was the Glass-Steagall Act designed to strengthen banking?
  8. Concerning the NIRA, point out (a) its aims, (b) its major provisions, (c) why it was criticized, and (d) why it was declared unconstitutional.
  9. What were the (a) purposes and (b) achievements of the PWA?
  10. Sum up the reasons for the repeal of prohibition.
  11. Describe the (a) aims, (b) operation, and (c) achievements of the reciprocal tariff program.
  12. Sum up (a) the arguments of inflationists and (b) how the New Deal answered these arguments.
  13. For each of the aims of the New Deal for agriculture give the provisions of an act designed to achieve the aim.
  14. With respect to the AAA of 1933, tell (a) how it operated, (b) reasons for opposition to it, (c) how its supporters defended it, and (d) why it was declared unconstitutional.
  15. Explain the paragraph headings preceding the text discussion of (a) SCADAA and (b) the AAA of 1938.
  16. Concerning the dust bowl, describe (a) its origin, (b) its effects, and (c) the New Deal's war on it.
  17. Describe the (a) aims and (b) operation of the FSA.
  18. Concerning the New Deal labor program, give (a) reasons why the program was pro-labor, (b) the significance of Section 7A of the NIRA, (c) the provisions of the Wagner Act, (d) the powers of the NLRB, and (e) reactions to the Wagner Act.
  19. Connect with the early days of the CIO (a) John L. Lewis, (b) the AFL, (c) mass-production industries, (d) industrial unionism, and (e) the sit-down strike.
  20. Describe the (a) provisions of and (b) reaction to the Fair Labor Standards Act.
  21. What purposes were served by (a) the HOLC, (b) the FHA, and (c) the USHA?
  22. Show how the (a) Securities Act of 1933 and (b) the SEC aimed to protect investors.
  23. Concerning TVA, give (a) the changes it brought about and (b) the arguments for and against it.
  24. Connect with the New Deal conservation program (a) CCC, (b) SCADAA, (c) FERA, (d) PWA, (e) TVA, and (f) the Soil Conservation Service.
  25. How did New Dealers explain the shift from the first to the second phase of the New Deal?
  26. Give four highlights of the election of 1936.
  27. Describe the (a) origins and (b) results of the "Court-packing" plan.
  28. Tell how the Hatch Act aimed to purify politics.
  29. Connect European dictatorships with the halt in New Deal legislation by 1939.
  30. Give examples of what was (a) old and (b) new in the New Deal.
  31. Sum up the arguments given by many (a) in criticism of the New Deal and (b) in justification of the New Deal.
  32. Give examples of the influence of the Thirties on culture in general.

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What thoughts do you think must have gone through Franklin D. Roosevelt's mind as he readied his First Inaugural?
2. Many of the laws passed during the "Hundred Days" were expressed in very general terms. What reasons might explain this? What dangers might result if this was made a permanent practice?
3. If you had been President in 1933, what goals would you have set for your administration?
4. Point out (a) similarities and (b) differences between the aims and policies of the Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt Administrations.



5. Give reasons why you would (a) favor or (b) oppose a revival of the CCC.
6. Give your reactions to Roosevelt's reasons for shifting from FERA to WPA.
7. For what reasons was it inevitable that WPA would find (a) warm supporters and (b) bitter opponents?
8. For what reasons would very few persons in politics recommend doing away with the Social Security system?
9. The establishment of the FDIC was the most important banking measure of the New Deal. Explain whether you agree or disagree.
10. To ex-President Hoover, the NRA was "fascism, pure fascism." What do you think he meant? To what extent do you agree or disagree?
11. Compare the PWA with the WPA.
12. Give reasons why you think the repeal of prohibition was (a) wise or (b) unwise.
13. What groups do you think would (a) favor and (b) oppose the Trade Agreements Act?
14. Compare the attitude of the present Administration toward inflation with that of the Roosevelt Administration.
15. As (a) a farmer, (b) a manufacturer, and (c) a consumer, how would you have reacted to the New Deal farm legislation?
16. New Deal farm legislation demonstrates how difficult it is to solve the farm problem. Explain fully.
17. The dust bowl problem should have been of concern to Americans living in every section of the nation. Give reasons why.
18. What problems do you think the FSA faced in carrying out its program?
19. What do you consider the most important reason for the growth of the labor movement in New Deal days? Justify your answer.
20. Would you have (a) favored or (b) opposed (1) the Wagner Act and (2) industrial unionism? Give reasons.
21. The Wages and Hours Act has been frequently amended. Why was this inevitable?
22. To what extent is housing legislation such as that passed in New Deal days needed today? Explain fully.
23. Many who opposed the passage of the Securities Act in 1933 and the establishment of the SEC in 1934 have changed their minds. For what reasons do you think this is so?
24. Arguments on TVA frequently arouse strong emotions. Give reasons why.
25. Compare the conservation program of the New Deal with that of the Square Deal.
26. What do you consider the most important reason for the shift from the first to the second phase of the New Deal? Justify your choice.
27. For whom would you have voted for President in 1936? Give reasons.
28. Would you have favored (a) the "Court-packing" plan, (b) the "purge," (c) the Hatch Act, and (d) the halt in new New-Deal legislation by 1939? Give reasons why or why not in each case.
29. Jefferson's election in 1800 and Jackson's election in 1828 were called "revolutions." In what sense might the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 be called a "revolution," too?
30. Some have called President Roosevelt a radical and some a conservative. What arguments might each group give to support its point of view? What is your opinion? Give reasons.
31. Do you agree or disagree that books and movies should carry "messages," as many did in the Thirties?

★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Imagine yourself President in 1933. Write your Inaugural Address.
2. In a source book read any one of President Roosevelt's four inaugural addresses. Jot down the statements of which you (a) approve and (b) disapprove. Give reasons for your choices.

3. Find out and report on what was happening in the domestic affairs of three other nations in the Thirties.
4. Find out and report on whether the present Congress could be called a "rubber-stamp Congress," as was the Congress during the "Hundred Days."
5. Interview persons who worked on any New Deal project. Report their experiences to the class.
6. After investigation, write a report comparing the Roosevelt "brain trust" with the Jackson "kitchen cabinet."
7. Write an imaginary magazine article entitled (a) "I Worked for the CCC (or WPA)," (b) "I Was a Migratory Laborer in the Thirties," (c) "I Was a Charter Member of the CIO," or (d) "I Was a Liberty Leaguer."
8. In committee, draw sketches for a mural on the New Deal.
9. Make a list of controversial questions for class debate on the New Deal.
10. Investigate any one of the following: (a) the National Youth Administration (associated with the WPA) or (b) the New Deal role of (1) Raymond Moley, (2) Rexford G. Tugwell, (3) Adolf A. Berle, Jr., (4) Thomas B. Corcoran, (5) Benjamin Cohen, (6) Hugh Johnson, or (7) Frances Perkins. Evaluate the information researched.
11. Make a list of questions you would like to ask an official of the Social Security system. (Such officials have often visited schools to answer such questions.)
12. In his quarrel with the Supreme Court, President Roosevelt accused it of employing "a horse-and-buggy interpretation of the Constitution." Write an essay on the significance of this statement. See, for example, "F. D. R. Versus the Supreme Court" in the *American Heritage* series (April, 1958).
13. Write a short story or a poem, or draw a cartoon on (a) the repeal of prohibition, (b) the dust bowl, or (c) a sit-down strike.
14. In committee, investigate and report on how the following acts have been updated: (a) the Social Security Act, (b) the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, and (c) the Fair Labor Standards Act.
15. From the section entitled "The New Deal and the Great Depression" in *A Documentary History of the American People*, edited by A. Craven and others, select and analyze for the class any one article.
16. From *Documents of American History*, edited by H. S. Commager, select any Supreme Court decision rendered in New Deal days. Report on (a) the facts in the case, (b) the reasoning in the decision, and (c) your opinion of this reasoning.
17. In the section entitled "The New Deal" in *The American Reader*, edited by P. M. Angle, read any two accounts, such as "The Plight of the Farmer" or "Feuding in the New Deal." Select for a report what you consider the human-interest aspects of each.
18. In *Diary of America*, edited by J. and D. Berger, read "For the People a New Deal" by Harold Ickes. Tell what insights this intimate account gives you into the personalities and problems of the New Deal.
19. Write a letter such as a person in the Thirties might have written supporting or opposing passage of (a) the Wagner Act, (b) the New Deal housing legislation, (c) the New Deal farm legislation, (d) the Securities Act of 1933, or (e) the Public Utility Holding Company Act.
20. After careful investigation, write an imaginary dialogue such as might have taken place between (a) Wendell L. Willkie and David Lilienthal on TVA, (b) John L. Lewis and Thomas M. Girdler on the CIO, or (c) John W. Davis, as a member of the American Liberty League, and Henry A. Wallace on the New Deal in general.
21. In committee, prepare a chart for the bulletin board on New Deal legislation

and agencies. In Column I, list the laws or agencies. In Column II, list the purpose of each. In Column III, sum up the provisions or powers of each. In Column IV, give the committee's evaluation of each law or agency.

22. Collect striking quotations either by or about Franklin D. Roosevelt. Then write an essay giving your impressions.

23. In committee, prepare a program in which each committee member represents a different group in the Thirties. Represented should be industrialists, farmers, small businessmen, workers,

investors, and consumers. Each representative should give his (a) reaction to and (b) suggestions for New Deal legislation.

24. Compare the interpretations of the New Deal in *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link, or in *American Past*, Vol. II, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown. Report on your conclusions.

25. Investigate either the New York or San Francisco World's Fair of 1939. Mention examples of American progress exhibited at the fair chosen.

## CHAPTER

# 32

### *The Roosevelt Administration's Relations with Other Nations*

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#### **Relations with Latin America and Canada in the Thirties**

- A Good Neighbor Policy Was Previously Promoted by Coolidge and Hoover
- Economic Changes and the Roosevelt Good Neighbor Policy Help to Overcome Some Obstacles to Inter-American Co-operation • Highlights of Some Inter-American Conferences • Inter-American Cultural, Economic, and Military Co-operation Is Promoted • Canada Is Vitaly Important to Continental Solidarity

#### **Relations with the Major Dictatorships in the Thirties**

- Why the United States Withheld Recognition from Communist Russia Until 1933 • Recognition Changes Relations Between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Very Little • The Aggressions of Fascist Dictatorships in Japan, Italy, and Germany Worry the United States and the World in General • Disagreements Between Japan and the United States, as Well as the Great Depression, Promote Japanese Militarism

#### **Events Leading Up to the Outbreak of World War II**

- Basic Causes of World War II • The United States Refuses to Recognize Japan's Puppet, Manchukuo • Fascist Japan, Fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany Are All Appeased After Practicing Aggressions • A Nonaggression Pact with Communist Russia Encourages Hitler to Invade Poland • Most Americans Demand Neutrality in the Thirties • The United States Becomes Increasingly Aware of the Fascist Threat

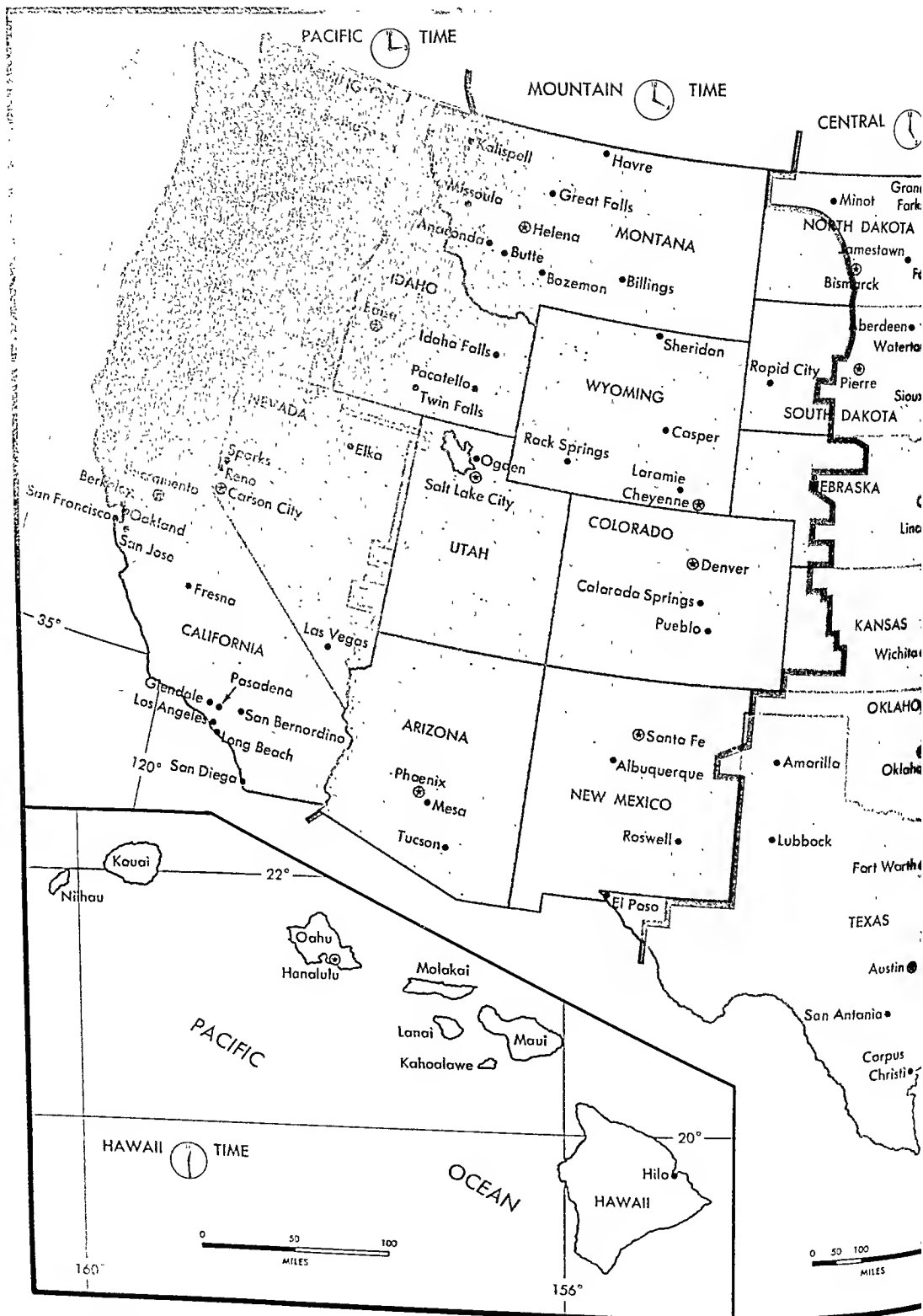
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#### **The United States Promotes A Good Neighbor Policy, While Dictatorships Attack Neighbors**

I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who . . . respects the rights of others—the

neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

So pledged Franklin D. Roosevelt in his First Inaugural Address. Two years before this pledge, Japan had given dramatic proof to the world that it did not respect “the



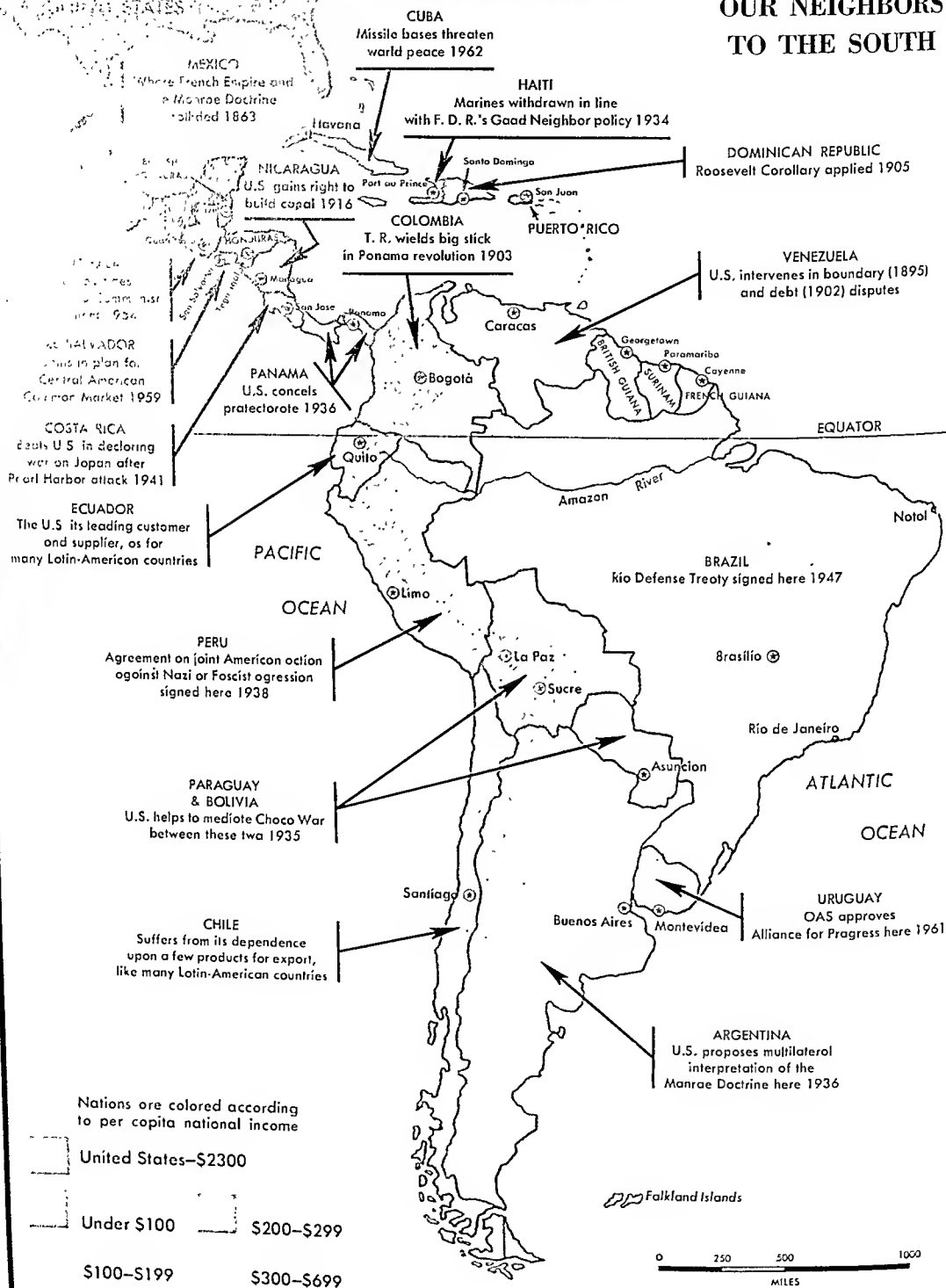
## OUR NATION TODAY



# OUR NATION TODAY



## OUR NEIGHBORS TO THE SOUTH





rights of others" The aggressive fascist dictatorship (page 785) then dominating Japan had invaded Manchuria and torn it from helpless China. About two months before the Roosevelt pledge, a fascist dictator, Adolf Hitler, had come to power in Germany. He and his Nazi Government were to violate the "sanctity" of many of Germany's agreements. We shall see that these dictatorships and that of the Fascist Benito Mussolini in Italy became more and more aggressive (page 784). It was these aggressions that culminated in the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

**Reasons Why Presidents Coolidge, Hoover, and Roosevelt Promoted a Good Neighbor Policy.** Roosevelt spoke of a good neighbor policy "with a world of neighbors." Yet the term *Good Neighbor policy* is usually applied specifically to the United States' relations with its Latin-American neighbors. Roosevelt's immediate predecessors, Coolidge and Hoover, had also tried to increase the friendliness of these relations. They, like many other Americans, had come to think it improper for the United States to intervene in the affairs of Latin-American nations. Many businessmen felt that better relations would mean better business. They hated to see Latin American trade going to European nations, especially during the Great Depression, when they needed business so badly. After Germany's defeat in World War I, the United States had become convinced that no nation would or could challenge it in the Western Hemisphere. Therefore, along with their moral objections to such action, Coolidge and Hoover had concluded that American intervention to prevent the intervention of other nations in Latin America was no longer necessary.

By Roosevelt's time, however, dictators Hitler and Mussolini were making giant efforts to dominate the Latin-American republics. Roosevelt sought, through the Good Neighbor policy, to promote continental solidarity among the twenty-one republics of the Western Hemisphere. With continental solidarity, a hemispheric defense could be built

up that, he hoped, would be strong enough to resist any fascist threat to the hemisphere's security. Substantial credit for the great progress made under the Good Neighbor policy goes to Roosevelt's secretary of state, Cordell Hull, and to Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles.

**Some Reasons Why Cooperation Between Latin America and the United States Has Been Difficult.** For a long time, Latin Americans recalled with anger the United States' acquisition of territory from Mexico after the Mexican War, its annexation of Puerto Rico and establishment of a protectorate over Cuba after the Spanish-American War, its acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone, the Roosevelt Corollary, and dollar diplomacy. In fear and suspicion, they labeled the United States the "Colossus of the North" and accused it of "Yanqui imperialism."

**Latin-American Ties with Southwestern Europe Are for a Long Time Stronger Than with the United States.** Until the 1820's, most of Latin America was controlled by either Spain or Portugal. As a result, Latin Americans inherited many cultural and economic traditions from these nations. Most Latin Americans not only speak the same languages as these Southwestern Europeans but also have the same religion (Roman Catholicism) and similar legal systems. Another element of this heritage was the custom of holding land in big estates under a kind of feudal system. On such estates, the peons (page 644) usually worked long hours at low wages. So deeply into debt did many fall that they could no more leave the land than could a medieval serf. Under this economic system, a middle class interested in the development of industry was for a long time slow to develop.

Such economic conditions help to explain the shocking poverty of at least half of all Latin Americans. They also help to explain why democracy itself was slow to develop. Many who held large estates, and who enjoyed great political power, believed that they had the inherited right to rule.

**Lack of Understanding Long Hinders**

**Inter-American Cultural Co-operation Is Promoted.** Textbooks should be so written and teachers should be so trained as to "promote understanding, mutual respect, and the importance of international co-operation." So agreed the delegates at Buenos Aires in 1936. Toward this goal of greater understanding, schools and colleges in the United States introduced courses in Latin-American history. Movie producers promised not to type Latin Americans as villains in their pictures. Latin America and the United States exchanged professors, students, artists, and musicians. It was hoped that thus each would get the flavor of the other's culture. Experts were sent from the United States to Latin America to advise on how to make the best use of natural resources and how to fight disease and Nazi propaganda.

**Inter-American Economic Co-operation Is Promoted.** Secretary of State Hull had long argued that one of the best ways to promote peace and friendship was to increase trade among nations. Trade *did* increase as a result of the reciprocal trade treaties (page, 756) that the United States negotiated with many Latin-American republics. So did co-operation and friendship.

Throughout much of World War II, the Nazis controlled much of Europe. Their enemies the British blockaded European ports. As a result, Latin America lost valuable customers. The United States feared that this might mean the economic collapse of Latin America. A Latin America weak economically might not be able to resist either Nazi propaganda or Nazi aggression.

Latin America desperately needed loans to help it to build up new industries and to find new markets. Many such loans were provided by the Export-Import Bank,<sup>1</sup> established by the United States in 1934. Its name is a clue to its purpose: to increase the flow of exports and imports between the United States and various nations around

the world. Export-Import Bank loans were made to encourage Latin-American republics to develop rubber plantations and mining, to build power plants and steel factories, and to increase trade with one another. Such loans enabled Latin Americans to make purchases in the United States. Many millions of dollars were also spent by the United States in Latin America on war materials.

**Inter-American Military Co-operation Is Promoted.** Even before the entry of the United States into World War II in 1941, there was much inter-American co-operation in military matters. Military and naval missions from the United States helped to train the armies and navies of some Latin-American countries. Some Latin-American countries allowed the United States to use their naval and air bases during the emergency. Some co-operated with the United States by dismissing from the staffs of airlines German Nazis and Italian Fascists, by seizing Axis ships, and by freezing Axis assets.

Almost as soon as the United States entered the war, so did many Latin-American republics. In fact, by the end of the war, all were involved. Argentina, where many Government officials were sympathetic to the Nazis and Fascists, was the last to enter—almost at the war's end.

**Canada Is Vitrally Important to Continental Solidarity.** "I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by, if the domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire." Canadians heartily welcomed this pledge given by President Roosevelt in 1938. It was evident that the Monroe Doctrine had now been expanded to include Canada. Two years later, the United States and Canada established a board to discuss and act upon common defense problems. This was practically a military alliance, even though Canada was then in World War II and the United States was not. The establishment of the board showed that the United States realized how vital *complete* continental solidarity was when the fascist dictators were threatening the world.

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<sup>1</sup> The Export-Import Bank also makes loans to Americans who wish to increase their exports of farm products or manufactured goods.

*Canadians and Americans Have Much in Common.* The history, culture, ways of making a living, and way of life in general of Canadians on the one hand and Americans on the other are similar in many ways. Many Canadians, as well as many Americans, trace their origins, as well as their language, to the British Isles. However, much of eastern Canada is inhabited by French-speaking people who retain their own customs, culture, and church schools. Millions of Canadians watch American movies and read American books, newspapers, and magazines. Neither nation requires passports or sets up immigration quotas for the citizens of the other.

After World War I, Britain recognized Canada—and other members of the British Commonwealth—as independent nations, with only loose ties to Britain. Now that the United States could deal directly with Canada, instead of indirectly, through Britain, closer Canadian-American co-operation resulted. Much industrialization took place in Canada after World War I, financed mainly by American capital. American investments there more than doubled, while British investments were cut in half between 1914 and 1929. As we shall see, however, Canadian-American relations deteriorated somewhat in the early 1960's (page 852).

## **The United States' Relations With the Major Dictator Nations**

**A Russian Dictatorship Arises, Dedicated to Spreading World Communism and Outstripping American Capitalism.** For 300 years, autocratic czars had ruled Russia. In March, 1917, while World War I was being waged, the czar was finally overthrown by a revolution. Pent-up bitterness at the corruption, intolerance, incompetence, and general misrule of many czars through the years was partly responsible. So, too, were the food shortages and high prices aggravated by the war. And the shocking military defeats inflicted by the Germans had made the

people war-weary. They were eager to oust the Government, which wanted to continue fighting.

The March revolutionary Government was made up mainly of middle-class liberals. They wanted a democracy something like Britain's. But in November, 1917, a radical minority group, called *Communists (Reds)*, ruthlessly seized power from these liberals. Almost immediately, the Red leader, Lenin, took Russia out of the war.

*Some Economic Aims and Policies of the Communists.* Dictator Lenin preached the destruction of the capitalist class and the creation of a society in which all would be workers. Such a classless Communist society, he asserted, would be one in which each would work according to his ability and be rewarded according to his needs. Lenin's Government took ownership of factories, railroads, banks, mines, and land.

On Lenin's death in 1924, Joseph Stalin took over as dictator. By this time, the nation was known as the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.)*. Stalin's goal was to have the U.S.S.R. surpass every capitalist country, especially the United States, in industry and agriculture. In hopes of doing this in a hurry, he introduced a series of five-year plans under which factories and farms concentrated on meeting fixed high quotas.

In general, the five-year plans resulted in great industrial and agricultural progress in the Soviet Union. But at what a cost! Resistance to any part of the program was met by exile, execution, or imprisonment. Resistance was so strong on some collective farms that the Government had to use machine guns when collecting crops. For a long time, millions existed on the barest necessities so that the Government could build machinery, dams, railroads, and military equipment.

In pushing these plans, the Government paid higher salaries to Government officials, engineers, managers, and the more efficient workers. A new privileged class resulted, rather than the classless society that Lenin had envisioned.

*The Individual Under a Totalitarian Government Such as That of the U.S.S.R.* Because the U.S.S.R. tries to maintain total control of practically every phase of human activity, it is said to have a *totalitarian government*. After World War I, totalitarian Governments arose that differed in certain ways from the Russian variety.<sup>1</sup> Yet all totalitarian Governments have certain similarities. In all, secret police, few freedoms, and strict censorship are the rule. Although elections are held, only one party, the official Government party, is permitted. In all, the hopes and dreams of individuals are completely subordinated to the master plan of the Government. In all, the people are expected to obey without question the edicts issued by the dictator or his agents. How different this is from a democracy, which expects loyalty but respects the dignity of the individual and encourages an inquiring attitude among its citizens!

**Why the United States Withheld Recognition of the U.S.S.R. for Some Time.** Recognize Communist Russia? Never! This was the attitude of millions of Americans after the Communist Revolution in 1917. They asked: Why should the United States recognize a Government that quit its allies in the middle of World War I; that ruthlessly stamps out criticism; that is antireligious; that repudiates czarist debts to other countries; and that refuses to pay for American property destroyed in Russia during the revolution? How can the United States exchange ambassadors with a country that is dedicated to undermining capitalism, either by propaganda or revolution, here and elsewhere?

**Some Reasons Why the United States Finally Recognized the U.S.S.R.** In November, 1933, the United States recognized the U.S.S.R. Why? Practically all other countries had by this time. Supporters of recognition stressed that recognizing a nation does not mean approving its Government. They pointed out that it had been the tradition

of the United States to recognize Governments able to maintain themselves in power, regardless of how they got there. Hard hit by the depression, many businessmen hoped that recognition of Russia would increase their markets there. Some pointed out that the democracies, such as France and Britain, were not keeping up payments on their war debts either. Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. feared the aggressive intentions of fascist Japan in the Far East. Therefore, some wanted recognition to strengthen the U.S.S.R.'s hand against Japan. Furthermore, by this time, the U.S.S.R. seemed to have adopted a friendlier policy toward the democracies. Stalin was talking about concentrating on developing Russia rather than on spreading world-wide revolution. He was courting the democracies because of his fear of aggression from the fascist nations, Germany and Italy, as well as Japan.

Consequently, Stalin promised that if the United States recognized the U.S.S.R., he would make certain concessions. He would stop spreading Communist propaganda in the United States. He would take steps to grant religious freedom and fair trials to American citizens residing in the U.S.S.R. He also promised to negotiate the financial claims that the two countries had against each other.

**Recognition Effects Little Change in Relations Between the United States and the U.S.S.R.** Recognition failed to have the desired results. Trade did not increase. The question of debts was not satisfactorily settled. Russian co-operation with the United States against Japanese aggression did not come about. Nor did the Communists stop spreading Russian-sponsored subversive propaganda in the United States.

**The Aggressions of Fascist Dictatorships in Italy and Germany Worry the United States and the World in General.** After World War I, hard times hit Europe hard. But it was in Italy and Germany that the situation had world-shaking consequences.

**How a Fascist Dictator Came to Power in Italy.** In Italy, an organization of men called

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<sup>1</sup> Examples were Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

*Fascists* declared that they were going to save the country from the threat of communism. A small-scale civil war then broke out between Fascists on the one hand and Communists and Socialists on the other. The Fascists won. Their leader, Benito Mussolini, became dictator of Italy in 1922.

What explains the Fascist victory? Sympathetic to the Fascists was the weak, corrupt Government of King Victor Emanuel III. Mussolini had promised to keep the king on the throne. Many World War I veterans, militarists, imperialists, and passionate nationalists supported the Fascists. Much money to support their cause came from wealthy businessmen and landowners, fearful that Communists might seize their property.

*How a Fascist Dictator Came to Power in Germany.* In Germany after World War I, a democratic republic (the *Weimar Republic*) succeeded the autocratic Government of Kaiser Wilhelm II. But many Germans soon became dissatisfied with the republic. This was especially because it had failed to solve the serious post-war problems of unemployment and inflation. Vigorously opposing the republic were Communists, fascists, monarchists, and militarists. The most vigorous opposition came from a fascist group called *Nazis*. Its leader, Adolf Hitler, and his armed bands won the support of many big industrialists and landowners by using violent methods against Communists and socialists. He won the support of nationalists, militarists, and imperialists by promising that if he gained power, he would repudiate the hated, dictated Treaty of Versailles (page 684) and make Germany a world power. With a show of legality, but actually illegally, Hitler made himself dictator of Germany in 1933.

*Some Common Characteristics of Italian Fascism and German Nazism.* In the totalitarian systems of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, industry and agriculture were strictly regulated by the Government. But the profit system was maintained, even to the point where some made millions. Businessmen

often had to share their profits with Government officials. At times, they even had to turn their businesses over to them.

Both the Italian Fascist and the German Nazi Governments crushed critics savagely. Both glorified war. Both preached that their people were "a superior race."<sup>1</sup> Both practiced *anti-Semitism* (persecution of Jews). However, in its savage treatment of Jews, Nazi Germany went to far greater extremes than did Fascist Italy.

Both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany asserted that at one time their countries had been the centers of great empires. They complained that now they were "have-not" nations. By this they meant that other nations had gobbled up the world's rich resources and left them with very little. To get control of more of the world's resources, they built up powerful armies, navies, and air forces.

Mussolini and Hitler, in 1936, formed an alliance called the *Rome-Berlin Axis*. Fascist Japan soon joined. The Axis powers wanted to give the world the impression that their aim was to fight communism. Therefore, they called their alliance the *Anti-Comintern Pact*. But, as we shall soon see, their true aim was world conquest.

*Japan Acquires Many Characteristics of Fascism.* The Japanese believed that theirs was a superior race. Their Government in the Thirties fostered fanatical nationalism and an aggressive imperialistic policy. Wielding powerful influence in this Government were militarists, industrialists, and big landowners. War was glorified and civil liberties were suppressed. Thus, Japan's Government had, by the Thirties, acquired many of the fascist characteristics typical of the German and Italian Governments. It must be remembered, however, that not all fascist states are exactly alike.

*Disagreements Between Japan and the United States Promote Japanese Militarism.*

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<sup>1</sup> This propaganda on race superiority never made much headway with the Italian people.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, many disagreements developed between Japan and the United States: over annexation by the United States of such Pacific islands as Hawaii and the Philippines; over discrimination against Japanese nationals on the West Coast of the United States; over American insistence on the Open Door policy in China; over American resistance to Japanese efforts to make a protectorate out of China through the Twenty-one Demands; and over American opposition to Japan's efforts to seize eastern Siberia from Russia after World War I.

All this friction, which we have studied, tended to make Japanese militarists more warlike. This warlike attitude worried many Japanese moderates, including many capitalists. They feared that the militarists might go too far and provoke a world war. A peaceful policy, moderates believed, was better for business and for Japan as a whole. Such moderates were most influential in the Japanese Government in the 1920's, even though the power of militarists was growing. The moderates in control showed their willingness to co-operate with the United States and other nations by signing such treaties as those of the Washington Conference of 1921-1922 (page 692) and the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 (page 694). Under the influence of the moderates, Japan withdrew from the Shantung Peninsula and canceled most of the Twenty-one Demands. It also gave up other special rights in China that the United States had recognized in the Lansing-Ishii Agreement (page 652). For all this, the moderates were angrily denounced by the militarists.

Militarists made the most of the 1924 American immigration law that canceled the Gentlemen's Agreement and barred all Oriental immigration. This law seemed so insulting that the militarists began talking of organizing a drive to make all Asia anti-American.

*The Great Depression Promotes Japanese Imperialism.* Tiny Japan, with its few natural resources and huge population, had

always had serious economic problems. The depression made them even more serious. As a result, many capitalists and others began to agree with the militarists that imperialistic conquests would be the road to recovery. At this time, the Chinese leader, Chiang Kai-shek, was building a strong China. This posed a grave threat to Japan's influence in the Chinese province of Manchuria. The situation especially worried Japanese capitalists who had big investments in Manchurian factories and railroads, and in the iron, coal, and copper mines there. Manchuria's nearby location also made it seem a desirable outlet for the population of overcrowded Japan.

## Some Basic Causes of World War II

**Exaggerated Nationalism and Fanatical Imperialism.** As we have seen, all three fascist nations spread propaganda that their people were a superior race destined to rule over other peoples. This exaggerated nationalism helped to bring on World War II.

Italian Fascists referred to the entire Mediterranean as "our sea." German fascists (Nazis) boasted that they would rule "over the entire world for at least one to two thousand years." This was part of Hitler's blueprint for a *New Order* for the world. Japanese fascists had their New Order, too. They propagandized to get Asians to follow Japan's lead and try to force Westerners out of the Far East. They hoped thereby to place all of Asia under their political and economic domination. This fanatical imperialism also helped to bring on World War II.

**The Weakness of the League of Nations.** All three fascist nations laughed at the League of Nations. When condemned for their aggressions, they told their people that the League was too weak to stop them. It was. Thus international anarchy (page 663) was still another cause of World War II.

**The Highly Controversial Treaty of Versailles.** Their defeat in World War I had embittered Germans in general. So had what they considered the harsh terms of the

Treaty of Versailles. Hitler aroused many Germans to desire a war of revenge. This is one view of the matter. Other commentators have stressed the failure to enforce the terms of the treaty, rather than their harshness, as a major cause of the war.

**The Influence of the Great Depression.** Would-be dictators propagandized that, once in power, they would bring an end to the hardships caused by the Great Depression. In power, they built up their armaments in preparation for conquests. So much money was spent by the democracies in trying to recover from the depression that they had little left for armaments to place a check on aggressors. Encouraged by this situation, the fascist powers armed more and more and became more and more aggressive. Thus the depression helped to bring on World War II by helping dictators to power who were dedicated to aggression.

**Disunity Among the Nonfascist Powers.** France, worried about its security, demanded strict enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles. Britain, eager to keep the balance of power and to increase its trade, favored a milder enforcement. Millions of Americans, disillusioned by World War I, favored an isolationist policy. Finally, Communist Russia eyed both the fascist powers and the capitalistic democracies with suspicion. This disunity among nonfascist nations was also a cause of World War II. For disunity encouraged boldness on the part of the fascist nations, whose propaganda helped to promote such disunity. In fact, the fascist nations propagandized that they were a bulwark against communism and that the democracies would therefore be foolish to fight them. It was a fond hope of many in the democracies that Communist Russia and the fascist powers would destroy each other in a war.

**Appeasement of the Fascist Aggressors.** After the horrors of World War I, many Europeans were war-weary. They kept hoping that the aggressors were telling the truth when they propagandized that each succeeding aggression would be their last one. As a

result, the democracies kept yielding to the fascist nations, in spite of their aggressions. This giving in to some demands in hopes of preventing further aggression and a worldwide war is called *appeasement*. But it was this very appeasement that proved to be one of the most important causes of World War II!

## World War II Climaxes a Long Series of Fascist Aggressions

**The Appeasement of Japan in Manchuria Paves the Way for Other Aggressions.** It was in 1931 that Japan invaded Manchuria. In so doing, it broke its pledge as a member of the League of Nations and violated both the Nine-Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Japanese fascists felt confident in their action because they believed that the United States would never go to war to defend the Open Door.

*"The Light of Asia," a cartoon by H. M. Talbert, published in the Washington Daily News. For what reasons do you think this cartoon won the Pulitzer prize in 1933?*



*The League of Nations Condemns Japan's Seizure of Manchuria.* In Manchuria, Japan set up a puppet state called Manchukuo. The League of Nations sent a commission, the *Lytton Commission*, to investigate Japan's action. The commission condemned Japan as an aggressor and labeled the creation of Manchukuo illegal.

*The United States Refuses to Recognize Japan's Puppet, Manchukuo.* Throughout the crisis, the United States, although not a member of the League, was co-operating with it. Secretary of State Stimson declared that the United States would not recognize Manchukuo, because it had been established by force in violation of treaties. This *Stimson Doctrine* of nonrecognition was endorsed almost unanimously by members of the League.

Japan did not quit Manchukuo. But it did quit the League in anger in 1933. In effect, it warned that the once Open Door in the Far East was to be closed to the West.

*What Made the Manchurian Crisis a Major Tragedy.* The Manchurian crisis showed up the weakness of the League. It indicated that the democracies were unwilling to take strong steps to block aggression. The result was further Japanese aggressions in China. When Hitler and Mussolini launched their aggressions, they were to use Japan's Manchurian aggression as their model. And, in 1937, Japan started a full-scale undeclared war against China.

*The League Fails to Stop the Aggressions of Fascist Italy.* Without declaring war, Fascist Italy invaded the East African country of Ethiopia in 1935. The Ethiopians fought bravely. But, with their primitive weapons, they were no match for Mussolini's forces, which used tanks, planes, flame throwers, and poison gas.

The League of Nations tried to punish Italy by applying certain economic sanctions. Most League members stopped lending to, and importing from, Italy. But they did not stop selling Mussolini the oil, coal, and iron he needed most.

The crisis ended with the League cancell-

ing the sanctions, with Britain and France recognizing Ethiopia as an Italian possession, and with Italy withdrawing from the League. Having thus been appeased, Mussolini, in 1939, invaded and annexed little Albania in the Balkans.

*Hitler is Appeased Several Times, But Not After Invading Poland.* Almost as soon as Hitler became Germany's dictator in 1933, he took Germany out of the League of Nations. In 1935, in violation of the Treaty of Versailles, he rearmed Germany and established compulsory military service. In 1936, violating the treaty again, he occupied and fortified the Rhineland.

*Hitler Is Appeased in His Aggressions Against Austria and Czechoslovakia.* In 1938, after softening it up by propaganda, threats, and bribes, Hitler invaded and annexed Austria. Neither the League nor any nation came to Austria's aid. The next victim of Nazi aggression was Czechoslovakia. Its western portion, the Sudetenland, is a highly industrialized area. Hitler demanded the Sudetenland, on the ground that it had many German-speaking inhabitants. Prime Ministers Neville Chamberlain of Britain and Edouard Daladier of France feared that if Hitler didn't get the Sudetenland, he would take it by force. In hopes of preventing a war, they signed the *Munich Pact* in 1938, granting Hitler the Sudetenland. Pleased at being appeased, Hitler declared: "This is the last territorial demand I have to make in Europe." But shortly after, in violation of the Munich Pact, he took over the rest of Czechoslovakia.

*A Nonaggression Pact with Communist Russia Encourages Hitler to Invade Poland.* The world was stunned and alarmed in August, 1939, on hearing that the Communist-hating Hitler had signed a nonaggression pact with the fascist-hating Stalin. Thus feeling free from a possible attack from the East, Hitler launched an invasion of Poland the very next month. This time, instead of appeasing the aggressor, Britain and France declared war on Germany. They had learned at last that appeasement only gave aggressors bigger appetites. And so, Europe, after



twenty years filled with suspicion, friction, and fear, was once more at war.

In spite of brave resistance, Poland fell in less than a month. Hitler permitted the U.S.S.R. to occupy eastern Poland, while Germany annexed the rest.

**Russia Is Expelled from the League for Invading Finland.** Not long after, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, too weak to resist, were annexed by the U.S.S.R. Next, in 1939, in spite of a nonaggression pact, the U.S.S.R. invaded Finland. In 1940, the Russians overcame the fierce resistance of the Finns. They forced Finland to turn over a naval base and some of its territory. For this aggression, the U.S.S.R. was expelled from the almost-forgotten League of Nations.

### Some American Reactions To the Fascist Aggressions

**Americans in China Are Abused by the Japanese.** American churches and hospitals were bombed. Americans were slapped. Their clothes were torn from their backs. American and British businessmen were barred from certain occupied provinces. By whom, when, where, and for what reasons? By the Japanese military, invading China, in the late 1930's, to show Japan's contempt for Westerners and its determination to close the Open Door. In spite of such indignities, very few American voices called for war with Japan.

In 1937, the *Panay*, an American gunboat, was bombed and sunk by the Japanese on China's Yangtze River. Two Americans were killed and many wounded in what amounted to a Japanese warning to Americans that their days in the Far East were numbered. The United States protested. Japan apologized. In spite of this insulting *Panay* incident, few, if any, American voices cried: "Remember the *Panay*!", as millions had cried in 1898: "Remember the *Maine*!"

**Why Most Americans Demanded Neutrality in the Thirties.** "... The epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. . . . War is

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## WAR! GERMAN TROOPS INVADE POLAND NAZIS BOMB WARSAW

*Los Angeles Times headlines reporting the outbreak of World War II*

a contagion, . . ." So said President Roosevelt in 1937. To prevent the spread of the war infection, he urged the peace-loving nations of the world to co-operate to "quarantine" the aggressors. So strong was the protest in the United States to his statement that, for a while, Roosevelt gave up his efforts to rally support for the victims of fascist aggression. The protesters seemed to fear that military action might follow any effort to quarantine aggressors. The reaction to Japanese insults and to the "quarantine speech" indicated the strong desire of most Americans to avoid becoming involved in another war.

**Disillusionment with the Results of World War I.** Wasn't World War I the war that was supposed to "end war" and "make the world safe for democracy"? Many disillusioned Americans asked cynically. They convinced themselves that the United States had been tricked into the war. For this, they blamed Allied propaganda, American manufacturers pushing munitions sales, and American bankers eager to safeguard their loans to the Allies. In the depths of the depression, these Americans reminded one another that the Allies hadn't paid their war debts. When money was so desperately needed to combat the depression, it seemed foolish to them to spend money on big armies and navies. Indeed, so shocked were many at the horrors of World War I that they had become passionate pacifists.

**Some Arguments of Isolationists for Maintaining Neutrality.** Those who were opposed

## Domestic and Foreign Affairs in New Deal Days

1933

- Emergency Banking Relief Act passed • CCC created • AAA to reduce surplus crops • FERA makes grants to states and local agencies • TVA created • United States goes off gold standard • HOLC to aid homeowners • FDIC to guarantee bank deposits • NRA and PWA to revive business and combat unemployment • Twenty-first Amendment repeals prohibition • Hitler's Nazi dictatorship begins • F.D.R. pledges 'Good Neighbor' policy • United States recognizes Soviet Union • Montevideo Inter-American Conference

1934

- Dollar devaluated • Export-Import Bank created • SEC to regulate stock markets • Trade Agreements Act promotes reciprocal tariffs • FCC to regulate communications • NLRB to settle labor disputes • FHA to spur construction and repairs • Date set for Philippine independence • Johnson Foreign Debt Default Act passed • Platt Amendment canceled • United States troops withdrawn from Haiti • Japan repudiates five-power naval treaty

1935

- WPA to provide work relief • REA for rural electrification • NIRA declared unconstitutional • National Labor Relations Act (Wagner-Connery Act) passed • ICC regulation extended to buses and trucks

1936



- Liberty League attacks New Deal • Social Security Act passed • Powers of Federal Reserve System increased • Wheeler-Rayburn Act to regulate public utilities holding companies • Mussolini invades Ethiopia • Neutrality Act passed

- AAA declared unconstitutional • War veterans' bonus paid • SCADAA replaces AAA • Robinson-Patman Act against price discrimination passed • F.D.R. re-elected • General 'Motors sit-down strike • United States gives up right to intervene in Panama • Second Neutrality Act passed • Germany reoccupies Rhineland

1937

- 'Court-packing' plan fails • FSA to aid farm tenants, sharecroppers, and laborers • United States Housing Authority created • Third Neutrality Act passed • F.D.R. 'quarantine' speech • Japanese planes bomb Panay

1938



- AAA of 1938 • House committee to investigate un-American activities • Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act passed • Fair Labor Standards Act (Wages and Hours Act) passed • Committee for Industrial Organization becomes Congress of Industrial Organizations • Mexico takes ownership of American and British oil properties • Hitler appeased at Munich • United States protests Japan's violations of 'Open Door' • Declaration of Lima to resist jointly Nazi or Fascist aggression

1939

- Hatch Corrupt Practices Act passed • Germany invades Czechoslovakia • German-Russian nonaggression pact • Germany invades Poland • Neutrality Act to aid Britain and France • Russia invades Finland

1940

- First peacetime selective service • British-American destroyer deal • F.D.R. re-elected for third term

1941

- F.D.R. defines Four Freedoms • Lend-Lease Act passed • Axis assets in United States frozen • Germany invades Soviet Union • United States offers aid to Soviet Union • Atlantic Charter pronounces post-war aims • Pearl Harbor attacked • The Congress declares war

1942

- War Production Board created • Rationing and rent ceilings adopted • Bataan and Corregidor fall • Battles of Coral Sea and Midway • Allied forces land in North Africa • Siege of Stalingrad begins

1943

- Casablanca Conference • American Pacific offensive • Italian campaign opens • Cairo and Teheran Conferences

1944

- D-Day invasion • Philippines campaign begins • F.D.R. re-elected

1945

- Yalta Conference • Death of F.D.R. • V-E Day • UN Charter signed • Atomic bombs dropped • V-J Day

to involvement in a war against the fascist powers were called *isolationists*. They used arguments something like these: that the United States should be grateful for the 3,000 miles of ocean separating it from the Old World, its class conflicts, and its wars; that Mussolini and Hitler had restored order in their chaotic countries; that, in spite of their cruelty, these fascists were bulwarks against the spread of Russian communism; and that the European Allies had brought the Nazi threat on themselves by writing a harsh Treaty of Versailles. Such isolationists asked: If the fascists are out to gain territory, are not the British and French imperialistic, too, fighting to hold on to their empires?

However, some Americans, even before World War II broke out, thought that the United States should let the world know that it stood with the peace-loving nations against the aggressors. Only by such *collective security*, they believed, could any single nation feel secure.

**The Neutrality Acts: Evidence of the Strong Influence of the Isolationists in the Thirties.** In hopes of keeping the United States out of a possible World War II, the Congress, in the Thirties, passed a series of *Neutrality Acts*. The purpose of these acts was to avoid certain conditions that the Congress believed had helped to drag the United States into World War I.

Remembering America's investments with the Allies before its entry into World War I, the Congress forbade loans<sup>1</sup> and the sale and shipment of munitions to belligerents. Remembering the *Lusitania* and other ships sunk by German submarines, the Congress forbade Americans to travel on the ships of belligerents. Thus, in these acts, the United States gave up its traditional insistence on neutral rights, including freedom of the seas. The Congress remembered that insistence on

<sup>1</sup>As we know, an act passed in 1934, the Johnson Act, had made it illegal to extend credit to any nation that had failed to pay its World War I debts. This was another example of isolationist sentiment.



A cartoon captioned "What Price Achilles' Heel?" by Bruce Russell, published in the Los Angeles Times. After investigating the origins of the terms "Achilles' heel" and "fifth column," explain this 1940 cartoon.

neutral rights had been an important reason for the entry of the United States into both the War of 1812 and World War I. The Neutrality Acts were to go into effect when the President declared the existence of a foreign war.

**Some Criticisms of the Neutrality Acts.** The embargo on munitions to all belligerents actually encouraged the fascist nations. They had been preparing for war for some time and had big supplies of munitions on hand. Now they could be sure that the poorly prepared democracies, such as France and Britain, would get no munitions in America. Thus, in a way, the embargo helped to bring on World War II.

In general, the Neutrality Acts seemed immoral, for they applied equally to aggressor and peace-loving nations. Some say that the framers of the Neutrality Acts were naive to believe that the acts alone could keep the nation out of war. Certainly, such acts are no insurance that an aggressor will not attack.

**The Administration Becomes Increasingly Aware of the Fascist Threat.** Continental solidarity for hemispheric defense had been a central goal of the foreign policy of the

United States in the 1930's. A main reason why had been the fascist threat. This threat caused President Roosevelt in 1936 to ask all the nations of the world to sign nonaggression pacts. In 1937 came his "quarantine speech." In 1938, he urged the Congress to appropriate money to build a two-ocean navy. With Japan threatening the Pacific, and Germany threatening the Atlantic, this seemed almost a matter of life or death to the United States.

In 1939, as we know, the Nazis invaded Poland and the Russian Communists invaded Finland. At this time, a new Neutrality Act was passed that lifted the arms embargo. However, nations purchasing munitions were required to pay cash and carry the goods away in non-American ships. This *cash-and-carry clause*, Roosevelt felt, would be helpful to a democracy such as Britain, which had a big navy and merchant marine.<sup>1</sup> It was in keeping with his belief and that of a rapidly growing number of Americans that American help should go not to aggressors but to nations threatened by aggression. Roosevelt explained that by selling munitions to such nations, the United States would be strengthening them. Thus there would be less chance, he said, of the war reaching America's door.

The isolationists did not like the idea of repealing the arms embargo. But they were pleased by the cash-and-carry principle. Cash-and-carry, they felt, would prevent further financial involvement in the affairs of warring nations and the sinking of American ships. Thus situations that helped get the United States into World War I would not be repeated. Isolationists were also pleased by clauses in the 1939 Neutrality Act that prohibited American ships from entering danger zones and that forbade the arming of merchant ships. But it wasn't long, as we shall soon see, before the United States, for all its efforts to stay out, was involved in World War II.

<sup>1</sup> A similar cash-and-carry clause had been included in an earlier Neutrality Act, but it did not apply to war materials.

- (b) Poland, (c) Britain and France, and (d) the U.S.S.R.?
18. Trace the aggressions of (a) Japan, (b) Italy, (c) Germany, and (d) the U.S.S.R.
  19. Sum up the actions of the League of Nations with respect to the aggressions of (a) Japan, (b) Italy, (c) Germany, and (d) the U.S.S.R.
  20. Prove that Japan showed contempt for Americans and Westerners in general in the Thirties.
  21. Give (a) reasons for and (b) proof of the desire of most Americans to stay out of war in the Thirties.
  22. Explain the (a) provisions of and (b) criticisms made against the Neutrality Acts of the Thirties.
  23. What steps did the United States take in the late 1930's that indicated that neutrality was going to be difficult to maintain?

### ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What adjectives would you use to describe the tone of the quotation introducing this chapter?
2. If you had been a presidential adviser in the Thirties, what suggestions would you have made to promote a Good Neighbor policy?
3. How would you have answered the charge of "Yanqui imperialism" leveled by some Latin Americans?
4. Which do you think was the most serious obstacle to effective inter-American co-operation? For what reasons?
5. Which do you think was the most important factor in helping to overcome these obstacles to inter-American co-operation? Justify your choice.
6. Give your opinions of the results of each of the inter-American conferences mentioned in this chapter.
7. Show that inter-American cultural, economic, and military co-operation are interdependent.
8. Enlightened self-interest, in the Thirties,

as now, was the key to close Canadian-American co-operation. To what extent do you agree?

9. Was recognition of the U.S.S.R. in 1933 wise? Give reasons for your answer.
10. What lessons might democracies learn from a study of the origins and operations of totalitarian governments?
11. What arguments might a Japanese have given to justify his hostility to the United States before World War II? How would you have answered these arguments?
12. Point out ways in which the basic causes of World War I and World War II were (a) similar and (b) different.
13. What do you consider the most basic of the basic causes of World War II? Give reasons for your answer.
14. Explain fully whether you believe that the United States should have used force to oust Japan from Manchuria in 1931.
15. Some have said that Britain and France might have stood up to the fascist aggressors earlier had the United States abandoned isolationism. Give your opinions on this view.
16. Of all the aggressions, which do you think shocked Americans most? For what reasons?
17. In the neutrality legislation of the Thirties, the past was dictating to the future. Explain. To what extent do you agree?
18. Give your opinions of (a) the "quarantine speech," (b) the isolationists of the Thirties, and (c) the cash-and-carry clause.

### ☆ Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding

1. On an outline map of the world, locate (a) places where inter-American conferences were held during the Thirties, (b) the aggressor nations of the Thirties, (c) the nations that were victims of aggression in the Thirties, and (d) any other nation mentioned in this chapter.

2. Indicate which persons mentioned in this chapter you would include in your Hall of Infamy. Write a brief speech nominating your choices.
3. Make a series of striking and meaningful newspaper headlines on the highlights of this chapter.
4. In committee, prepare an assembly program on inter-American co-operation. Include in the presentation flags, costumes, handicrafts, films, dances, music, poetry, and quotations, as well as basic information.
5. Contribute to a bulletin board exhibit of cartoons contrasting the Good Neighbor policy with the big-stick policy.
6. Collaborate in writing an imaginary conversation that might have taken place at (a) an inter-American conference of the Thirties or (b) a meeting of the Rome-Berlin Axis.
7. Collect quotations by any individual mentioned in this chapter. Then write an article indicating what these quotations tell you about the individual.
8. Imagine yourself an American detained in the Thirties in (a) Japan, (b) Italy, (c) Germany, or (d) the U.S.S.R. Write a few pages in your diary describing your experiences there. Cite your sources of information.
9. Prepare an imaginary agenda for a meeting between the President of the United States and the prime minister of Canada in 1939.
10. Write an "if" essay entitled: (a) "If Japan Had Been Stopped in Manchuria," (b) "If the United States Had Been a Member of the League of Nations," or (c) "If There Had Been No Hitler-Stalin Non-aggression Pact."
11. Read any one of the following plays: (a) *There Shall Be No Night* by Robert E. Sherwood, (b) *Watch on the Rhine*, or (c) *The Searching Wind*—both of the latter by Lillian Hellman. Tell what the play read tells about the times.
12. From *Words That Made American History*, Vol II, edited by R. N. Current and J. A. Garraty, read (a) "The Case for Isolation" by Charles A. Beard and (b) "Aid to Britain" by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Write an essay contrasting the two articles.
13. From *A History of the United States from 1865 to the Present*, edited by F. W. Klingberg, read any one of the articles in Section 14 that deals with the period before December, 1941. Report on the extent to which it appeals to your emotions and your reason.
14. From the *American Heritage* series, read "When the Red Storm Broke" (February, 1961). Give reasons why the information revealed therein is bound to make many Americans sad.

## CHAPTER

# 33

### *The United States Fights In World War II Around the World*

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#### **Events Leading Up to United States Entry into World War II**

- A Nazi Victory Threatens • The United States Becomes Less and Less Neutral
- Getting Lend-Lease Goods to Britain Gets the United States More Deeply Involved • The Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter: Moral Support Added to Material Support • Japan Becomes More Aggressive in the Far East • Japan's Attack on Pearl Harbor Brings the United States into World War II

#### **The United States Joins in a Total, Global War Against the Axis**

- Japan Conquers Much of the Far East • The Philippines Are Lost • The Middle East Is Threatened • Terrible Losses Are Suffered in the Battle of the Atlantic • The United Nations Win in North Africa and Italy • The U.S.S.R. Wins Victory at Stalingrad • Normandy Is Invaded • The Final Defeat of the Nazis • Island-hopping on the Road to Tokyo • Atomic Bombs Force Japan's Surrender

#### **Reasons Why the United States Was Able to Play a Vital Role in This War**

- Industry and Science Perform Miracles • Farmers Produce Bumper Crops for the United States and Its Partners • Wage Earners Co-operate • People in All Walks of Life 'Do Their Bit' • The Government Tries to Insure Fair Play in Drafting Servicemen and in Curbing Inflation • Civil Liberties Are Generally Respected
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#### **Events Leading Up to United States Entry Into World War II**

Some Fighting Tactics of the Nazis. Civilians died by the thousands as their cities were mercilessly bombed, even after they had surrendered. Traitors within the invaded country (called *fifth columnists* during

World War II) sabotaged their country's defenses and made the task of the invader easier. The invader cut off, enveloped, and smashed sections of the enemy's forces by surprise attacks, executed with the speed of lightning. To bring about the victim's surrender or total destruction, planes, tanks, artillery, and motorized infantry worked as a team.

Such tactics of co-ordinated lightning warfare (called *blitzkrieg*) were introduced by the Nazis in their invasion of Poland, and used against other countries throughout World War II. In their occupation of conquered countries, the Nazis ruthlessly executed thousands. Thousands more were packed like cattle into freight cars and shipped off to serve as slave laborers in Germany.

The Nazi *blitzkrieg* in Poland indicated that mobile offensive warfare was replacing the positional defensive warfare of World War I. But the French had prepared for a possible World War II as though it would be another World War I. This explains why they had spent millions building their *Maginot Line* along the French-German border. Along this line, French troops were stationed throughout the winter of 1939-1940. At the same time, German troops waited along a similar line of fortifications (the *Siegfried Line*). There was so little military action that many ridiculed this period as a "sitzkrieg" and a "phony war."

**The Nazis Conquer Most of Western Europe.** Actually, Hitler was just biding his time. Through propaganda, promises, and threats, he hoped to split the Allies, Britain and France. He failed. Then the "sitzkrieg" ceased, in the spring of 1940, and the Nazis began a series of *blitzkriegs*. In rapid succession, Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, Holland, and Belgium were blitzed and conquered.

Onward the Nazis rolled. They flanked the *Maginot Line*, seized such channel ports as Calais and Boulogne, and cornered nearly 350,000 British and French troops in another channel port, Dunkirk. These troops seemed doomed. But then occurred what has been called the *miracle at Dunkirk*. Protected by the tiny *Royal Air Force (RAF)*, British warships, fishing boats, private yachts, and even rowboats evacuated most of the troops to England. Most of their desperately needed military equipment had to be left behind.

Southward the Nazis then rolled. On June 14, to the shock and sorrow of the democratic

world, Paris fell. France was forced to yield more than half of its territory, including the important channel ports, to Germany. The remainder, *Unoccupied France*, became a fascist state. Vichy became its capital and its totalitarian government took orders from Hitler.

To fight foreign occupation, the French formed an underground resistance movement. This movement co-operated with a government-in-exile in London called the *Free French* and led by General Charles de Gaulle. In other occupied countries, similar resistance movements had been set up.

When it had looked as though France didn't have much chance, just before it fell, Mussolini had declared war on the Allies. Of this act, President Roosevelt said angrily: "The hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor."

**The British Hold Out, in Spite of Terrible Losses on Sea and Land.** Now it looked as though Britain didn't have much chance, with so much of Western Europe in Hitler's hands. From the start, the British had blockaded German ports and sunk many German submarines. In turn, Nazi submarines had sunk many British ships delivering goods from the empire and neutral countries. This ocean conflict has been called the *Battle of the Atlantic*. In it, the Nazis seemed to have gained the upper hand. Many British naval vessels were being sunk. So, too, were many merchant vessels—far faster than the ships they could build new ones.

Furthermore, during the middle months of 1940, the Nazi *Luftwaffe* (air force), in wave after wave, bombarded Britain. Not only were military installations and factories blasted, but hospitals, churches, homes, and schools. Yet the hard-pressed British people, under the inspired leadership of their prime minister, Winston Churchill, would not quit. And the outnumbered RAF, fighting heroically, shot Nazi planes by the thousands out of the skies over Britain.

**The Nazis Sweep On in North Africa, the Balkans, and Russia.** Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania had fallen into Nazi hands by late

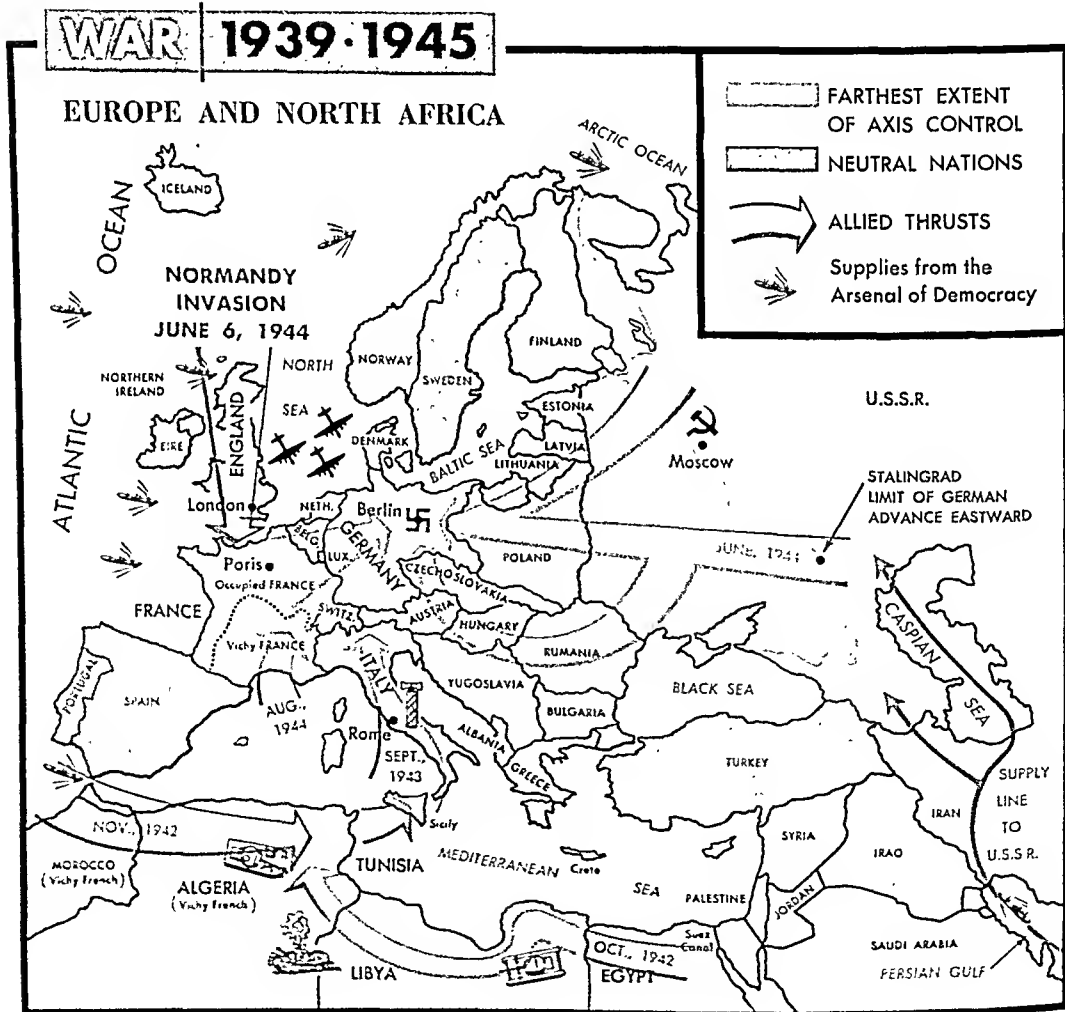


1940. The treason of their fifth columnists, plus Nazi promises, propaganda, and threats had put them there. By this time, too, Mussolini had launched campaigns in North Africa and Greece. But British and Greek resistance was so strong that Hitler had to come to Mussolini's rescue in 1941. Soon the British were driven back eastward to Egypt's border. Soon, too, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the island of Crete were also conquered. In Yugoslavia especially, however, guerrilla resistance made things difficult for the Nazis throughout the war.

Along a 2,000-mile front, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, Hitler launched an invasion of the U.S.S.R. in June, 1941. Once more, a nonaggression pact did not stop him. Nor did he bother to declare war. His generals had

warned him not to thus endanger Germany's position by creating a two-front war. But he was convinced that Russia could be defeated within a few months. Then Russia's rich resources would be available to fuel the Nazi war machine. There was a chance, too, Hitler thought, that a war against Communist Russia would gain sympathy for the Nazis in Britain and the United States. Instead, Churchill promised British help to any government that resisted the Nazis. This, as we shall see, also became the attitude of the United States.

At first, it seemed as though nothing could stop the Nazi steamroller in Russia. In the north, it drove almost to Leningrad; in central Russia, almost to Moscow; and in the south, to the gates of the Caucasus. The



Russians suffered millions of casualties, civilian as well as military. Even after the Russians had won back nearly a quarter of their lost territory by December, 1941, things still looked black for them. For the Nazis were in control of many of Russia's resources and were preparing to launch new offensives in the spring.

**Why Possible Victory for the Fascists Seemed a Tragedy to a Growing Number of Americans.** From a moral point of view, how can the United States look the other way when fascist nations are murdering innocent victims? This kind of question was asked by more and more Americans as time went on. They were horrified by the continued fascist aggressions, by the savagery of Nazis toward Jews, by the savagery of the Japanese military toward Chinese, by the practice of making slave laborers of conquered peoples, and by the fascist ravings about their plans for world conquest.

From a military point of view, such Americans asked, isn't there a danger that Hitler will seize Denmark's Iceland and Greenland, now that he has conquered Denmark? Wouldn't Nazi control of these islands threaten the sea route between Britain and the United States? Would not Britain's defeat and the loss of its fleet result in a Nazi invasion of Canada? With the Netherlands and France already Nazi-dominated, would not Britain's defeat result in a Nazi demand for the Caribbean possessions of all three? With these possessions so dangerously near the Panama Canal, would not the United States then have to go to war to prevent their annexation? If Britain falls, who will be left to prevent the fascist conquest of North Africa? Since Dakar in French West Africa is less than 2,000 miles from Natal in Brazil, might not the fascists then invade Latin America?

And if, by this time, the Japanese fascists had conquered the entire Far East, these Americans continued, would not the United States be on the verge of disaster? Would it not then be "a lone island" trying to withstand the onslaughts of fascist aggressors

armed with practically all the world's resources?

**The United States Takes Some Measures to Prepare Itself.** Fifty thousand planes a year—this was what President Roosevelt asked the Congress to provide funds for, just before France fell to the Nazis. Ridiculous! said skeptics. How could industry build 50,000 planes in one year? But industry did this—and far more—as the years rolled on.

A start on a two-ocean navy, consultation with Canada and Latin America on defense, and the passage of a *Selective Service Act* were some other preparedness steps taken in the last half of 1940. The Selective Service Act provided for the first peacetime draft in American history. The Congress also appropriated billions to build up the army, the navy, and the air force.

**The United States Becomes Less and Less Neutral as It Aids Britain More and More.** "Give us the tools [of war] and we will finish the job," said Churchill. To help keep Britain fighting, the United States gradually gave it more and more "tools." World War I merchant vessels and tanks were sold to Britain. Axis merchant ships in American ports were seized and turned over to Britain. In addition, Axis assets in American banks were frozen and Axis consulates closed. It was hoped that these steps would curb Axis propaganda and Axis schemes to interfere with aid to Britain. Thus the United States became less and less of a neutral.

**Fifty Destroyers for Eight Bases: Both Britain and the United States Benefit.** A gift of fifty overage American destroyers was made to Britain in 1940. In return, Britain presented the United States with two naval and air bases, and granted it long-term leases on six others on British territory in the Western Hemisphere. These eight bases extend from Newfoundland in the north to British Guiana in the south.<sup>1</sup>

Britain desperately needed the destroyers

<sup>1</sup> The gifts were in Newfoundland and Bermuda, and the leases in the Bahamas, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Jamaica, Antigua, and British Guiana.

to prevent invasion and to protect merchant shipping from the attacks of Nazi submarines and planes. And the United States valued the bases as a protection for America's Atlantic coast and Panama Canal.

**Aid to Britain Is No Issue in the Election of 1940.** In Great Britain, in periods of great emergency, it is permissible to postpone elections. But in the United States, emergency or not, the calendar determines elections. Thus, the presidential election of 1940 took place in the midst of one of the most crucial periods in American history. Despite the "no-third-term" tradition of the American Presidency, Roosevelt was renominated for a third term with little opposition. The Republicans nominated Wendell L. Willkie, a political amateur whose magnetic personality captured the imagination of millions. Although he had opposed TVA, Willkie favored most New Deal measures. Like many other Republicans, he also favored all-out aid to Britain.<sup>1</sup> Two such Republicans were appointed to Roosevelt's Cabinet as a symbol of national unity a few months before the election. One, Henry L. Stimson, who had been secretary of state under President Hoover, was appointed secretary of war. The other, Frank Knox, who had been the Republican vice-presidential candidate in 1936, was appointed secretary of the navy.

In the campaign, the Republicans attacked Roosevelt as a would-be dictator. They condemned him for wanting to serve three terms, when two had been enough for George Washington. Late in the campaign, Roosevelt recognized the growing fear of many voters that the United States would become involved in the war. This was when he said: ". . . I shall say it again and again and again: your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." However, he later indicated that he did not consider fighting back after an attack a foreign war.

Roosevelt polled about five million votes more than Willkie. Thus he became the first President to serve a third term. One important reason for his re-election was the returning prosperity. Another was the voters' feeling that, with war threatening, it was no time to change administrations.

**Efforts to Make the United States the 'Arsenal of Democracy' Provoke Bitter Debates.** "A green light" from the people to go ahead and help nations "whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States"—this was how Roosevelt interpreted his re-election. Therefore, he persuaded the Congress to pass a law authorizing the President to sell, lend, lease, or otherwise transfer all types of military supplies to such nations. This law, popularly called the *Lend-Lease Act*, meant much to Britain. For Britain had little cash left with which to buy munitions. By the war's end, the value of lend-lease supplies amounted to more than \$50 billion, with Britain getting the largest share. Thus the United States became, in the President's words, the "arsenal of democracy."<sup>1</sup>

Repayment of lend-lease was to be not in cash but in goods and services at the war's end. By lending goods rather than money, Roosevelt hoped to prevent a repetition of the war debt problems that followed World War I. Lend-lease rendered meaningless the prohibition on loans to belligerents contained in the Neutrality Acts. Seldom, if ever, has a President of the United States been granted as much power as the Congress granted President Roosevelt in the Lend-Lease Act.

Isolationists had strongly condemned the destroyer deal and the Selective Service Act. But to them the Lend-Lease Act was even better proof that President Roosevelt wanted to drag the United States into the war. Pro-

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<sup>1</sup> Lend-lease was not entirely a one-way street. After the entry of the United States into the war, its allies supplied American troops abroad with clothing, food, munitions, and bases. They also sent to the United States needed raw materials. This "reverse lend-lease" amounted to about \$8 billion.

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<sup>1</sup> Just as there were many interventionist Republicans who favored all-out aid to Britain, so there were many isolationist Democrats. Thus the question of intervention or isolation was not necessarily a party issue.

testing the act, a group of mothers knelt in prayer on the steps of the Capitol. However, a poll at this time revealed that nearly seventy per cent of the people supported aid to the democracies, even if war might result.

**Getting Lend-Lease Goods to Britain Gets the United States More Deeply Involved.** To make sure that lend-lease goods would reach their destination, the United States took steps to protect the sea route to Britain. It stationed military forces in Iceland and Greenland. Beginning in April, 1941, it maintained air patrols. These were to warn British warships convoying merchant ships of the location of Nazi submarines. Next, in July, the United States set up American convoys to protect British merchant ships as far as Iceland. From there, they were convoyed on to Britain by British ships.

In September, a Nazi submarine fired torpedoes—which missed—at an American destroyer on its way to Iceland. Angrily, Roosevelt called Nazi submarines “rattlesnakes of the Atlantic.” He ordered the navy to shoot on sight any found in American defensive waters. Thus an undeclared naval war between Germany and the United States was on in the North Atlantic. One tragic consequence was the sinking, in October, of the destroyer *Reuben James*, on convoy duty off Iceland. More than 100 lives were lost. By this time, too, a number of American merchant ships outside the war zone had been sunk by Nazi submarines. Angrily, the Congress responded in November by practically canceling the Neutrality Act of 1939. As a result, United States merchant vessels were permitted to be armed, and to enter war zones to carry cargoes into belligerent ports.

**The Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter: Moral Support Added to Material Support.** The American people knew what they were against. They were against what the fascists were for: tyranny, brutality, and contempt for human dignity. But what, Roosevelt asked himself, should Americans be for, if and when the fascists were defeated? In his famous *Four Freedoms* speech of

January, 1941, the President gave his answer thus.

We look forward to a world founded upon  
    . freedom of speech and expression,  
    . freedom of every person to worship  
God in his own way, . . . freedom from  
want, . . . freedom from fear. . .

By *freedom from want*, Roosevelt meant a decent standard of living for everybody everywhere. By *freedom from fear*, he meant freedom from aggressive warfare. This moral declaration was in a sense a statement of war aims, even though the United States was not yet officially in the war. It inspired many to demand even greater material aid for the democracies.

On a cruiser on the high seas, on August 14, 1941, while the United States was still officially at peace, President Roosevelt met with Prime Minister Churchill. There, in a joint declaration, later called the *Atlantic Charter*, they pledged “the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny.”

In effect, the Atlantic Charter condemned the seizure of territory. It upheld “the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live, . . . the right of all states . . . of access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world, . . . improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.” It stressed, too, freedom of the seas, “abandonment of the use of force, . . . disarmament of [aggressor] nations [and efforts to] lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.” It expressed the hope for a permanent peace so that “all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.” To achieve and preserve such a peace, it implied the need for a world organization.

The spirit of, and many of the ideas in, the Atlantic Charter are much like those of President Wilson's Fourteen Points (page 683). The *United Nations*, as the nations fighting the Axis were called, accepted the Atlantic Charter as a statement of the peace aims for which they were fighting.

**Japan Becomes More and More Aggressive in the Far East.** While the Western nations had been busy fighting World War I, Japan had made its Twenty-one Demands on China. While the world had been busy fighting the Great Depression, Japan had invaded Manchuria. While the Western powers had been worried about Hitler's and Mussolini's aggressions in the late 1930's, Japan had taken over most of China's coast and moved inland. While the Western powers had been distracted by Hitler's swallowing up of Czechoslovakia, Japan had seized China's Hainan Island and the French-claimed Spratling Islands.<sup>1</sup> Then, in September, 1940, when France fell, Japan occupied northern French Indo-China.

In September, 1940, too, Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka defined what Japan meant by its New Order for Asia. In essence, it meant Japanese domination of Britain's India, Burma, Malaya, and Borneo; British Commonwealth members Australia and New Zealand; the Netherlands East Indies; all of French Indo-China; Thailand; many Pacific islands; and, of course, China. The Philippines were not listed, but the United States sensed that they were on Japan's timetable, too.

Also in September, 1940, Japan joined Hitler and Mussolini to form the *Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis*. In this *Tripartite Pact*, each recognized the New Order of the others. Without naming the United States, all three indicated that they would fight alongside any one of them that might become involved in a war with the United States. With this backing, Japanese militarists felt free to expand southward. To protect itself, while moving southward, from an attack in the north by the U.S.S.R., Japan signed a nonaggression pact with the U.S.S.R. in April, 1941. Then, a few months later, when Hitler invaded the U.S.S.R., Japan felt even freer from a possi-

ble northern attack. It then occupied the rest of Indo-China. As Japan extended its conquests in China, it became obvious that the Open Door there would soon be shut tight.

In December, 1940, the United States cracked Japan's secret code. It learned that Japanese militarists were planning further attacks in the Far East. The next month, the American ambassador to Japan warned Secretary of State Hull of a rumor that was circulating in Tokyo. This was that "the Japanese, in case of a break with the United States, are planning to go all out in a surprise mass attack at Pearl Harbor."

**The United States Extends a Loan, Lend-Lease, and Planes to China, But Curbs Trade with Japan.** By 1940, the United States had decided that it would have to take drastic steps to stop Japan's aggression. It seemed inconsistent to give all-out aid to help Britain stop Hitler in the West and do so little to stop the Japanese threat to the British Empire in the East.

In the summer of 1940, the United States made a loan to China. It also made it difficult for Japan to buy certain military supplies in the United States. Aviation gasoline was completely embargoed. However, Japan continued to obtain many other strategic materials from the United States.

In the summer of 1941, when Japan occupied all of Indo-China, all Japanese assets in the United States were frozen. So were Japanese assets in Britain and the Netherlands. This made it impossible for Japan to buy military supplies and other strategic materials. The Japanese militarists became all the more warlike when the United States kept a stream of lend-lease supplies going into China by way of the Burma Road. The Japanese began to bomb this supply route. American planes were then turned over to China. American pilots volunteered to fly some of these planes to keep the Burma Road open.

**The United States and Japan Find Each Other's Demands Unacceptable.** While these drastic steps were being taken, discussions were being held between the United States

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<sup>1</sup> Hainan lies on the British sea lane between Hong Kong and Singapore. The Spratling Islands lie near Indo-China (then French) and the Philippines (then an American possession).

and Japan, Japan demanded that the United States and Britain stop giving aid to China. It demanded that these nations cancel their orders freezing Japanese assets and reopen trade with Japan. It demanded that these nations support Japan in getting oil, rubber, iron ore, and other raw materials from Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific. Finally, it demanded that these nations promise not to try to stop Japan's expansion in East Asia.

For its part, the United States made these demands on Japan. Withdraw your troops from China and Indo-China. Stop expanding in the Far East and trying to acquire raw materials there by force. Respect the territorial integrity of other nations. "Meet these demands," said Hull, "and the United States will grant Japan lower tariff rates and will unfreeze Japanese assets."

Many moderates in Japan would have liked to have compromised with the United States. But in October, 1941, the militaristic and imperialistic General Hideki Tojo became Japan's prime minister. By this time, the militarists completely dominated the Government.

Late in November, 1941, Hull told the Japanese ambassador that the United States would not yield to Japan's demands. Tojo and the Japanese militarists had already decided that this would mean war. In fact, while the talks were on, Japanese carriers were en route for a strike at Pearl Harbor.

**Japan's Attack on Pearl Harbor Brings the United States into World War II.** Launched from aircraft carriers, waves of Japanese planes bombed and strafed the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941. This "sneak attack" cost the United States about 4,500 casualties and 250 airplanes, and left it with a badly crippled Pacific fleet.

"A date that will live in infamy" is what President Roosevelt called December 7th. The next day, he asked the Congress to recognize that "a state of war" existed between Japan and the United States. The Congress did so with only one dissenting vote. The overwhelming vote for war indicated how

much the sneak attack had united the shocked American people. "Remember Pearl Harbor!" rang through the nation.

On December 11, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

## **The United States and Its Partners Fight the Axis in a Total, Global War**

Knock out Japan first! This was the natural reaction of most Americans after the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. Instead, the Governments of the United States and Britain decided to concentrate on knocking out Germany and Italy first. Why? Both Britain and the U.S.S.R. were receiving hammer blows from the Nazis. Suppose these blows knocked them out of the war. Then the United States would have been left alone to fight a two-front war: against Germany and Italy in Europe and against Japan in Asia. But suppose Germany and Italy could be knocked out first. Then the victors could turn as one against Japan. This grand strategy for global warfare also included practicing temporary defensive tactics in the Pacific. The object was to prevent Japan from advancing any further.

**Things Look Black for the United Nations in Early 1942.** During the first part of 1942, the Axis powers held sway in both East and West. Let us look more closely at the situation facing the United Nations.

**Japan's Seizures in the East Are Serious Losses to the United Nations.** How depressing a look at the map of Asia must have been to United Nations strategists by the summer of 1942! From the United States, the Japanese had seized the Philippines, Wake, Guam, and Midway. From Britain, they had seized Hong Kong, Malaya (with Singapore, the finest naval base in the South Pacific), and Burma. From the Netherlands, they had seized the East Indies, with their treasures of oil, tin, and rubber. Independent Thailand became their easy victim. After invading the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, and New Britain, the Japanese were ready to pounce

on Australia. It looked as though they were ready to pounce on North America, too, when they seized the Aleutian Islands of Kiska and Attu—steppingstones to Alaska. In conquering Burma, the Japanese were able to cut off the Burma Road supply route to China. Now they were poised to pounce on India, too.

*The Philippines Are Lost; MacArthur Pledges: 'I Shall Return!'* After the fall of Manila in January, 1942, its defenders retreated northward to the Philippines' Bataan peninsula. On orders from President Roosevelt, General Douglas MacArthur escaped from Bataan to Australia. He left General Jonathan Wainwright in command. "I shall return!" MacArthur pledged. In Australia, MacArthur, now commander of the allied forces in the Southwest Pacific, began planning the counteroffensive. Meanwhile, on Bataan, on May 6, 1942, what remained of the starving, malaria-ridden, worn-out, and outnumbered defenders surrendered their last stronghold—the fortress of Corregidor. The valiant defense of the Philippines by Filipinos and Americans was not futile. By delaying the Japanese, it gave the United Nations an opportunity to build defenses to prevent Japan's further expansion southward.

*The Seriousness of the Axis Threat to the Middle East.* How depressing a look at the map of Europe and North Africa must also have been to United Nations strategists in early 1942! As we know, Hitler controlled most of Western Europe, the Balkans, and much of the U.S.S.R. The Nazis, having recovered from some setbacks in the U.S.S.R., had slashed their way southeastward into the Caucasus and to Stalingrad on the Volga River. In North Africa, German General Erwin Rommel had forced the British to retreat to El Alamein, Egypt. This was about seventy miles from the British naval base at Alexandria. It looked as though the Middle East<sup>1</sup> was doomed to fall to the Axis. Nazi troops were pushing toward it from the Cau-

casus in the north and from Egypt in the west. Their aim seemed to be to unite with Japanese troops pushing from the Far East.

Axis control of the Middle East would have given it control of the entire eastern Mediterranean, of the Suez Canal, of Middle Eastern oil, and of the great natural wealth of much of Asia. And getting lend-lease materials to the U.S.S.R. by way of Iran would have been rendered impossible. Thus such control might have meant a speedy Axis victory and eventually an Axis-dominated world.

*The United Nations Suffer Terrible Losses in the Battle of the Atlantic.* In the Battle of the Atlantic, too, things looked black for the United Nations. American freighters by the hundreds were being sunk by German submarines in the Caribbean, in the Gulf of Mexico, and even a few miles off the Atlantic coast of the United States. Submarine wolf packs lurking in the North Atlantic and dive bombers from Nazi-conquered lands made lend-lease convoys their special targets. Many a courageous merchant seaman thus lost his life in an effort to carry goods to Britain, or to the U.S.S.R. by way of Murmansk or Archangel.

*The United Nations Rebound and Move Slowly Toward Victory.* Yet before the year 1942 was out, the black picture began to brighten, as the United Nations fought back against Germany and Italy. A long, slow march to victory lay before them.

*The Successes of Bombers, Radar, and Montgomery.* From bases in Britain, American bombers by day and British bombers by night dropped thousands of bombs on Germany's industrial centers. By late 1942, the tide was also turning in the Battle of the Atlantic. Much credit for this belongs to a remarkable invention, *radar*. By means of radar, radio waves could be sent out that warned of approaching enemy planes and submarines. By this time, too, British Empire forces led by British General Bernard Montgomery were driving Rommel's troops out of Egypt and back toward Tunisia.

*The United Nations Open a Second Front*

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<sup>1</sup> The Middle East stretches from Turkey, Egypt, and the Sudan in the West to Iran in the East.

in North Africa. Again and again, Russia's Stalin demanded that Britain and the United States open a second front. Unless Nazi pressure were thus taken off Russia, he asserted, it would be impossible for his armies to take the offensive. In hopes of satisfying Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill opened a second front in North Africa. Stalin was not satisfied, because he wanted one opened in Europe.

The African second front was opened in November, 1942, when more than 800 ships landed British and American troops in Morocco and Algeria. Led by American General Dwight D. Eisenhower, these forces began pressing Rommel's Nazi Italian troops from the west. From the east, Montgomery's British forces closed in, and, from the south, a Free French army. So fierce was the fighting that the final United Nations victory in North Africa did not come until May, 1943. But when it came, it meant an end to the Axis threat to the Middle East and all the dangers connected with it. It ended, too, the threat of an invasion of the Western Hemisphere by way of Western Africa. Finally, North Africa could now be used as a springboard for the invasion of Italy.

*The United Nations Win in Italy After a Heartbreaking Campaign.* Shortly after the mainland of Italy was invaded in July, 1943, Italian leaders imprisoned Mussolini. A new government was set up, which banned the Italian Fascist Party. However, Nazi paratroopers succeeded in rescuing Mussolini, and Hitler had him organize a Nazi-dominated government in northern Italy. Even though the new Italian-formed government had surrendered to the United Nations, the Nazis actually controlled most of Italy. So fiercely did the Nazis fight on that United Nations troops were almost driven back into the sea from the beachheads they had established at Salerno and Anzio. Finally, after a year of unbelievable suffering and much bloodshed, United Nations troops entered Rome in June, 1944. But there was to be much more suffering and bloodshed before northern Italy fell.

*The Significance of the Russian Success at Stalingrad.* In the summer of 1942, Nazi planes were subjecting Stalingrad<sup>1</sup> to around-the-clock bombing. On the ground, Nazi troops and tanks were blasting their way into the city's streets. But to the astonishment of the world, especially the Nazis, the Russians held out. They even succeeded in lifting the siege and forced a Nazi surrender in February, 1943.

Some consider the Battle of Stalingrad one of the most significant in all history. It boosted morale throughout the United Nations by proving that the Nazi blitzkriegers could be blitzed themselves. It meant a long two-front war for Hitler. And in a long war, the advantage was with the United Nations, which could depend upon ever increasing supplies from the United States. Finally, the victory so inspired the Russians that they went on an offensive that did not stop until they reached Berlin in 1945.

*The United Nations' Colossal D-Day Invasion of Normandy.* On June 6, 1944 (*D-Day*), the United Nations invaded Normandy in France. This invasion, planned by Allied Commander Eisenhower and his United Nations advisers, was the greatest military feat in all history.

At midnight preceding the dawn invasion, paratroopers were dropped behind the German lines to cut their communications. Six hundred warships and an umbrella of 11,000 planes protected the 4,000 ships carrying the invaders toward the Normandy coast. From ships to shore, the first wave of Americans, British, and Canadians were slowed up by underwater mines and barbed wire. Once ashore, they faced the withering fire of massed artillery and machine guns from concrete Nazi fortifications more than three yards deep. Yet, in spite of heavy losses, 250,000 men were landed on D-Day. More than one million were landed within two weeks. And more kept coming daily.

*The Breakthrough to Paris Following D-Day.* Following fierce fighting in Normandy,

<sup>1</sup> Stalingrad has been renamed Volgograd.





*American assault troops land in Normandy on D-Day. Joseph Stalin, who had previously implied that his partners in the war were not making an all-out effort to defeat the Nazis, was moved to say this of the Normandy invasion: "The history of war does not know any such undertaking so broad in conception and so grandiose in its scale and so masterly in execution."*

weeks after the Paris surrender, the steam-rolling American troops were in Germany attacking the Siegfried Line. Here, for the first time in months, and for the last time, the Nazis summoned all their strength and hurled a counteroffensive. They drove the surprised Americans back fifty miles, creating a bulge in Allied lines that reached into Belgium. Terrible losses were suffered on both sides in the December snows during this *Battle of the Bulge*. Fortunately, reinforcements arrived. By mid-January, 1945, the Americans had the Nazis dragging themselves back to the Siegfried Line. Shortly after, British and French, as well as American, troops smashed through the Siegfried Line toward the Rhine. Pounding on eastward, they crossed this river in April.

Meanwhile, Russian troops were driving westward along a 1,000-mile front. Near Dresden, Germany, on April 25, detachments of Russians and Americans made contact. Everywhere, Nazi resistance was crumbling. On May 2, Berlin surrendered to the Russians. On the same day, the Nazis in Italy were forced to surrender to an army made up of troops from nearly twenty of the United Nations. Finally, on May 8, *V-E Day* (Victory-in-Europe Day), Germany surrendered.

**President Roosevelt Dies Just Before the German Surrender.** President Roosevelt did not live to see Germany's surrender. On April 12, only a few months after he had been inaugurated for a fourth term, he died. The overwhelming responsibilities of fighting both the Great Depression and the greatest war in history had worn him out. Throughout the world, haters of dictators, as well as the dictator-dominated Russians, mourned Roosevelt's passing.

Vice-President Harry S. Truman succeeded to the American Presidency.

**Mussolini Is Shot and Hitler Commits Suicide.** And what happened to the hated dictators, Mussolini and Hitler? Mussolini had been captured by some members of the Italian underground who had supported the United Nations' war effort. He was quickly

the American troops smashed through central France and on toward Paris. In leading this breakthrough, American Generals Omar Bradley and George Patton more than matched the lightning speed of the early Nazi blitzkriegs. Meanwhile, another army of Americans, British, and Free French was invading southern France from the Mediterranean. At the same time, British and Canadian troops were liberating Nazi-held channel ports and cities in Belgium and the Netherlands. The liberation of Paris came on August 25, when American and Free French troops, aided by the French underground, forced a Nazi surrender.

*The United Nations Drive the Nazis Back to Where They Came From.* Less than three

court-martialed and shot. His corpse was hanged head down in a public square and then buried in an unmarked grave. As for Hitler, it is believed that he committed suicide in a bomb-proof shelter in Berlin, and that his corpse was cremated.

**The Japanese Are Also Driven Back to Defeat.** In the Pacific, the tide slowly began to turn against the Japanese within a few months of their attack on Pearl Harbor.

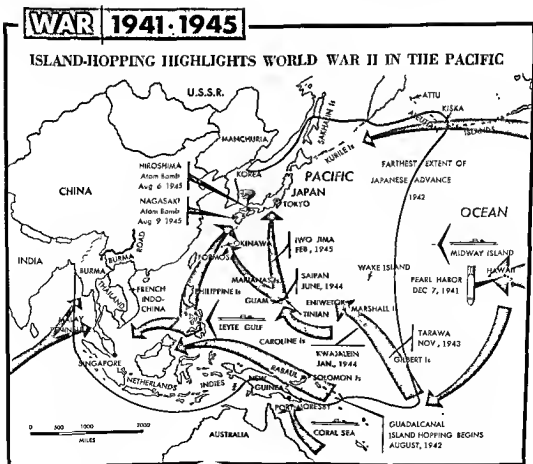
**The Value of the Naval Victories in the Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway.** In the spring of 1942, a Japanese fleet was on its way to take part in a planned invasion of Australia. In the Coral Sea, off Australia's northeast coast, it was engaged by an American fleet. Neither fleet could see the other. Carrier-based planes, not the battleships themselves, did the fighting. In this *Battle of the Coral Sea*, losses were heavy on both

sides. But the threatened invasion of Australia was thwarted.

In June, off the island of Midway, an American fleet also succeeded in thwarting an attempted Japanese invasion of Hawaii. This *Battle of Midway* was also waged by carrier-based planes, rather than by battleships. In it, the American fleet almost annihilated the more powerful Japanese fleet.

These two victories halted further Japanese fleet offensives. They also helped to keep open America's supply lines to the South Pacific. Finally, they made it possible for the United States to put into effect its strategy for driving the Japanese back to where they came from.

**'Island-hopping' on the Road to Tokyo.** This strategy was based on the invasion and capture of selected islands in each group of Japanese-held islands. These were then to



be used as steppingstones for invading strategic islands closer to Japan. In this strategy, many islands would be bypassed. Japanese troops there would thus be cut off from their home source of supplies of food and munitions. Co-ordinators of this strategy, called *island-hopping*, were General MacArthur and Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. Allied strategy also called for the recapture of Burma by way of India and the reopening of China's supply lines from Burma.

***Marines and the Navy Maintain Their Grip on Guadalcanal.*** American marines, in the summer of 1942, established a beachhead on Guadalcanal. Guadalcanal is one of the Solomon Islands. In the Solomons, ever since April, the Japanese had been furiously building airfields. Such airfields were a serious threat to Australia. Australia was the base from which MacArthur planned to begin his island-hopping northward.

Again and again, it looked as though the Japanese, well-trained in jungle warfare, might drive the marines back into the sea. Many marines were malaria-ridden. Few dared to catch more than a few hours of sleep, fighting an enemy who never seemed to sleep. For a month they were cut off from supplies. Yet they refused to yield their foothold on the island. Several furious sea battles

were also fought for possession of Guadalcanal. In the final sea battle, Admiral William "Bull" Halsey dealt a staggering blow to a powerful Japanese fleet. This helped to hold Guadalcanal. It also helped to pave the way for leap-frogging to other Solomon Islands.

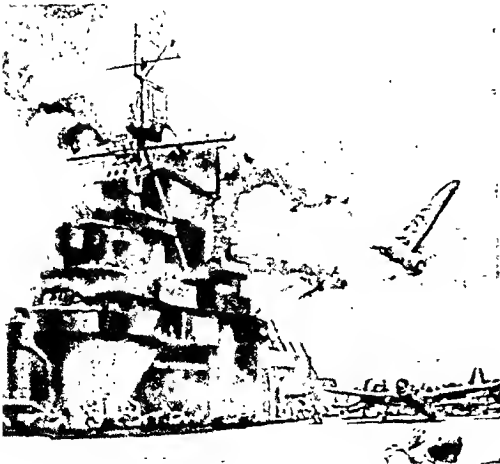
***The Island-hoppers Draw Steadily Closer to Tokyo.*** Soon after the Guadalcanal invasion, more Americans got experience in savage jungle warfare in New Guinea. Here, fighting side by side their Australian allies, they began driving Japanese forces northward. It took six months before Allied forces, in the winter of 1943, had gained the upper hand in both New Guinea and the Solomons. By summer, Japan's troops were driven out of Kiska and Attu in the Aleutians. Now Americans on the West Coast could breathe more easily.

Between November, 1943 and February, 1944, United States troops captured, in succession, Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands, Quajalein and Eniwetok in the Marshalls, and Saipan and Tinian in the Marianas; they also recaptured Guam. Gaining possession of these steppingstones on the road to Tokyo required incredible courage and resulted in heavy casualties.

***The Japanese Navy Is Knocked Out in the Recapture of the Philippines.*** Living up to his pledge, MacArthur returned to the Philippines in October, 1944. To check his invasion of the island of Leyte there, the Japanese sent practically their entire navy. The resulting *Battle of Leyte Gulf*, really three battles, was the biggest naval engagement in history. So decisively were the Japanese defeated that the United States Navy had no naval opposition for the rest of the war. On land, the Japanese fought MacArthur's forces fanatically, but futilely.

***Iwo Jima and Okinawa Are Captured After Fierce Fighting.*** Using Saipan, Tinian, and Guam as bases, American bombers blasted Japan's industrial cities again and again. To get blasting bases even closer to Japan, American forces invaded the islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. The Japanese de-

*A painting by Commander Dwight Shepler, United States Naval Reserve, of a United States aircraft carrier repelling a kamikaze attack near Japan in 1945. A historian has said that the use of suicide planes by the United States Air Force would be "unthinkable." What do you think were his reasons?*



fended their homeland with suicidal fury. Suicide pilots (known as "kamikazes") crashed their explosives-laden planes directly into the decks of American battleships supporting the invasion. On Okinawa alone, of the 120,000 Japanese troops there, more than 100,000 were killed. To overcome the death-rather-than-surrender spirit of the Japanese required miracles of heroism on the part of American forces. More than 11,000 Americans were killed, three times as many wounded, and many ships sunk, before Okinawa surrendered in June, 1945.

**Japan's Position Becomes Hopeless.** From bombers based on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, and from battleships and aircraft carriers off the Japanese mainland, destruction was rained on Japan's cities. With the war over in Europe, the United Nations were transferring men and military supplies to the Far East. To China, by way of the Ledo Road, was coming truckload after truckload of equipment. The Ledo Road had been built to replace the Japanese-captured Burma Road. A month before Okinawa's fall, United Nations troops, aided by volunteers from India, had driven the Japanese from India and Burma.

**Atomic Bombs Force Japan's Surrender.** With Japan's position hopeless, President Truman demanded an unconditional surrender. He warned that if Japan refused, the United States would use a new secret weapon, devastating in its power. Japan delayed an answer and appeared to be ignoring the warning. Then, on August 6, 1945, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on the industrial city of Hiroshima. The city was almost annihilated. Nearly 80,000 of its people were killed outright. Thousands more were burned or injured in other ways. This terrible weapon was used so that an invasion of Japan, which might have cost hundreds of thousands of lives, would be unnecessary.<sup>1</sup>

The dropping of the bomb was followed, on August 8, by Russia's declaration of war against Japan. Into Manchuria and Korea poured Russian troops, driving the Japanese before them. On August 9, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on the city of Nagasaki, and 75,000 more were killed, burned, or maimed. The next day, the Japanese finally agreed to surrender. They made only one condition: that they be allowed to retain their emperor. This condition was accepted, on condition that the emperor take orders from a supreme allied commander to be stationed in Japan. On the battleship *Missouri*, on September 2, 1945 (*V-J Day*), the Japanese signed the surrender. Thus, six years and one day after the invasion of Poland, when this most horrible war in history began, it was brought to a close.

## **Some Vital Reasons Why the United States Was Able to Play A Vital Role in World War II**

**Industry and Science Perform Miracles in the War Effort.** "The Americans can't build planes, only electric ice-boxes and razor-blades." This was the contemptuous comment of the high-ranking Nazi Hermann Goering. How wrong he was! By 1944, American industry was producing twice as many war goods—and of all kinds—as the German, Italian, and Japanese dictatorships combined. Playing a major role in mobilizing the nation's resources and industries for an all-out war effort was a specially created War Production Board (WPB).

**American Scientists Prove More Than a Match for Axis Scientists.** The Axis countries boasted that a fascist dictatorship was more efficient than rule by the people. Yet during the war, scientific progress in those countries lagged behind that in the United States. In the United States, scientists in industry and in universities co-operated magnificently with the military. Out of this co-operation came many new or improved weapons of

<sup>1</sup> Since the war, many have seriously questioned the wisdom and morality of the decision to drop the bomb, especially since so many noncombatant lives were taken.

froze rents. Because certain goods, such as butter, meat, gasoline, and tires, were relatively scarce, a rationing system, handled by the OPA, was introduced.

The cost of living in World War II rose about thirty per cent—not nearly as much as it had in World War I. Most of this rise occurred before the anti-inflation controls were introduced. There was some grumbling about regimentation. Yet the American people in general co-operated with the OPA. Only a small, greedy, unpatriotic minority deprived others of their fair share of scarce goods. How? They bought them above the ceiling price, without ration stamps, from unscrupulous individuals. Such individuals were called *black marketeers*.

**The Government Succeeds in Fighting a Big War with Little Interference with Civil Liberties.** During World War II, Americans on the home front were far more tolerant than they had been in World War I. There were practically no hysterical suspicions that one's neighbor might be an enemy spy. There was no jailing of people merely for expressing unpopular opinions. There was no Creel Committee (page 674) dedicated to stirring up hatred of the enemy.

**The Office of War Information Functions Without Hysteria.** There was an *Office of War Information* (OWI), which was dedi-

cated to rallying maximum support for the war effort on the home and fighting fronts. It explained the war's aims. It reported on military victories and miracles of production in factories and on farms. It warned that a slave world would result from an Axis victory.

**Why There Was Little Interference with Civil Liberties During the War.** The OWI felt that it would be ridiculous to suppress freedoms while fighting enemies pledged to destroy such freedoms. Furthermore, suppression of civil liberties seemed unnecessary when practically the entire United States had become united against the enemy. Even American Communists, after Hitler invaded Russia, vigorously supported the war effort. Earlier, while Hitler and Stalin had a nonaggression pact, they had condemned the war as an imperialistic venture on the part of Britain and France.

**A Glaring Exception to the Noninterference with Civil Liberties.** Fears—and often unnecessary fears—frequently give rise to actions that people later regret. The bombing of Pearl Harbor had provoked fears of a possible Japanese invasion of the West Coast. Fearful of sabotage, the Government forcibly removed more than 110,000 Japanese-Americans from their homes in the area and placed them in Army-run internment camps. About 75,000 of them were American citizens. Most of these were *nisei* (Japanese-Americans born in the United States). This violation of civil liberties seems especially shocking when one considers that during the war not a single Japanese-American was convicted of sabotage or of spying on the home front. And on the military front, Japanese-Americans carved out a distinguished record for themselves.

*Richmond Times-Dispatch headlines summing up World War II.*



## The Horrors of World War II Strongly Affect the Thinking of Americans

Who knows how many lives were really lost in World War II? Rough statistics tell

us that more than twenty million were killed, and millions more wounded. In this global, total war, death came to civilians by way of bombs, machine guns, torture, and starvation, as well as in the gas chambers and incinerators of the Nazis. America's armed forces suffered nearly 300,000 killed and twice as many wounded. Heavy though these losses were, they were considerably lighter than those of the Germans and Russians.

Toward the end of the war, more and more frighteningly efficient weapons were coming into use. The Nazis were bombarding Britain with a rocket that traveled at 3,000 miles an hour. This foreshadowed the development of the *intercontinental ballistic missile* (ICBM) (page 854) in the late 1950's. Since such missiles could fly across continents, no longer could the United States feel secure. Jet-propelled planes were developed during the war, too. This meant that in a future war, bombs could be dropped within a few hours on almost any spot on earth.

Most frightening of all was the development of the atomic bomb. By this, "man learned how to destroy the world in a single night." The atomic bomb foreshadowed the development of the deadlier hydrogen bomb (H-bomb). All this drove home to many Americans who once felt so secure the fact that unless war was abolished, the human race would be.

Such thinking helped to virtually kill American isolationism and to promote a desire for international co-operation. So, too, did the realization that a strong desire for isolation had not prevented the United States from getting involved in World Wars I and II. During World War II, as we shall now see, the United States met in conference after conference with its allies to solve common problems. And there was widespread agreement that if the post-war world was to be one of peace and prosperity, such co-operation among nations would have to be continued.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 33

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

fifth columnists	Four freedoms	Salerno	Saipan
blitzkrieg	speech	Anzio	Battle of Leyte
Magnit Line	Atlantic Charter	Stalingrad	Gulf
miracle at Dunkirk	Rome-Berlin-Tokyo	D-Day	Okinawa
Unoccupied France	Axis	Omar Bradley	Hiroshima
Free French	Hideki Tojo	George Patton	V-J Day
Charles de Gaulle	December 7, 1941	Battle of the Bulge	Hermann Goering
Battle of the Atlantic	Douglas MacArthur	WPB	
two-front war	Jonathan Wainwright	V-E Day	Los Alamos,
Selective Service Act	Corregidor	Battle of the Coral Sea	New Mexico
destroyer deal	Erwin Rommel	Battle of Midway	Smith-Connally Act
Wendell L. Willkie	El Alamein	island-hopping	WAACS
"arsenal of democracy"	radar	Chester W. Nimitz	WAVES
Lend-Lease Act	Bernard Montgomery	Guadalcanal	NWLB
	second front	"Bull" Halsey	OPA
	Dwight D. Eisenhower	Tarawa	black marketeers
			OWI

## Questions to Check

### Basic Information

1. Contrast the tactics used by the Nazis and the French at the beginning of World War II.
2. Trace the steps by which the Nazis conquered most of Western Europe.
3. By what means did Hitler try to knock Britain out of the war?
4. Sum up the Nazi victories by the middle of 1941 in (a) North Africa, (b) the Balkans, and (c) Russia.
5. What specific dangers did more and more Americans see in the threatening fascist victory?
6. Make a list of the steps taken by the United States (a) to prepare itself for possible involvement in the war and (b) to help Britain.
7. Mention three highlights of the election of 1940.
8. Describe the (a) terms of, (b) reactions to, (c) and difficulties of carrying out the Lend-Lease Act.
9. Explain (a) each of the Four Freedoms and (b) three of the provisions of the Atlantic Charter.
10. Show by specific examples that Japan, in its aggressions in the Far East, was contemptuous of many nations.
11. Connect with Japan's aggressions (a) a Tripartite Pact, (b) a nonaggression pact, (c) a secret code, and (d) a rumor.
12. Before the Pearl Harbor attack, in what ways did the United States (a) aid China and (b) try to check the Japanese militarists?
13. In what ways did the demands the United States and Japan made on each other in 1941 differ?
14. Describe the (a) horrors of and (b) reaction to the Pearl Harbor attack.
15. Describe the grand strategy of the United States and its partners in fighting the Axis powers.
16. Give specific proof that the Axis seemed to have the upper hand by early 1942.
17. For what reasons was the Axis especially eager to gain control of the Middle East?

18. Give specific proof that the tide was beginning to turn in favor of the United Nations by late 1942.
19. Mention the highlights of (a) the North African campaign, (b) the campaign in southern Italy, (c) the Battle of Stalingrad, and (d) the D-Day invasion at Normandy.
20. Describe the events in Europe from D-Day to V-E Day.
21. In the war against Japan, show specifically the importance of (a) carrier-based planes, (b) the Solomon Islands, (c) jungle warfare, (d) New Guinea, (e) Kiska and Attu, (f) island stepping-stones, (g) Iwo Jima, (h) the Ledo Road, (i) Nagasaki, and (j) the battleship *Missouri*.
22. Describe the contributions to victory of any four groups of noncombatant Americans.
23. Mention (a) the financial cost of the war to the United States and (b) the means used to pay for it.
24. Describe three specific efforts on the part of the Government to insure fair play on the home front during the war.
25. Prove that the treatment of the nisei was not typical of the Government's wartime handling of civil liberties.
26. In what ways did World War II bring about a kind of revolution in American thought?

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What tactics used by the Nazis in World War II seem especially shocking? For what reasons?
2. When Paris fell, millions of Americans mourned. For what reasons?
3. Which was more influential in making more and more Americans wish to stand up against the Axis: (a) a zeal for morality or (b) a desire for security? Explain fully.
4. In a sense, the war was won in the factories and on the farms of the United

States. Explain to what extent you agree or disagree.

5. In a sense, the United States was at war before the Pearl Harbor attack. Explain to what extent you agree or disagree.
6. Which features of the election of 1940 do you consider most significant?
7. Comment on the comment of an isolationist senator who said that the aim of the Lend-Lease Act was "to plow under every fourth American boy."
8. What arguments might be given to support the statement that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter were worth many regiments?
9. After a war is over, what are often the obstacles to the achievement of the aims expressed in such statements as the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter?
10. What reasons might explain why a small country like Japan could conquer so much territory in so short a time?
11. If you had been Secretary of State Hull, would you have recommended meeting any of the demands Japan made on the United States before December, 1941? Explain fully.
12. For what reasons does the Pearl Harbor attack still seem incredible?
13. What propaganda tactics do you think the Japanese used to try to turn Filipinos against the United States?
14. Some might say that victory in the Battle of the Atlantic was the most important victory of the war. For what reasons? If you disagree, tell what victory you consider most important, giving reasons why.
15. What adjectives would you apply to (a) the D-Day invasion and (b) the Battle of the Bulge?
16. Point out differences between the type of fighting in Europe and in the Far East.
17. Would you have favored dropping the atomic bomb in 1945? Give reasons why or why not.
18. With reference to the American home front during World War II, how would

you answer the argument made by some that dictatorships are more efficient than democracies?

19. What thoughts occur to you on reading that World War II cost the United States "twice the cost of all peacetime and wartime expenditures . . . from 1789 to 1941"?
20. Do you think that freedom of enterprise was threatened by the Government's efforts to stabilize wages and salaries and to fix prices and freeze rents during the war? Explain fully.
21. Compare the Government's policies with respect to civil liberties in World War II with its policies during World War I.
22. The treatment of the Nisei during the war was based on emotion rather than on reason. To what extent do you agree?
23. What do you think was the most important effect of World War II upon the American people in general? Justify your choice.

★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check Franklin D. Roosevelt. Use as many sources of information as possible.
2. Outline the scenes for a television script on (a) underground movements or (b) fifth-column activities during World War II. Cite your sources of information.
3. Contribute appropriate symbols for various battles or campaigns for a large committee-made map of World War II to be displayed on the bulletin board.
4. On an outline map of the world, locate the places mentioned in this chapter. Use arrows, if necessary.
5. Write a poem or draw a cartoon expressing your feelings about (a) the Pearl Harbor attack, (b) the fall of Corregidor, (c) merchant seamen on the Archangel-Murmansk run, (d) the D-Day invasion,



- (e) blood donors, (f) black marketeers, or (g) the dropping of the atomic bomb.
6. Make a chart comparing the elections of 1864, 1916, and 1940. Include candidates, issues, slogans, results, and as many other points of comparison as you find.
  7. Make a timetable of what you consider the ten most crucial events of World War II. Opposite each tell why you have selected it as crucial.
  8. Contribute to a committee-made chart summing up the major contributions made by any ten of the United Nations to victory in World War II.
  9. Some blame the Roosevelt Administration for the Pearl Harbor attack. After investigating several sources and examining the arguments of such critics, write your conclusions on this charge.
  10. For an oral report, investigate the role played by any three of the following in World War II: (a) Tokyo Rose, (b) Ernie Pyle, (c) Bill Mauldin, (d) Vannevar Bush, (e) Vidkun Quisling, (f) Pierre Laval, (g) William Knudsen, (h) Ezra Pound, (i) Harold Urey, (j) Enrico Fermi.
  11. In 1963, the Congress voted to make Winston Churchill the first honorary citizen of the United States. Investigate and report on whether you think his wartime activities alone would justify this honor.
  12. Outline the ideas that you would have included in a statement such as (a) the Four Freedoms speech or (b) the Atlantic Charter.
  13. In committee, make a detailed study of the Atlantic Charter. Committee members should then evaluate to what extent the world today is or is not living up to each of its provisions.
  14. In *American Past*, Vol. II, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown, read the two interpretations of America's entrance into World War II. Report on which you think makes the better case.
  15. In *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link, read (a) "The Grand Finale of Isolationism" or (b) "The Attack on Pearl Harbor." Report on which of the conflicting interpretations seems to you most sound, giving reasons why.
  16. In *Great Issues in American History*, Vol. II, edited by R. Hofstadter, read either (a) Burton K. Wheeler's Speech on Lend-Lease or (b) Charles A. Lindbergh's Speech on America and the War. Report on your views of the views expressed.
  17. Read the accounts of the friction between Japan and the United States in two of the foreign affairs books recommended on page xvi. Report on any important points made by either that are not made by the other.
  18. For a committee project on "What World War II Was Really Like," (a) ask several participants what their experiences were like on the war front or the home front, (b) examine picture books on World War II, (c) collect songs sung or slogans used during the war, and (d) report on movies or television programs about the war.
  19. As a research project, find out similarities and differences between the (a) causes, (b) methods of fighting, or (c) results of World War I and World War II. Write an article on your findings.
  20. Imagine yourself a war correspondent during World War II. Report to your paper on any incident in this chapter.
  21. From the *American Heritage* series, read "A Few Men in Soldier Suits" (August, 1957—about the Battle of the Bulge) or "Pearl Harbor: Who Blundered?" (February, 1962). Use what you learn as material for an editorial.

- through Pulitzer prize-winning cartoons. Jones, M. A., *American Immigration* (University of Chicago Press PB). Author believes that most of the arguments usually given against immigrants are invalid. Kane, H. T., *Louistiana Hayride 1928-1940* (Morrow). About the ambitions of Huey Long.
- Kennan, G., *American Diplomacy 1900-1950* (University of Chicago Press; Mentor PB). Lawrence, J., *If I Have Four Apples* (Stokes). A novel about the depression that started in 1929.
- Leighton, I., ed., *The Aspin Age 1919-1941* (Simon and Schuster).
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- Rowson, F., Jr., *They Laughed When I Sat Down: An Informal History of Advertising in Words and Pictures* (McGraw-Hill). From the War Between the States to World War II. "The author sees the ads as a window on the past."
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- Sherwood, R. E., *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (Harper & Row; Universal Library PB). Pro-Roosevelt, by one who helped to draft many Roosevelt speeches.
- Simclair, U., *Dragon's Teeth* (PermaBooks PB). A novel about Nazism.
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- Snyder, L. L., *The War: A Concise History, 1939-1945* (Messner). Fast-moving and well-organized.
- Soulé, G., *Prosperity Decade from War to Depression 1917-1929* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).
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# UNIT SEVEN

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## THE GREAT EXPERIMENT IS CHALLENGED BY TOTALITARIAN COMMUNISM

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## CHAPTER

# 34

### *The United States and the U.S.S.R.: From Wartime Allies to Cold-War Rivals*

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#### **A United Nations Is Created, But Cold-War Tensions Develop**

- United Nations Leaders Hold Conferences to Plan for Victory and Peace
- Roosevelt Is Criticized and Defended for the Yalta Agreements • The Structure of the UN • Cold-War Tensions Develop Out of Mutual Suspicions, and Are Intensified by Communist Propaganda, Creation of Soviet Satellites, Russian Encouragement of Communism in the Far East, and Russia's Iron Curtain

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- The Truman Doctrine: To Combat Soviet Expansion • The Marshall Plan: Billions Are Spent to Promote European Recovery • The Communists Counter with the Molotov Plan • Why the United States Aids Communist Yugoslavia • The United States Joins an Alliance, NATO • The U.S.S.R. Challenges the West in Germany

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- The United States Opposes Recognition and UN Representation for Communist China • Communist Aggression Is Challenged in Korea • The United States Aids Communist-Threatened Southeast Asia, Forms Alliances with Asian Nations, and Alters Its Policies Toward Japan, Largely Because of the Cold War • Problems Are Created for the United States in Its Efforts to Check the U.S.S.R. in the Middle East
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### **The United Nations Co-operate During the War and Organize the UN**

**Close Co-operation Among the United Nations Is a Vital Factor in Their Victory.** Never before had so many nations from so many different areas of the globe co-oper-

ated so closely as had the anti-Axis United Nations during World War II. They had shared military and economic resources. Together they had worked out common military strategy and planned for a happier world after victory.

Most influential in this so-called *Grand*

*Alliance* were the *Big Three*: the United States, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R.<sup>1</sup> At times, there were differences among the Big Three. Yet, in general, they worked well together. The greatest degree of co-operation was between Great Britain and the United States.

#### **United Nations Leaders Hold Frequent Conferences to Plan for Victory and Peace.**

"Unconditional surrender" was the only condition on which the United Nations would make peace. This was what Roosevelt and Churchill decided in 1943 at a conference in Casablanca, Morocco. Stalin, explaining that he was too busy at home, with the Nazis still occupying so much of Russia's territory, did not attend. However, later in 1943, at a conference in Moscow, all three nations agreed to set as a goal the creation of a world organization to insure peace and security. Still later in 1943, at a conference in Cairo, the stripping of Japan of its imperialistic gains, after its unconditional surrender, was pledged by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek. Since Russia was not yet at war with Japan, Stalin was not present. And at Teheran, Iran, as 1943 drew to a close, Roosevelt and Churchill promised Stalin that a second front would soon be opened in the West.

To map out details of their post-war program, the leaders of the Big Three met in 1945 at Yalta in the Crimea and again at Potsdam in Germany. At these meetings, they agreed upon how they would treat conquered Germany, until a peace treaty should be drawn up. They agreed to divide Germany into four occupation zones, with Berlin similarly divided. The United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and France were each to occupy one zone. The Big Three also agreed to punish Germany's war criminals, to disarm Germany, and to try to promote

democracy there. To compensate the Allies, especially the U.S.S.R., for destruction caused by Nazi invaders, they planned to turn over much of Germany's factory machinery to them.

*Certain Special Agreements at Yalta Lead to Trouble Later.* At Yalta, the U.S.S.R. was permitted to annex eastern Poland. In compensation, Poland was given German territory north and west of Poland. Stalin pledged with Roosevelt and Churchill that Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania should be reorganized along democratic lines, with free and fair elections. Later, however, Stalin broke his promise. He made Russian-dominated satellites of Poland, Bulgaria, and Rumania, and, temporarily, of Yugoslavia.

Certain secret agreements at Yalta were also to cause trouble. What were they? The U.S.S.R. promised to enter the war against Japan within three months after Germany's surrender. For this promise, Roosevelt and Churchill promised to recognize Outer Mongolia, once Chinese, as the Mongolian People's Republic, under Russian protection. They also agreed to Russian occupation of North Korea and of the Japanese-held Kurile Islands. Russia was further promised restoration of its losses to Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (page 649).

*Why Roosevelt Has Been Criticized for the Yalta Agreements.* President Roosevelt has been severely criticized by many Americans for consenting to many of the Yalta agreements. Such critics argue this way:

Stalin would eventually have entered the war against Japan anyway, in order to grab as many spoils as he could. The war opened when dictator Hitler tried to take over Poland. Now, after six years of horrible warfare, the way was being cleared for dictator Stalin to do so. The United States had entered the war, in part, to prevent Japan from closing the Open Door in China. Now the way was being cleared for dictator Stalin to do so. Furthermore, the promises to Stalin conflicted with promises previously made to China's leader, Chiang Kai-shek. Was this surrender to Stalin's demands in keeping with

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<sup>1</sup> By the war's end, twenty other nations had become members of the anti-Axis United Nations by also pledging "to employ [their] full resources, . . . and not to make a separate armistice or peace."

the principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter?

*How Roosevelt's Supporters Have Defended the Yalta Agreements.* It's easy to be a "Monday morning quarterback," or second guesser, say Roosevelt's defenders about those who thus criticize him. They defend his Yalta policies as follows:

Roosevelt's military advisers had convinced him that it was vitally important to get Russia into the war against Japan. When the Yalta Conference took place, they expected that an invasion of Japan by the United States might cost a million casualties. No one knew then whether dropping an atomic bomb would force a Japanese surrender. Hard fighting in the Philippines and in Western Europe was still going on. To get Russia into the war against Japan, therefore, Roosevelt felt that he had to make the Yalta concessions. Furthermore, at this time, Russian armies were showing their might in Eastern Europe. They were also perched on the borders of Manchuria. Could not Stalin have taken Eastern Europe and much of the Far East anyway? Might not trying to stop him have meant World War III?

Roosevelt's defenders add that the fault lay not with the Yalta agreements on Eastern Europe but with Stalin's failure to live up to them.

Finally, his defenders say, Roosevelt felt that it was vitally important to get the U.S.S.R. to join a world organization for the maintenance of peace. He hoped that there the problems of Eastern Europe and the Far East, as well as many others, could ultimately be settled. Stalin indicated fear that such an organization would be dominated by nations unsympathetic to Communist Russia. Yet Roosevelt got Stalin to agree to the calling of a conference to form such an organization.

In spite of all this, Roosevelt soon showed some signs of being disillusioned with Stalin. Just before Roosevelt died, he wrote a strong protest to Stalin against his failure to live up to "the political decisions which we reached at Yalta. . . ."

**The United Nations Is Organized, with the United States a Leading Member.** "If we do not wish to die together in war, we must learn to live together in peace." This view of President Truman's was apparently shared by the United States Senate. It ratified the Charter of the *United Nations (UN)* by a vote of eighty-nine to two, making the United States the UN's first member. It was the wartime allies called the United Nations that established this organization called the United Nations—at San Francisco in April, 1945.<sup>1</sup>

The goals of the United Nations are expressed thus in its charter:

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . .
- to reaffirm faith in . . . the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . .
- to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained . . .
- to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors . . .
- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security . . .
- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples . . .

In many ways, as we shall now see, the structure of the United Nations resembles that of the League of Nations

**The Security Council: Big Power for the Big Powers.** Of the six main organs of the UN, a *Security Council* was given the most power. In the Security Council, the most power was given to the *Big Five* (the United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France, and China). Their membership is permanent. There are six other Security Council members. These so-called nonpermanent members are elected by another organ of the UN, the *General Assembly*, for two-year terms.

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<sup>1</sup> For more about the UN, see pages 850-857. For some reasons why opinions differ on the UN, see pages 851-856.

The votes of any seven of the eleven members can decide matters of procedure. But on more important matters, the seven votes required must include a unanimous vote of the Big Five. This means that each member of the Big Five has veto power. This veto power has seriously hindered the work of the UN (page 855). Yet the United States Senate would probably not have ratified the Charter had our nation not been given the veto to protect its sovereign power. Nor would Stalin. In any case, the framers of the UN Charter realized that peace depended upon Big Five unity. They recognized that the main financial and military responsibility for getting the UN's work done also depended upon the Big Five.

The Security Council is ready to meet at any time. It may request disputing nations to settle their dispute peacefully by themselves through negotiation or arbitration. It may, on the other hand, investigate any threat to international peace and act as a kind of umpire in settling the dispute. To punish aggressors, the Security Council may call on UN members to use economic, diplomatic, or even military sanctions (page 687). A Military Staff Committee, made up of the chiefs of staff of the Big Five, is empowered to direct armed forces. These are supposed to be contributed by member nations.

*The General Assembly Gains Power, as the Veto Hinders Security Council Action.* Each nation has one vote in the Assembly.<sup>1</sup> Originally, it was expected that the Assembly would be mainly a kind of town meeting for the world, or a sounding board for world opinion. But the veto power kept the Security Council "frozen in futility." Then the Assembly began to do more of the UN's work. In the Assembly no nation has a veto. There, decisions on important questions can be made by a two-thirds vote. Furthermore,

in 1950, the Assembly interpreted the Charter as giving it the power to use armed forces when the Security Council fails to act in emergencies.

*The Work of the World Court, the Trusteeship Council, and the Secretariat.* To give judgments and opinions on boundary disputes, treaties, and other matters involving international law is the function of the *International Court of Justice* (World Court, page 687). Nations are not required to take their disputes involving international law to this UN organ. However, if they do, they are required to abide by the Court's decision. Some nations, including the United States, have promised to do both. However, the United States refuses to give the World Court the right to judge "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States, as determined by the United States." Many prominent Americans have called for repeal of this *Connally Reservation*, as it is called. They assert that it gives the United States a privilege that hinders the work of the World Court.

To see to it that nations administering certain colonial areas called *trust territories* treat them as "sacred trusts" and prepare them for eventual self-government is the function of the *Trusteeship Council*. Trust territories are much like the mandates (page 685) of the League of Nations.

And the UN *Secretariat*, headed by a secretary general, is, like the League Secretariat, a kind of international civil service (page 686).

*The Special Work of Some Specialized Agencies of ECOSOC.* To promote for the world's peoples a higher standard of living, better health, expanded education, and respect for human rights and freedoms is the function of the *Economic and Social Council* (ECOSOC). This UN organ works in co-operation with certain specialized agencies of the UN. The names of some of these specialized agencies give a clue to the work they do; for example: the *World Health Organization* (WHO), the *Food and Agriculture Organization* (FAO), the *International*

<sup>1</sup> Actually, the U.S.S.R. has three. Stalin had refused to join the UN unless two republics in the U.S.S.R., in addition to the U.S.S.R. itself, were granted voting rights



*Labor Organization (ILO)*, and the *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*

Two of the specialized agencies of ECOSOC were established in 1944, even before the UN Charter was drawn up. One, the *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)* has achieved wonders in helping devastated and underdeveloped nations. The World Bank makes funds available to such nations to develop or improve their railways, highways, harbors, hydroelectric plants, and industries. It does so by insuring loans made by private bankers and by lending money contributed by the bank's member nations.

International trade suffers when the values of currencies of various countries keep changing frequently.<sup>1</sup> To stabilize such fluctuating currencies is the purpose of the *International Monetary Fund*.

**What Caused the United States and the U.S.S.R., Wartime Allies, to Become Cold-War Rivals?** Two months after World War II ended, General Eisenhower wrote, "American-Soviet friendship is one of the cornerstones upon which the edifice of peace should be built." Millions of Americans agreed with him. Like him, they admired the heroism of the Russians in defeating the common enemy. Like him, they sympathized with their great suffering. Capitalist United States and Communist Russia had co-operated in time of war. Why, they asked, could they not co-operate in time of peace? The feeling of confidence in such co-operation explains in part why the United States began rapidly demobilizing its armed forces as soon as peace came.

But shortly after the war, much of the world seemed to split into two hostile camps:

that of the United States and many non-Communist nations, and that of the U.S.S.R. and most Communist nations. Such were the tensions between these two camps that a *cold war* was said to exist between them. In general, the weapons of the cold war have not been guns, tanks, and planes, but propaganda and military, economic, and technical aid to bolster allies and to win over neutrals. Sometimes, however, in some places, the cold war has become a hot war and actual fighting has taken place.

**Mutual Suspicion Between Communist Russia and the Capitalist Countries.** Lenin and his successor, Stalin, were convinced that if communism did not destroy capitalism, capitalism would ultimately destroy communism. From the very beginning of the Communist Revolution, there had been, for various reasons, mutual suspicion between Communist Russia and the capitalist countries (page 784). During the war, Stalin had seemed suspicious of his fellow allies. He had implied, for example, that their delay in opening a second front was based on a desire to see the Nazis and Communists destroy each other. And the Allies had fears that the Communists might make a separate peace with Germany, as they had in World War I.

**Communist Propagandists Capitalize on Post-War Hunger and Growing Nationalism in Underdeveloped Areas.** So deadly was the war's devastation that when it was over only two nations remained really powerful: the United States and the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. looked eastward and westward and saw no Asian or European nation powerful enough to prevent its expansion. It noted how much the war had intensified hunger and restlessness, especially in the world's underdeveloped areas. It heard growing louder and louder such anti-imperialistic cries as "Asia for Asians!" and "Africa for Africans!" It realized that the peoples of these areas, aflame with nationalism, were ripe for Communist propaganda against the British, French, and Dutch Empires.

Making the most of all this unrest, native Communists or Moscow agents painted a

<sup>1</sup> Realizing how important it is to promote international trade, the United States, in 1947, joined the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)*. This is an agreement among many nations to gradually end discrimination against one another's products. In keeping with GATT, the United States converted many of its two-sided (bilateral) tariff pacts into many-sided (multilateral) ones.

glowing picture of what communism does for a country. They claimed that it ends poverty and illiteracy, and racial, religious, and class discrimination. They blamed all these evils, and wars, too, on capitalists. Only Communists honestly support colonial peoples in their struggle for independence, they alleged.

**Soviet Satellites Are Created.** Much of the territory Russia had lost as a result of World War I it had regained during World War II. This included Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and parts of Finland, Poland, and Rumania. In all of these countries, all opposition to communism was crushed. In signing the Atlantic Charter, Stalin had promised to respect the right of peoples of all nations to choose their own form of government. At Yalta, he had promised to permit free elections in the liberated countries of Eastern and Central Europe. Instead, after the war, the Russians used every device to place native Communist Governments in control of Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Albania, and Czechoslovakia. Even during the war, a native Communist, Tito, had introduced communism in Yugoslavia.

These Russian-dominated nations became known as *Soviet satellites*.<sup>1</sup> Like the U.S.S.R., all had one-party systems, secret police, few freedoms, and strict censorship. France and Italy did not become Soviet satellites. However, native Communists, supported by Moscow, converted millions in these countries to communism.

**Russian Encouragement of Communism in the Far East.** The U.S.S.R. established a Communist Government in North Korea. It dominated Outer Mongolia. In India, Iran, and Southeast Asia, Communist agents were busy at work. It was with Russian encouragement that the Chinese Communists gained control of the mainland of China (page 832).

**Russia Drops an 'Iron Curtain' to Shut Out the Democracies.** The U.S.S.R. tried to seal

off its own people and those of the Soviet satellites from all communication with the democracies. Foreign reporters and tourists had difficulty getting into these areas and the people in these areas had difficulty getting out. It was made illegal for people in such Soviet-dominated areas to listen to foreign radio broadcasts. It became almost impossible for them to read foreign publications. Winston Churchill denounced this censorship, charging the U.S.S.R. with dropping an "iron curtain" from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea.

## Facing Up to the Challenge Of the Cold War in Europe

**The Truman Doctrine: The United States Takes the Lead in Actively Combating Soviet Expansion.** After World War II, it looked as though Greek Communists, aided by support from neighboring Russian satellites, would take over Greece. The pro-West, anti-Communist Greek monarchy had made little effort to improve the nation's bad economic conditions. Britain notified the United States that it could no longer bear the financial burden of aiding Greece and its neighbor, Turkey. At the same time, the U.S.S.R. kept pressuring Turkey to grant it joint control with Turkey over the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.

What would it have meant if Greece and Turkey had gone Communist? It would have meant Russian domination of the eastern Mediterranean and a threat to both the oil-rich Middle East and the route to the Far East. President Truman decided, therefore, that the time had come to take a bold stand against the Communists. In 1947, he laid down what became basic American foreign policy toward the U.S.S.R. from that time on. Here are his words, which came to be known as the *Truman Doctrine*:

... it must be the foreign policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, Yugoslavia soon ceased to be a Soviet satellite.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we will surely endanger the welfare of our nation.

Because of its stress on blocking the further expansion of communism, the Truman Doctrine is said to have initiated a *containment policy*. In practicing a containment policy, the United States built up its own armed forces and gave military and economic aid to threatened nations. Greece and Turkey were the first to benefit from the containment policy. The Congress appropriated \$400 million for economic and military aid to them in 1947. Military missions and munitions were soon on their way to both. Neither became Russian satellites.

Nevertheless, there was some opposition to the Truman Doctrine. Critics said that the United States was "bailing out" the British, antagonizing the Russians, bypassing the UN, supporting undemocratic Governments in Greece and Turkey, and squandering money.

**The Marshall Plan: The United States Spends Billions to Promote European Recovery, Thereby Curbing Communism.** "Hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos" afflicted millions during World War II. What was done to relieve this suffering?

**UNRRA, a Forerunner of the Marshall Plan.** In 1943, the United Nations set up an organization, the *United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)*, to help the victims of the war. *Displaced persons (DP's)*, whose countries and homes had been occupied by invaders, received from UNRRA food, clothing, medicine, machinery, livestock, and other aid.

UNRRA, mainly American-financed, saved millions from starving. There was fear, however, that people would get into the habit of accepting relief and not do much to help themselves. This helps to explain why Secretary of State George C. Marshall recommended, in 1947, a more constructive program to replace UNRRA.

**How the Marshall Plan Operated.** Marshall suggested to the nations of Europe that they co-operate in listing Europe's needs and resources. Then they should map out ways of helping themselves and one another. When this was done, the United States would, he said, supply them with money to repair the damages caused by World War II and to build themselves up economically. This proposal, the *European Recovery Program (ERP)*, was popularly known as the *Marshall Plan*.

Twelve billion dollars of Marshall Plan aid went from the United States to sixteen European nations between 1948 and 1952. A good portion of the money came back to the United States in European purchases of American machinery and goods.

**The Remarkable Success of the Marshall Plan.** The Marshall Plan lifted the spirits of Europeans by demonstrating that the United States was willing to share its riches with less fortunate nations. The great recovery that resulted in Europe's economy provided more customers for American business. By getting Europeans in the habit of working together, the Marshall Plan promoted European unity. And the spread of communism was slowed up.

**The Communists Condemn the Marshall Plan and Counter with the Molotov Plan.** "Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine," Marshall had said in suggesting his plan. However, the U.S.S.R. refused Marshall Plan aid and made its satellites unhappy by forbidding them to accept such aid. It condemned the Marshall Plan as a scheme of "dollar imperialists" to place all Europe under the economic domination of the United States.

In 1949, the U.S.S.R. countered the Marshall Plan with the *Molotov Plan*, which aimed to bind the satellite countries more closely to the U.S.S.R. economically. The Marshall and Molotov Plans caused trade between Western and Eastern Europe to drop sharply.

**Foreign Aid Is Continued in Spite of Some Criticism at Home.** A minority of Americans

criticized the Marshall Plan. Doubting whether it was worth the huge sum spent on it, they called it "Operation Rathole." Some have criticized later foreign-aid programs, too. For the foreign-aid program did not end with the end of the Marshall Plan in 1952. Later programs stressed military aid over economic aid, and applied to the entire non-Communist world, rather than just Europe.

**The United States, in Its Containment Policy Against Communist Russia, Aids Communist Yugoslavia.** Give aid to dictator Tito of Communist Yugoslavia? Insane! This was the reaction of many Americans when, in 1948, the United States made available to Tito loans, machines, markets, and military equipment. Why did it do so? Tito had just broken with Communist Russia. Strongly nationalistic, he was tired of Russian domination. After the break, Yugoslavia was still a Communist country. But the United States hoped that the aid given it would encourage other Soviet satellites to break with the U.S.S.R.

**The United States Joins an Alliance, NATO, Thus Breaking a Long-standing Tradition.** Soviet-trained Czech Communists seized control of Czechoslovakia in 1948. Many feared that this was a step in a Stalin strategy of picking off European countries one by one. A year later, the United States and eleven other nations on both sides of the North Atlantic signed a military treaty to deter Communist aggression. All agreed, in this *North Atlantic Treaty*, that an attack on one would be considered an attack on all. Greece and Turkey were admitted later. This indicated that the treaty nations were ready to defend the Mediterranean and the Middle East, as well as the North Atlantic. And, as we shall see, West Germany, which had become an independent nation, joined the treaty nations in 1955. A *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)* was created with its major goal the setting up of an international army. Chosen NATO's first supreme commander was D-Day planner General Eisenhower, who succeeded in creating such

an army. Like the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, our joining NATO proved that isolationism was dead as an American policy.

Some NATO members have not always contributed a fair share of troops and money to the organization. Disagreements among its members, which have arisen from time to time over various issues, have also hampered its effectiveness.

Communists labeled NATO a capitalist conspiracy to provoke a war against the U.S.S.R. They condemned it as a trick to bypass the UN, even though the UN Charter permits regional agreements for "collective self-defense."

**The U.S.S.R. Challenges the West in Germany.** A post-war tug of war in Germany has seriously threatened the peace of the world. What caused the tug of war? It had been agreed to divide Germany (and Berlin, too) into four zones (page 822). At Potsdam, in order to preserve unity among the four zones, an *Allied Control Council*, composed of one general from each of the occupying powers, was created. It was also agreed that all Germany would be treated as an economic unit.

**The U.S.S.R. Refuses to Treat Germany as an Economic Unit.** However, the U.S.S.R. ran its zone as though it were a separate and distinct unit. From the start, the Russians began communizing it. From its factories, they stripped tremendous quantities of machinery and shipped them to the U.S.S.R. This the Potsdam Agreement had authorized in compensation for the U.S.S.R.'s great losses during the war. However, the Potsdam Agreement had not authorized the U.S.S.R. to seize goods that the Germans were currently manufacturing. This the Russians did. Furthermore, disregarding their agreement to treat Germany as an economic unit, they would not ship needed food and raw materials to the other zones.

American officials feared that such actions would long delay Germany's economic recovery. Since Germany is a key industrial country, this delay might in turn delay the recovery of all Western Europe. It might

leave Germany so poor that it would become a fertile field for the spread of communism. Finally, if Germany remained poor, the occupation costs of the United States would climb higher and higher.

*The U.S.S.R. and the West Disagree on Germany's Political Fate, Too.* Both the West and the U.S.S.R. realized that a reunited Germany could be a most valuable ally—or a most dangerous enemy. Highly industrialized Germany is strategically located in the heart of Europe. It has a long tradition of military might. If a united Germany were to fall under Russian domination, all Europe might soon do likewise. But if a united Germany were to become an ally of the West, the U.S.S.R.'s stranglehold on its Eastern European satellites might soon be broken. Friction over Germany and a desire to promote more efficient administration

there led the United States, Britain, and France to merge their zones into one in 1947.

*The Berlin Airlift: Dramatic Proof of the West's Determination.* This merger of the Western zones worried the Russians. Now it would be harder than ever to establish a united Germany as a Soviet satellite. The Russians decided to close all land and water lanes to Berlin. Berlin, although occupied by all four powers, is in the Russian zone. The Russians therefore expected their blockade to make it impossible for the Western powers to feed or fuel their Berlin zones. As a result, the Russians hoped, the starving and freezing Berliners from outside the Russian zone would beg for help from it. Thus, they felt confident that they could eventually take over all Berlin, Germany's capital. This success, they calculated, would pave the way for their domination of all Germany.



But their *Berlin blockade* boomeranged. Why? Around the clock, from summer, 1948 to spring, 1949, the Western powers flew millions of tons of food, fuel, medicine, and clothing into Berlin. This *Berlin airlift*, plus a Western counterblockade of East Germany, caused the Russians to lift the Berlin blockade. Thus, it was the West, rather than the U.S.S.R., that won over the Berliners.

*Two Germanies Arise as the Tug of War of the Cold War There Continues.* The Berlin blockade indicated that the Russians would permit Germany to become a political and economic unit only if they could control it. In May, 1949, the very month in which the blockade ended, the West permitted West Germany to form a democratic Government of its own. This *Federal Republic of Germany* was made up of the three merged zones, with its capital at Bonn. It continued to receive the full backing of the West. It prospered greatly. Control of foreign affairs, foreign trade, disarmament, and the Ruhr remained temporarily in the hands of the occupying powers.

A few months later, the U.S.S.R. set up in its own zone what it called the *German Democratic Republic*. Another Soviet satellite state had been created.

*The Cold War Influences Germany's Former Foes to Compete for Its Friendship.* The horrors of Nazi aggression were fresh in the minds of the delegates at Yalta and Potsdam. There they had determined to punish Germany severely and to take steps to make sure that such aggression would not be repeated. Some Nazi war criminals were hanged and many others imprisoned (page 856). Some steps were taken, especially by the United States in its zone, to disarm, demilitarize, denazify, and democratize Germany.

But as the tug of war over Germany became more intense, much of the Yalta-Potsdam program for Germany petered out. Each side wanted to win Germany's support in the cold war. Both sides stopped dismantling Germany's factories. Each side even went so far as to encourage the build-

ing up of a German army in the part of Germany it favored. In the early 1950's, the United States, Britain, and France declared World War II with Germany officially ended, as far as they were concerned. They declared West Germany practically independent. Their troops were to remain in West Germany and West Berlin for the "defense of the free world," and not as occupying forces. They promised to withdraw these as soon as they could get the U.S.S.R. to agree on a plan for the reunification of Germany. Finally, West Germany was invited to join NATO.

Germany's admission to NATO intensified Russian suspicion of the West. The U.S.S.R. warned that it would never agree to the reunification of Germany, unless Germany remained neutral in the cold war. In angry protest, the Russians signed the *Warsaw Pact* with their seven European satellites. This has been called "the Reds' NATO."

## **Facing Up to the Communist Challenge in the Far East**

It is not the usual thing for people whose lands are invaded to welcome the invaders. Yet many Asians did just that when the Japanese armed forces swept over practically all of the Far East at the start of World War II. The Asians did so because they hated the Western imperialists who had ruled over so much of the Far East for so long. Japanese propagandists made the most of their passionate nationalism. They promised these poverty-stricken peoples that after the war they would promote prosperity throughout the Far East. In this prosperity, they pledged, all Asians would share. But the conquered Asians soon found that their Japanese fascist masters were much harsher rulers than Western imperialists had been.

After the war, the Japanese were ousted from the areas they had conquered. Then the Communists took advantage of the passionate Asian nationalism. They posed as the champions of independence for colonial peo-

ples. Their propagandists outpromised the Japanese (page 825). Especially effective was their promise to divide up the land of big landlords among the millions of land-hungry peasants. Yet while the Communists were attacking Western imperialism, Communist Russia was expanding its controls in Asia, as well as in Europe (page 826).

On the other hand, the United States lived up to its promise to free the Philippines in 1946. It spent millions to try to raise standards of living in the Far East. It tried to democratize Japan. It tried to see to it that both China and Korea became united, independent, and democratic nations. Furthermore, it was eager for Britain, France, and the Netherlands to give up their Asian possessions. But Britain, France, and the Netherlands were allies of the United States in the cold war. There was always the danger, therefore, that they would be bitter if the United States encouraged independence movements in their empires. Such bitterness might weaken the unity of the West in containing Soviet expansion.

In any case, many Far Eastern areas in the British, French, and Dutch Empires won or were granted independence after World War II. And out of the Japanese Empire came the Republic of Korea. Its northern part became a Communist satellite. So did the northern part of Vietnam (formerly part of French Indo-China). In fact, in many of the new nations, the Communists won great influence through propaganda, threats, or force. And in 1949, the entire mainland of China, with its then 500 million inhabitants, fell into the hands of Chinese Communists.

Let us now study these Far Eastern setbacks to the non-Communist world in the cold war. Then we will study how the United States and its cold-war allies have faced up to the Communist challenge in the Far East.

**The United States Is a Long-time Friend of China.** While other Western powers were seizing spheres of influence from China in the late nineteenth century, the United States refrained from doing so. When



*This American agricultural expert was sent by the United States Government to aid a farm co-operative in India. He told the Indian farmers "Like you, I love my sons. It would be unfair of me or of you if we now failed to try whatever is new and better that may make their lives better." Then he clasped his own hands together. "By myself, with only my own hands, there is not a great deal that I can do. But if we all put our hands together, we can do whatever needs to be done."*

Western powers wanted to seize more territory from China in punishment for the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the United States' protest deterred them. When Japan tried to make China its private preserve by shutting the Open Door there, the United States stood in the way. It might even be said that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was the price the United States paid for refusing to sell out China.

**The Roles of the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the Chinese Civil War.** A civil war between Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists had broken out in the late 1920's. During World War II, there had been a temporary lull in this conflict, while both groups fought the Japanese. After the war, the civil war was renewed in full fury. The United States,

which for so long had been hoping for a united and democratic China, was much troubled by this situation. It decided to help Chiang Kai-shek with military supplies. And American troops were stationed to help him hold territory evacuated by the Japanese.

As for the U.S.S.R., it turned over great quantities of captured Japanese equipment to the Chinese Communists. This was in spite of a promise made earlier to support Chiang Kai-shek's Government. Russian troops were stationed in Manchuria until the Chinese Communists were strong enough to take it over and hold it.

In hopes of getting Chinese Nationalists and Chinese Communists to co-operate, President Truman sent General Marshall to China late in 1945. But after a whole year of trying, Marshall returned to the United States, disgusted with both sides. When he became secretary of state in 1947, all American troops stationed in China were recalled.

By 1949, the Chinese Communists had conquered the entire mainland. Chiang Kai-shek had withdrawn with his remaining forces to the island of Formosa (Taiwan). His Government there came to be popularly known as *Nationalist China*. On the mainland, Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Chinese Communists, set up a dictatorship called the *Chinese People's Republic*.

**Bitter Debates in the United States Over the Loss of China to the Communists.** The loss of China to the Communists let loose angry attacks against the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations. It was alleged that Chiang had been sold out at Yalta. It was asserted that instead of pulling American troops out of China, far more should have been sent in to aid Chiang. Some American Government officials were accused of being Communist sympathizers.

Administration supporters retorted that Chiang had lost because his Government was corrupt and inefficient. They asserted that he had wasted the \$2 billion in aid that the United States had sent him. They accused him of having lost the support of the Chinese people by his failure to introduce much-

needed land reforms and by his dictatorial policies. Why, they asked, give more aid to a Government whose troops desert, allowing American supplies to fall into Communist hands?

**The United States Opposes Recognition and UN Representation for Communist China.** The loss of China to the Communists dangerously intensified the cold war. Communist China and Communist Russia strongly resented the refusal of the United States to recognize Communist China or to trade with it. Communist China, supported by the U.S.S.R., demanded membership in the UN and representation in place of Nationalist China on the Security Council. The United States led the opposition to these demands and won out. Both Communist countries then became even more bitter toward the United States.

**Communist Aggression Is Challenged by the United States and the UN in Korea.** Just before dawn one Sunday in June, 1950, a Russian-sponsored, Russian-equipped, and Russian-trained army of North Koreans invaded South Korea. What was the background of this aggression?

**Korea Is Split in Two by Agreement After World War II.** Toward the end of World War II, American and Russian troops had driven the Japanese from Korea. The Japanese had dominated that mountainous peninsula for forty years. It was agreed that, in time, Korea would become independent. Until then, the Russians would occupy industrialized North Korea and the Americans, agricultural South Korea. The *thirty-eighth parallel* was declared the dividing line between the occupation zones.

**Russia Opposes a United, Independent Korea.** To bring about a united, independent Korea, the UN prepared to conduct a free election throughout Korea in 1948. But the Russians barred the UN commission from conducting an election in North Korea. An election *was* held in South Korea. The Republic of Korea was then set up, with Syngman Rhee as president. Shortly afterward, the United States and the U.S.S.R. withdrew



their occupation troops from their respective zones. However, the Russians left behind a Soviet satellite Government in North Korea, with Russian-equipped and Russian-trained troops

*Sixteen Nations, Under a UN Flag, Resist Aggression in Korea.* The invasion of South Korea by these troops was obviously a test of the UN and of the United States. Both recalled that backing down by the League of Nations had led to further aggressions (page 787).

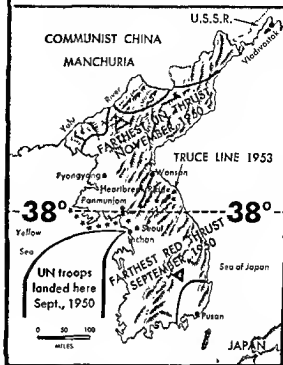
The United States and the UN decided not to back down. Within hours after the invasion, President Truman requested a meeting of the Security Council of the UN. The Council immediately ordered the North Korean aggressors to withdraw to the thirty-eighth parallel. The order was ignored. Next, the Council recommended that UN members help South Korea to repel the attack. Why did not the U.S.S.R.'s representative on the Security Council veto this resolution? He was not present. The U.S.S.R. had been boycotting the UN in hopes of compelling it to recognize Communist China, instead of Nationalist China.

Quickly, President Truman ordered American forces to aid South Korea.<sup>1</sup> Before long, fifteen other nations were represented, fighting under a UN flag in a UN army. This army, made up mainly of South Koreans and Americans, was commanded by General MacArthur. This was the first time in history that an international army had fought at the request of an international organization against aggression.

*The Frustrating, Heartbreaking Character of the Korean Fighting.* At first, it looked as though all Korea would quickly fall to the North Korean aggressors. But then the UN forces counterattacked, reached the thirty-eighth parallel, and crossed it. MacArthur then drove on to the Yalu River on Man-

## WAR 1950-1953

### U.S. TROOPS FIGHT IN A UN ARMY IN KOREA



churia's border. The UN "police action," as President Truman had called it, seemed over. "We'll be home by Christmas," American troops wrote confidently to loved ones.

Then, suddenly, from Manchuria into North Korea, equipped with Russian tanks and planes, poured Chinese Communist troops in overwhelming numbers. Fighting relentlessly, they drove the shocked UN troops within two months back to South Korea. The weather was frigid and the terrain mountainous. The Chinese Communists fought fanatically, disregarding their own losses. All this made the Korean fighting among the toughest in American history. Nevertheless, early in 1951, the UN forces rallied and drove the Chinese back into North Korea.

<sup>1</sup> Truman used his authority as Commander in Chief, without waiting for a declaration of war by the Congress.

**President Truman and General MacArthur Clash on Military Policy.** To end this seesaw fighting, General MacArthur wanted to bomb the Chinese Communist bases in Manchuria. He also recommended that Chaing Kai-shek's troops from Taiwan be permitted to fight on the mainland. To such suggestions, President Truman and his military advisers said "No." They warned that such actions would lead to World War III, by causing the U.S.S.R. to come to the aid of Communist China. The NATO allies also objected. They feared that the U.S.S.R. might then immediately drop bombs on their cities.

Truman's "No" angered MacArthur's supporters. They said it meant giving in to the Reds. There was no certainty that the U.S.S.R. wanted an all-out war anyway, they said. Again and again, MacArthur expressed his disagreement with the Truman decision. Finally, Truman, as Commander in Chief, relieved him of his command in Korea. "I could do nothing else and still be President of

the United States," he declared. He seemed to feel that what Thomas Jefferson had called "the supremacy of the civil over the military authority" had been threatened.

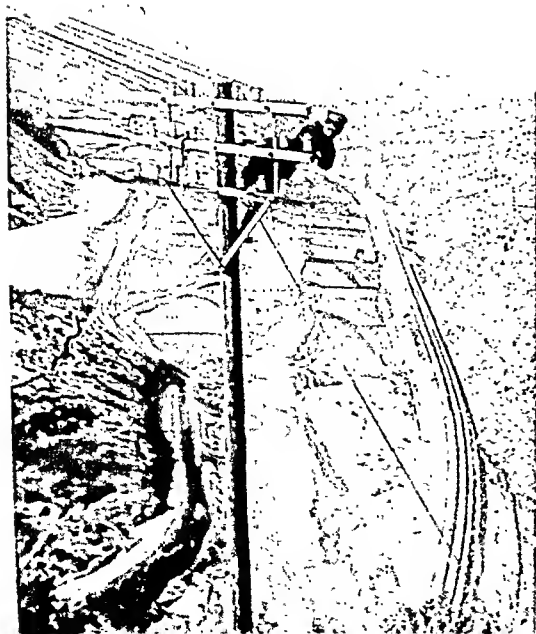
On MacArthur's return to the United States, he was given a hero's welcome in city after city. Even many who disagreed with the general's suggestions seemed to feel that the President had been too brusque in dismissing a patriot who had served his country so well for so long.

**A Truce Keeps Korea Split in Two.** Back in Korea, truce talks began in July, 1951. They lasted for two years. As they continued day after day, so did the fighting and dying. After Stalin died in the spring of 1953, the Communist negotiators stopped what seemed to be their stalling tactics. Finally, in July, 1953, a truce was signed. In it, both sides agreed to withdraw from the battle line and establish a neutral area of a few miles between them. This area was a few miles north of the thirty-eighth parallel. The truce negotiators also agreed to recommend the calling of a peace conference to discuss the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

**The Costs and Aftermath of the Korean Conflict.** In dead, wounded, and missing, the United States suffered 140,000 casualties and South Korea nearly 250,000. Estimates of Communist casualties ran as high as two million. Aggression had been checked. But there were still two Koreas. To unify Korea, the UN continues to propose that free elections be held there. And the U.S.S.R. continues to refuse. The years have rolled on and no peace settlement has been reached. Communists still dominate North Korea. In South Korea, an uprising in 1960 caused Syngman Rhee to exile himself. His Government had been accused of corruption and the use of strong-arm methods against political opponents. In 1961, a military group seized control of South Korea.

**The United States Is Concerned Over Communist Advances in Indo-China.** For eight long years, beginning in 1946, there was bloody fighting in Indo-China. Why? In that year the French had created a federation of

*An American soldier keeping communications lines open during the Korean conflict. This picture illustrates some of the problems facing forces fighting in Korea. What problems?*



three partly self-governing states: Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. A Communist group, the Vietminh, tried to turn Vietnam into a Communist state. From Communist China, Vietminh guerrillas received much military equipment. They severely defeated the French and native non-Communists in many clashes.

If Indo-China fell, the Communists would be able to reach out to grasp Thailand, Malaya, and Burma. From the United States to the French, therefore, came money and military supplies. And from the United States to the Communist Chinese came a warning not to invade Indo-China and thus create another Korean conflict.

To settle the Indo-China conflict, an international conference was held at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1954. By this time, the French had lost so much in men and money that they were ready to yield much of Vietnam to the Vietminh. The Geneva Conference ordered a cease-fire and gave the Vietminh control of Vietnam north of the *seventeenth parallel*.

South Vietnam became an independent republic in 1955. From time to time since, Communist guerrillas from North Vietnam have infiltrated the country, spreading terror and destroying property in village after village. In 1961, as the Communist threat grew worse, President John F. Kennedy (page 894) sent United States troops to South Vietnam to train the South Vietnamese army in resisting the invaders. Much American economic aid has also gone to South Vietnam. But the Communist threat remains strong.

Communist guerrillas from North Vietnam also invaded newly independent Laos to give aid to a native Communist group there. President Kennedy warned that this was a violation of the neutrality agreed on at Geneva in 1954, and threatened to use force. In 1962, a recommendation of another international conference at Geneva was followed when a coalition government composed of pro-West, pro-Communist, and neutral factions was set up in Laos. Although a

neutralist was made premier, fears of growing Communist strength continued.

Threatened, too, have been Cambodia, also now independent, and neighboring Thailand.

**The United States Promotes SEATO for Unity and Curbing Communism in the South Pacific.** NATO has worked in keeping communism contained in the West. Why not then, asked the United States State Department, have an organization to do the same for the East? Such an organization, the *Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)*, was formed in 1954. It includes Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand, plus three Western nations, the United States, Britain, and France. India, Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon, wishing to remain uncommitted, unaligned, or neutral in the cold war, refused to join.

In answer to Communist charges that SEATO was an imperialist conspiracy, SEATO members drew up a *Pacific Charter*, similar to the Atlantic Charter (page 801). This charter pledged the members to "earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure independence of all countries whose peoples desire it . . ." SEATO's members also agreed to recognize an attack on one as endangering "the peace and safety" of the others.

SEATO is much weaker than NATO. It has no international army. Each nation decides for itself how much, if any, aid it will give in an emergency.<sup>1</sup>

**The United States Gives Technical and Economic Aid to the Far East and Other Underdeveloped Areas.** The United States has more than 250 military bases around the world. It has contributed billions of dollars worth of military equipment to threatened nations. It has signed collective defense arrangements with about half the nations of the world. Through such means, it has done

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<sup>1</sup> As a SEATO member, and on Thailand's invitation, the United States, in 1962, sent American forces to Thailand to prevent a possible invasion by way of Laos.

much toward building a world-wide collective security system. But many Americans came to feel that building up the military might of the non-Communist world was not enough. That is why military aid was eventually combined with technical and economic aid.

*The Point Four Program Provides for Technical Co-operation.* President Truman, in 1949, suggested that the United States make available to underdeveloped areas "the benefits of our scientific advancement and industrial progress." His suggestion, for which the Congress appropriated funds, came to be known as the *Point Four Program* or the *Technical Co-operation Program*. What have American scientists and technicians, often in co-operation with local experts, accomplished under this program? Famine and disease have been fought; educational systems have been organized; thousands have been trained in technical skills; and advice has been given to officials of new Governments on problems of administration. American experts have also helped build hydroelectric plants, and are even planning atomic-power projects for certain underdeveloped areas.

But technical skills without capital to develop natural resources are of little use. To provide capital for underdeveloped areas, the United States lends through various agencies.<sup>1</sup> And the major share of technical and economic aid given to underdeveloped areas by the UN is contributed by the United States.

*Some Feelings and Comments on Foreign Aid to Underdeveloped Areas.* With only six per cent of the world's population, the United States enjoys about fifty per cent of the world's wealth. Whereas the share of the average American in what the United States produces annually is about \$2,500, the per

capita income in the Far East is less than \$100 a year. This is true of the Middle East and Africa and much of Latin America as well. Many Americans therefore feel that they should share their blessings with less fortunate peoples in such underdeveloped areas. Furthermore, with raised standards of living, such peoples make better customers for the United States. And many of the underdeveloped areas have strategic materials that the United States needs. The State Department expresses the vital importance of aid to underdeveloped areas in these words:

The only alternative to the [foreign-aid] program involves successive losses of free nations to international communism, weakening of those allies who remain, loss of many of our overseas bases, abandoning our position of leadership in the world, massive increases in our own defense budgets, and heavy inductions of American youth into our own armed forces.

Critics of technical and economic aid call it a burden on the American taxpayer. They say it encourages underdeveloped nations to depend too much on the United States, rather than standing on their own feet. Some critics assert that some underdeveloped nations try to blackmail the United States into giving them more and more aid by threatening to accept aid from the U.S.S.R.

*The United States Alters Its Policies Toward Japan, Largely Because of the Cold War.* Japan was not divided into occupation zones after World War II. Thus the occupation of Japan, free from Soviet obstruction, proceeded much more smoothly than that of Germany. Yet the occupation aims for defeated Japan were similar to those for defeated Germany (page 822).

*Some Steps Taken Under the Occupation to Make Japan More Democratic.* How did the United States try to democratize Japan? Secret police and secret militaristic societies were outlawed. The people were granted a bill of rights, and women the right to vote. Voters were granted the right to elect both houses of the parliament. The cabinet was made responsible to the parliament. General

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<sup>1</sup> Among these are the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank. The successive agencies administering our over-all foreign-aid program have had a variety of names. In 1961, several independent agencies were merged into the *Agency for International Development (AID)*.

MacArthur, in charge of the occupation, required the emperor to repudiate "the false conception that the emperor is divine and that the Japanese are superior to other races and fated to rule the world." It was understood that the emperor would be retained merely as a patriotic symbol. Instead of stressing emperor worship and militarism, the schools were to teach democratic ideals. Government loans were made to help poor peasants become landowners. Such loans were just one step taken to raise Japan's generally low standard of living.

**Some Steps Taken to Disarm and Demilitarize Japan.** How did the United States try to demilitarize Japan? Military fanatics who had inspired Japan's aggressions were barred from holding office. Many of them were jailed. General Tojo and other war criminals were hanged. Japan pledged never again to wage war or maintain armed forces. Munitions factories were dismantled. Attempts were made to break up big industrial monopolies that had co-operated with the militarists in bringing on the war.

**The Influence of American Money and American Customs on Japan.** The Japanese people were most co-operative with MacArthur's efficient administration. Japan's economic recovery was helped greatly by millions in loans poured in by the United States. Millions spent by American soldiers stationed there helped, too. Traditionally imitative, the Japanese absorbed many of the fads and customs of American occupation troops. American sports, hit tunes, clothing styles, movies, and business methods became more popular than ever. And many Japanese women began to insist on the freedoms enjoyed by American women.

**Why and How the United States Altered Its Policies for Japan.** The Communist conquest of China, the Communist invasion of South Korea, and Communist guerrilla warfare in Southeast Asia caused the United States to modify its aims for Japan. Might not a strong Communist China try to invade a weak Japan? Would it not be wise to try to win Japan as an ally in the cold war? Amer-

ican officials answered such questions by slowing up demilitarization, the dismantling of industries, and the breaking up of monopolies in Japan. They feared that such policies, if continued, might weaken Japan not only militarily but economically.

**The United States Sponsors a Peace Treaty with Japan.** Japan's independence and right to maintain defense forces were recognized in a peace treaty signed in 1951. It was initiated by the United States and signed by most of the other World War II allies.<sup>1</sup> The treaty provided for the withdrawal of American occupation forces. However, by a separate agreement, the United States was allowed to keep bases and troops in Japan to protect it against a possible Communist attack. Furthermore, a mutual assistance pact between the United States and Japan was signed in 1954.

**The United States Reassures Japan's Non-Communist Former Enemies in the Far East.** In the peace treaty, Japan had been required to give up all its conquered territory. Yet the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand were worried that a rearmed Japan might threaten them once more. The United States wanted to quiet these worries and also build up the strength of the non-Communist camp. It therefore joined SEATO. It also signed separate defensive alliances: one with Australia and New Zealand (called the ANZUS Pact), one with the Philippines, one with South Korea, and one with Taiwan.

**A New Japanese-American Security Pact Is Signed, in Spite of Opposition from Radicals, Pacifists, and Neutralists.** Eisenhower, don't come!" "Down with the security pact!" Uttering such cries, thousands of Japanese stormed through the streets of Tokyo in the spring of 1960. Their protest was against a new security treaty that the Japanese Government was about to sign with the United

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<sup>1</sup> In 1956, the USSR signed an agreement, but not a formal peace treaty, with Japan. It tried to woo Japan away from the United States by offering it trade and aid, and the eventual return of certain Russian-held former Japanese islands.

States. To the protesters, President Eisenhower, who was planning a visit to Japan, symbolized this hated treaty. It extended for ten years the right of the United States to keep troops in Japan and to maintain bases there. In it, the United States and Japan agreed that an armed attack on either nation in Japanese territory would be considered an attack on both. The treaty granted Japan more say than had earlier agreements on joint defense policies.

Communists opposed the treaty because of their ties to Communist Russia and Communist China. Pacifists opposed it because they remembered the terrible devastation caused when atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And, as their name suggests, neutralists wanted Japan to stay out of the cold war. They feared that the treaty would make Communist Russia and Communist China antagonistic toward nearby Japan. Some Japanese also argued that the treaty would make Japan a puppet of the United States. Some might have been less opposed to the treaty if the United States had returned to Japan such islands as Okinawa. Many such former Japanese islands have been held by the United States since the end of World War II.

President Eisenhower, who had met hearty welcomes on other good-will visits to European, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern nations, decided not to visit Japan.

The new security pact was ratified by Japan. Nevertheless, many Americans feared that the strong Japanese opposition to the treaty might make it ineffective in an emergency. This could be a severe blow to the entire United States defense line reaching from the Aleutian Islands all the way to the Philippines.

**The United States Grants Military and Economic Aid to the Philippines.** How long can we remain independent without some guarantee of security? Filipinos asked themselves this question after their country was granted independence by the United States in 1946. This helps to explain why the Philippines granted the United States military and

naval bases for ninety-nine years.<sup>1</sup> Also giving greater military security to the Philippines was an American agreement to help the Philippines build efficient armed forces.

Economic security was promoted by the United States, too. It contributed millions to help the Filipinos restore their war-devastated country. It also agreed not to levy tariff duties against the Philippines until 1954. Thereafter, until 1974, tariff duties were to be raised only gradually.

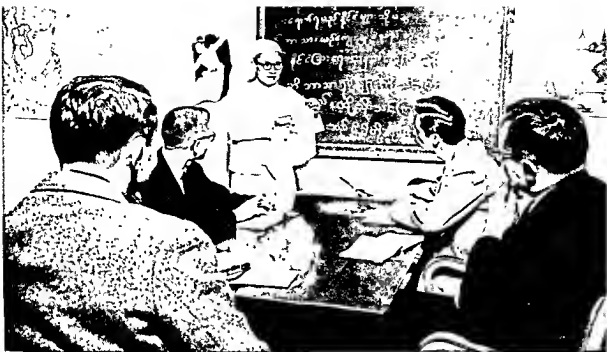
Furthermore, military and economic aid from the United States helped the new nation to put down an internal threat from a Communist-led group of guerrilla rebels called the *Hukbalahaps* (*Huks*). Many Huks were poverty-stricken peasants. They demanded that the Government divide up big estates among them. They committed many a murder. They raided towns. Some non-Communist peasants joined the Huks. They did so because they felt that their Government wasn't doing enough for them.

Some progress was made by the Philippine Government in handling its very difficult problems. Yet an American commission sent to the Philippines reported that much of the money sent by the United States had been wasted by certain Government officials. It recommended speedy reforms. Land reforms and efforts to promote greater honesty and efficiency in the Government soon followed. Such reforms caused many peasants to quit the Huks.

**The Philippines Are a Staunch Cold-War Ally, in Spite of Some Friction with the United States.** Filipinos feel that the United States should pay more toward repairing damage caused by the war. They complain that the United States is more generous in granting development loans to other nations than to theirs. They want to be consulted before the United States considers using its

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<sup>1</sup> In 1959, this period was reduced to twenty-five years, with renewal rights. By this time, all but four of the bases had been returned to the Philippines.



*State Department employees receiving instruction in Burmese. In the years to come, such programs will have to be expanded. For what reasons?*

Philippine bases in any possible local wars. There is even a small group of Filipinos who want to remain neutral in the cold war. Nevertheless, the Philippine Republic, by its mutual defense pact with the United States and by its membership in SEATO and the Colombo Plan,<sup>1</sup> shows where it stands as far as the cold war is concerned.

**The United States Takes a Strong Stand Against Communist China's Threat to Nationalist China.** "We Chinese people are determined to liberate our territories of Taiwan, the Pescadores, Quemoy, and Matsu." This statement has been made many times by high-ranking Chinese Communist officials. The United States is equally determined that the Chinese Communists shall not take over

these areas by force. For this reason, much American economic and military aid has been sent to Chiang Kai-shek's Government on Taiwan. And since 1950, the United States Seventh Fleet has patrolled the Formosa Strait.

Dictator Mao of Communist China has maintained that this American aid to Chiang proves that the United States plans to use Taiwan as a base for invading China's mainland. In 1955, Mao threatened to seize the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. These islands off the mainland are also under Chiang's rule. President Eisenhower responded by asking the Congress for authority to use American armed forces at his discretion to repel a Communist invasion of Taiwan, if it should come. In response, the Congress passed the *Formosa Resolution*, which, in effect, gave the President the power to declare war, if Taiwan or the Pescadores were attacked.

Meanwhile, Russia's Premier Nikita Khrushchev warned that the U.S.S.R. would give

<sup>1</sup> The Colombo Plan is a co-operative enterprise of nations, set up in 1955 for the economic development of South and Southeast Asia. Besides the South and Southeast Asian nations, Colombo Plan members are Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Japan, and the United States.

Communist China "assistance by all available means," should it be attacked.

Periodically, Quemoy and Matsu have been shelled by the Communist Chinese. The situation remains tense.

### **Many Problems Are Created for the United States as It Tries to Check The U.S.S.R. in the Middle East**

What a blow it would be to the non-Communist camp were the U.S.S.R. to gain control of the Middle East! Most of the world's oil reserves are in the Middle East. From the Middle East comes most of the oil for Western Europe's factories, farms, and military forces. And most of the Middle Eastern oil production is in the hands of Western firms, more than half of them American. In the Middle East are two highly strategic waterways, the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal. From the day it opened in 1869, the Suez Canal became the main water route linking Europe, Asia, and Africa. If the U.S.S.R. were to gain control of the Suez Canal and of the West's military bases in the Middle East, how long could Asia and Africa hold out? This question has long worried the United States and the non-Communist world in general.

**How the U.S.S.R. Used Arab Nationalism to Increase Its Influence in the Middle East.** A wave of nationalism swept over the Middle East after World War II, as it did over the Far East. And just as this nationalism weakened the influence of Britain and France in the Far East, so it weakened their long-standing influence in the Middle East. The U.S.S.R. happily watched this happen. Like the czars before them, the Communists dreamed of getting control of the Dardanelles and dominating the eastern Mediterranean.

Communist propagandists missed no chance to remind the nationalistic Arabs of the Middle East that they were formerly dominated by Western imperialists. They spread rumors that the United States was

planning to take over in place of Britain and France. They offered the Arabs aid and advice, and sent entertainers as well as agents to the Middle East.

**Problems of the United States in Trying to Check the U.S.S.R. in the Middle East.** In the past, Britain and France had been able to thwart Russian ambitions in the Middle East. But now that these cold-war allies were weakened, the United States felt that it had to help out. Helping out helped to check the U.S.S.R. in the Middle East. But it got the United States deeply involved. When it seemed as though the United States was backing Britain and France there, the Arabs were antagonized. When the United States backed the Arabs, in whose lands many Americans had investments in oil, the British and French were antagonized. This, of course, threatened the unity of NATO.

Also getting the United States involved in Middle Eastern problems was the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. This new nation was the fulfillment of a 2,000-year-old dream of many Jews. It was established in Palestine. Palestine is land claimed by the Arabs. The United States has given some aid and encouragement to pro-West Israel, the one democratic nation in the Middle East. But when such support is given, the Arabs become antagonistic. As a result of all this, it has not always been easy for the United States to decide what steps it should take in the Middle East.

**Some Steps by the United States to Check the U.S.S.R. in the Middle East.** One Middle Eastern nation, Turkey, was given military and economic aid under the Truman Doctrine. It was also admitted to NATO. The United States stationed its Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. To prove to the Arabs that Western nations were no longer imperialistic, it helped persuade Britain to give up its powerful base in the Suez Canal Zone.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In any case, imperialism had become unpopular in the West and Britain found the financial burden of maintaining many overseas bases too much for it.



Then, in 1955, the United States sponsored the *Baghdad Pact*, a defensive military alliance in the Middle East. Its purpose was to connect NATO in the West with SEATO in the East. As originally organized, its members were Britain in the West, Pakistan in South Asia, and Turkey, Iran, and Iraq in between. Iraq dropped out in 1955. Then the alliance's name was changed to the *Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)*.

When this alliance was first organized, most Arab nations called it another form of Western imperialism. They protested that it was designed to restore Britain's power in the Middle East. They asserted that it was a plot to block a united Arab world. Since the United States did not want to make enemies of the Arab nations, it did not join the alliance. Yet it has given it more encouragement, more economic aid, and more military supplies than any of its members.

**The United States Withdraws from Egypt Its Offer to Help Finance the Aswan Dam.** In the same year in which the alliance was formed, the U.S.S.R. and its satellite, Czechoslovakia, sent Egypt military advisers and \$200 million worth of military equipment. To woo Egypt away from the U.S.S.R.'s outstretched arms, President Eisenhower's secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, made Egypt an offer of financial aid for the building of a big dam, the *Aswan Dam*, on the Nile River.

But Egypt's ruler, Gamal Abdel Nasser, continued to praise the U.S.S.R., while denouncing the West. It looked to Dulles as though he was trying to get the United States to outbid the U.S.S.R. for Egypt's favor. Southern cotton planters protested making Egypt a more powerful competitor in cotton growing. For these and other reasons, Dulles withdrew his financial offer. The angry Nasser, needing money to build the dam, seized the Suez Canal in July, 1956.

**The United States Finds Itself Voting with the U.S.S.R. Against Its Cold-War Allies.** For eighty-seven years the Suez Canal had been operated by a private company, owned mainly by the British Government and



*These Iranian nurses, trained under the American Point Four Program, are inoculating boys in Iran against typhoid and typhus. What arguments could be given for a tremendous expansion of such cooperative efforts?*

French private investors. Nasser argued that a nation has the right to take over a company to which it has granted a charter to operate in its territory. Two months after the Canal's seizure, Britain and France bombed Egyptian air bases, and Israel invaded and quickly conquered Egypt's Sinai Peninsula.

Israel had invaded in retaliation for frequent hit-and-run raids on its territory by Russian-armed Egyptian guerrillas. Russian guns, ironically, had, in the early years of Israel's independence, been sent to Israel. But by the early 1950's, the U.S.S.R., in its courtship campaign to win over the Arab world, had turned against Israel. Now the U.S.S.R., posing as the defender of the Arab nations against Western imperialists, warned that it would send in "volunteers" to help Egypt.

The United States did not like to take a strong stand against Britain and France, its

allies in NATO. However, it had taken a strong stand against the Communist invasion of Korea. Not to oppose the use of force in Egypt would have weakened the UN. It might also have made the United States stand in Korea seem hypocritical.

In any case, in the UN Assembly, the United States and the U.S.S.R. both supported a resolution calling on Egypt's invaders to withdraw. They did. Thus the United States was in the peculiar position of voting with its cold-war enemy to condemn its cold-war allies: so deeply had it become involved in the crosscurrents of politics in this crossroads of the world.

**The United States Counters Increased Russian Pressure with the Eisenhower Doctrine.** Now that Britain and France had been rebuked by the UN, the U.S.S.R. stepped up its activities in the Middle East. It sent more and more military equipment to Egypt and Syria. The United States was determined that this increased Soviet pressure should not push the West out of the Middle East. Therefore, the Congress, in 1957, passed a law that became known as the *Eisenhower Doctrine*. This Doctrine permits the President to use, at his discretion, the military might of the United States to defend any threatened nation in the Middle East.

**Most Arab Nations Oppose the Eisenhower Doctrine.** In general, the Arab nations did not welcome the Eisenhower Doctrine. Anti-Western feeling, Russian propaganda, and fear that the Doctrine might make the Middle East a cold-war battleground help to explain why.

Less than a year after the adoption of the Eisenhower Doctrine, Nasser announced that Egypt and Syria had combined into one nation, called the *United Arab Republic*

(U.A.R.).<sup>1</sup> Nasser dreamed of making the U.A.R. the nucleus of a vast Arab empire. To do so, he was willing to encourage revolutions in pro-Western, anti-Nasser Arab nations.

**The United States Applies the Eisenhower Doctrine.** Anti-Western Arabs, encouraged by Nasser, stirred up revolutionary activity in Lebanon and Jordan in 1958. Pro-Western Lebanon then appealed to the United States for help, as did Jordan to Britain. In answer, American troops were sent into Lebanon under the Eisenhower Doctrine. The British sent troops into Jordan.

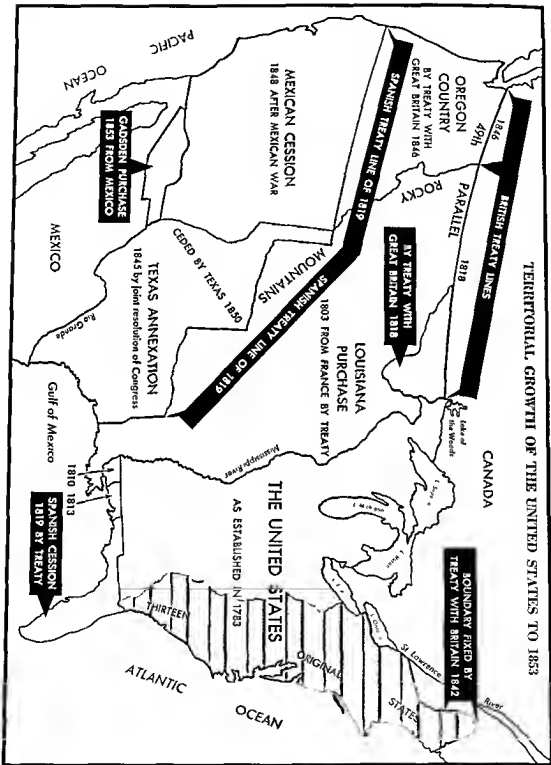
The American-British action infuriated Arab nationalists. The Russians called it "an unprovoked intervention" inspired by a thirst for "oil, oil, and again oil!" Finally, the UN Assembly settled the issue. The Arab nations pledged that they would not interfere in one another's internal affairs. Shortly after, the troops were withdrawn.

Nevertheless, friction among certain Arab nations continues. Even greater friction continues between Arab nations and Israel. Furthermore, the situation is so unstable in the seething Middle East that a country that is pro-Communist today may be pro-West tomorrow. Similarly, one which is pro-U.A.R. today, may be anti-U.A.R. tomorrow. And Nasser, who hurled so much abuse at the West, at times has adopted a much friendlier attitude. Perhaps he fears that an embrace by the U.S.S.R. may strangle the U.A.R.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1961, Syria revolted and withdrew from the U.A.R., but Egypt retained the name. In 1963, it looked as though Syria might rejoin Egypt in the U.A.R., and Iraq and Yemen might join, too. But in the turbulent Middle East one never knows what will happen next.

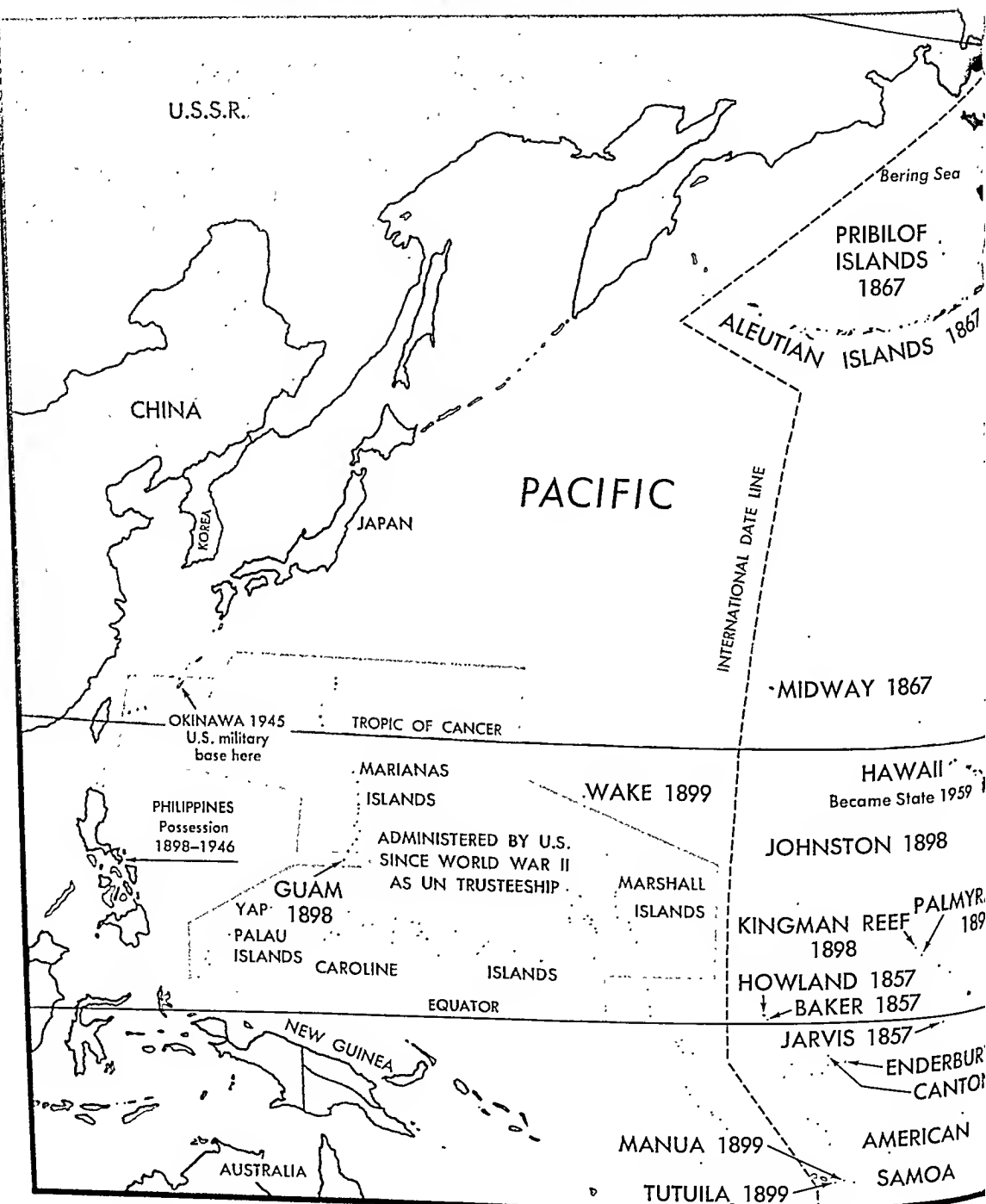
# TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES TO 1853

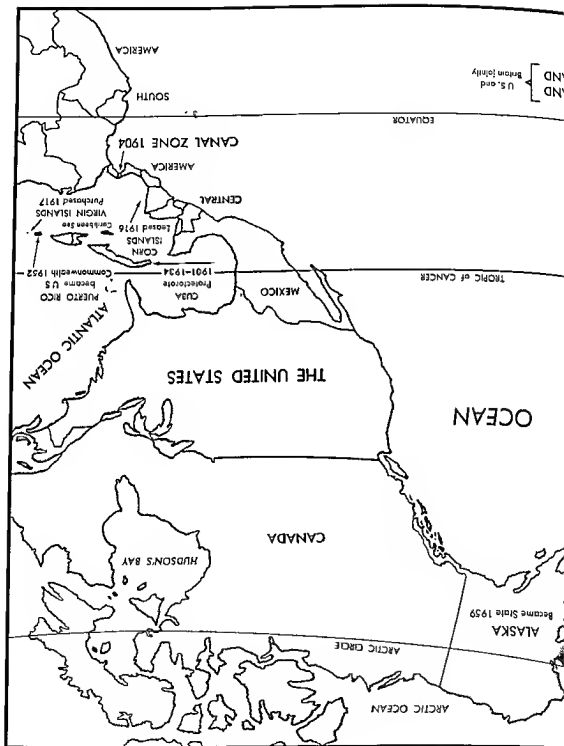




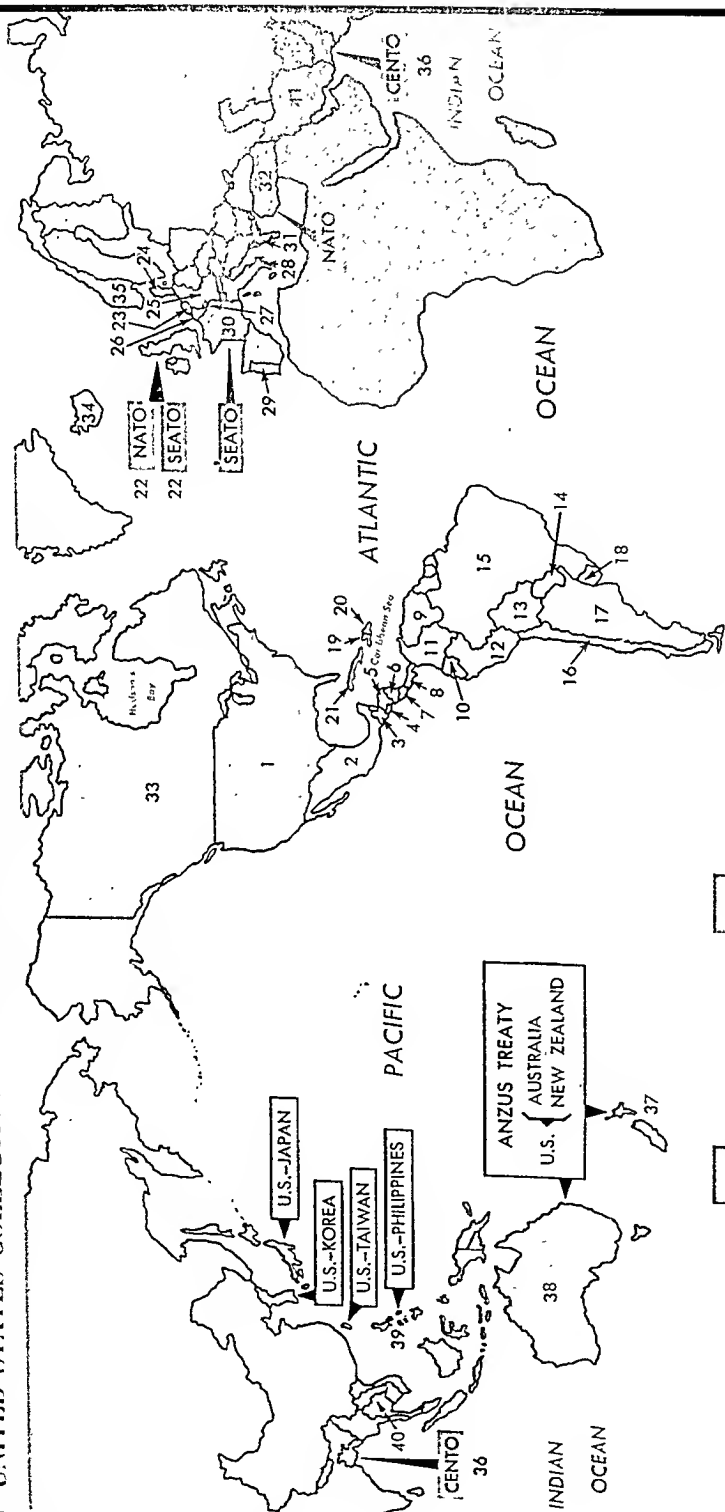
# U.S.GROWTH

## THE UNITED STATES: A WORLD POWER





# UNITED STATES COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS



## SEATO

- 1 UNITED STATES
- 22 UNITED KINGDOM
- 36 FRANCE
- 36 PAKISTAN
- 37 NEW ZEALAND
- 38 AUSTRALIA
- 39 PHILIPPINES
- 40 THAILAND

## NATO

- 1 UNITED STATES
- 26 BELGIUM
- 27 LUXEMBOURG
- 28 ITALY
- 29 PORTUGAL
- 30 FRANCE
- 31 GREECE
- 32 TURKEY
- 33 CANADA
- 34 ICELAND
- 35 NORWAY

## CENTO

- 22 UNITED KINGDOM
- 32 TURKEY
- 41 IRAN
- 36 PAKISTAN

## UNITED STATES



## UNILATERAL TREATY

## COMMUNIST BLOC



## NEUTRAL NATIONS



## RIO TREATY

- 1 UNITED STATES
- 9 VENEZUELA
- 10 ECUADOR
- 11 COLOMBIA
- 12 PERU
- 13 BOLIVIA
- 14 PARAGUAY
- 15 BRAZIL
- 16 CHILE
- 17 ARGENTINA
- 18 URUGUAY
- 19 HAITI
- 20 DOMINICAN REP.
- 21 CUBA
- (under Communist control)

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 34

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Casablanca Conference	UNESCO	German Democratic Republic	AID
Moscow Conference	World Bank	Warsaw Pact	Japanese Peace Treaty of 1952
Cairo Conference	International Monetary Fund	Nationalist China	ANZUS Pact
Teheran Conference	CATT	Mao Tse-tung	Japanese-American Security Pact of 1960
Yalta Conference	cold war	Chinese People's Republic	Huks
Mongolian People's Republic	Tito	thirty-eighth parallel	Colombo Plan
Security Council	Soviet satellites	Syngman Rhee	Quemoy and Matsu
UN Big Five	"iron curtain"	Yalu River	Formosa Resolution
General Assembly	Truman Doctrine	Vietminh	Nikita Khrushchev
Military Staff Committee	containment Policy	Geneva Conference of 1954	CENTO
International Court of Justice	UNRRA	seventeenth parallel	Aswan Dam
Connally Reservation	displaced persons	Geneva Conference of 1961	Camal Abdel Nasser
trust territories	Marshall Plan	SEATO	Eisenhower Doctrine
Trusteeship Council	Molotov Plan	Pacific Charter	U.A.R.
Secretariat	NATO	Point Four Program	
secretary general	Allied Control Council		
ECOSOC	Berlin blockade		
WHO	Berlin airlift		
FAO	Federal Republic of Germany		

### ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Tell what was accomplished at each of the wartime conferences mentioned in this chapter.
2. Over which agreements made at Yalta have there been disagreements? For what reasons?
3. Describe the (a) main aims and (b) general structure of the UN.
4. Give a brief description of the functions of the UN agencies mentioned in this chapter.
5. Name the (a) causes of, (b) weapons used in, and (c) major battlefields of the cold war.
6. What appeals did the Communists make in their propaganda?
7. Point out how Stalin violated both the Atlantic Charter and the Yalta agreements.
8. Show specifically how (a) the Truman Doctrine, (b) the Marshall Plan, and (c) NATO strengthened non-Communist countries in the cold war.
9. Describe the (a) origins of, (b) operations of, and (c) opposition to the Marshall Plan

10. Describe the (a) origins of, (b) operations of, (c) obstacles to, and (d) opposition to NATO.
11. Sum up some (a) causes, (b) highlights, and (c) results of the tug of war over Germany.
12. For what reasons does Germany seem a valuable ally to both sides in the cold war?
13. What means has each side used to try to win Germany as a cold-war ally?
14. In what ways did the United States show its good faith after World War II toward (a) the Philippines, (b) Japan, (c) China, and (d) Korea?
15. Associate with the Chinese civil war (a) Chiang Kai-shek, (b) Japan, (c) the U.S.S.R., (d) the United States, (e) Taiwan, and (f) Mao Tse-tung.
16. What arguments developed in the United States over the loss of China to the Chinese Communists?
17. Give the (a) causes, (b) highlights, (c) results, and (d) significance of the Korean conflict.
18. Explain the reasoning of (a) President Truman and (b) General MacArthur on military policy in Korea.
19. What specific (a) economic, (b) diplomatic, and (c) military steps has the United States taken to try to check the spread of communism in Southeast Asia?
20. What arguments have Americans given (a) for and (b) against the granting of foreign aid?
21. What (a) social, (b) economic, and (c) military changes has the United States helped to bring about in Japan since World War II?
22. Show that the United States (a) carried out some of its original aims for defeated Japan, but (b) modified others.
23. For what reasons do some Japanese oppose the Japanese-American Security Pact of 1960?
24. Sum up Philippine-American relations since the Philippines received their independence.
25. What specific steps has the United States

taken that show that it favors Nationalist China over Communist China?

26. Describe (a) specific steps taken by the U.S.S.R. after World War II to increase its influence in the Middle East and (b) specific American reactions to such steps.
27. Concerning the invasion of Egypt in 1956, give (a) the reasons for it and (b) the stands taken by (1) the U.S.S.R., (2) the United States, and (3) the UN toward it.
28. With respect to the Eisenhower Doctrine, tell (a) why most Arab nations opposed it and (b) the results of an application of it.

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. Of all the wartime conferences held, which do you consider to have been the most significant? For what reasons?
2. What would you have (a) added to or (b) subtracted from the agreements made at Yalta and Potsdam?
3. Do you support the (a) critics or (b) defenders of President Roosevelt with respect to the Yalta agreements? Give reasons for your stand.
4. Give reasons why you agree or disagree with any three of the following statements: (a) The veto power of the Big Five on the Security Council should be abolished; (b) The Security Council should be enlarged in order to give greater representation to the new African and Asian nations; (c) Representation in the General Assembly should be based upon population; (d) It would be better for the world if the U.S.S.R. were out of the UN; (e) Communist China is more of a threat out of the UN than it would be in it; (f) By and large, the UN has solved the problem of international anarchy; (g) All foreign aid should be channeled through the UN; (h) The existence of regional blocs within the UN has destroyed its usefulness; (i) Such alliances



- as NATO and the Warsaw Pact weaken the effectiveness of the UN, (j) The United States would be better off out of the UN.
5. Some might say that the specialized agencies of the UN are more important than its major organs. What reasons might they give?
  6. What do you consider (a) the major cause of, (b) the most powerful weapon used in, and (c) the most significant effect of the cold war?
  7. The iron curtain is a sign of weakness in the Soviet Union. To what extent do you agree?
  8. Compare the Truman Doctrine with the Monroe Doctrine.
  9. What results do you think might have followed if the U.S.S.R. had accepted Marshall Plan aid? Explain fully.
  10. For what reasons do some think it unwise to give foreign aid to Yugoslavia?
  11. What recommendations would you make for strengthening NATO?
  12. For what reasons should the U.S.S.R. have known that the Western powers would not permit the Berlin blockade to succeed?
  13. If the Russians were willing to abolish the Warsaw Pact, do you think we should be willing to abolish NATO? Explain.
  14. What techniques do you think the United States should use to counteract Communist propaganda in Asia? Justify your suggestions.
  15. What arguments could be given (a) for or (b) against the proposition that the United States should have given all-out aid to Chiang Kai-shek in the Chinese civil war?
  16. What lessons do you think the (a) non-Communist world and (b) the Communist world learned from the Korean conflict?
  17. There are many difficulties for the United States in its efforts to check the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. What difficulties?
  18. What are the obstacles in the way of making SEATO as strong an alliance as NATO?
  19. Some Americans have said that it is high time the United States discontinued its foreign-aid program entirely. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
  20. What would you (a) praise and (b) criticize in American relations with Japan since World War II? Give reasons.
  21. What steps do you think the United States might take to promote even better relations with the Philippines?
  22. For what reasons has there been controversy in the United States over whether the United States should defend Quemoy and Matsu?
  23. For what reasons is it especially difficult for the United States to know what policies to adopt toward the Middle East?
  24. CENTO has certain built-in weaknesses. What weaknesses?
  25. Should the United States have maintained a "hands-off" policy when Britain and France invaded Egypt in 1956? Give reasons for your opinion.
  26. Compare the Eisenhower Doctrine with (a) the Monroe Doctrine and (b) the Truman Doctrine
- ★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. In *Problems in American History*, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link, read "Yalta. Success or Sell-out?" or in *American Past*, Vol. II, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown, read the two conflicting points of view on Yalta. Write a paper on which arguments seem to you most convincing.
  2. After studying the UN Charter, and using your knowledge of the UN, outline what you would put in a charter for a UN.
  3. Investigate any specialized agency of the UN. Then report on (a) its aims, (b) obstacles it has faced, (c) its achievements,

- and (d) your recommendations regarding it.
4. After investigating the (a) Genocide Convention and (b) Declaration of Human Rights of the UN, write an article telling what these have to do with the purposes of the UN.
  5. On an outline map of the world locate trouble spots in the cold war.
  6. Draw a cartoon illustrating (a) the iron curtain, (b) the tug of war over Germany, (c) Communist propaganda in Asia, (d) the Point Four Program, (e) the American occupation of Japan, or (f) the unstable Middle East.
  7. Write an essay entitled "How to Bring About a Thaw in the Cold War."
  8. Write an imaginary dialogue between (a) Tito and Stalin, (b) Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, (c) Truman and MacArthur, or (d) Eisenhower and Nasser.
  9. Consult newspapers, current periodicals, or the most recent issues of the *World Almanac* or *Information Please Almanac* for the latest developments in the cold war. Make a report of your findings to the class.
  10. In committee, prepare a bulletin board exhibit on the cold war to include newspaper or magazine clippings, maps, quotations, and illustrations.
  11. Write a letter such as you might write to a pen pal in a Soviet satellite.
  12. Write an editorial such as might have appeared in a Greek or Turkish newspaper on the Truman Doctrine.
  13. In *Great Issues in American History*, Vol. II, edited by R. Hofstadter, read any documents dealing with the period 1945 through 1954. Summarize the document and tell what light it throws on the cold war.
  14. As a member of a committee, interview several persons to ask them whether they would, if possible, change in any way American policy toward (a) Yugoslavia, (b) Germany, (c) Nationalist China, or (d) Communist China. Compile the answers for a committee report.
  15. Prepare a three-minute news broadcast on (a) the Chinese civil war, (b) the Korean conflict, or (c) the invasion of South Vietnam.
  16. In *Decisions of Destiny* by H. L. Tobin, read "Harry Truman Commits His Country to War." Report on what the article tells you about (a) President Truman, (b) the Korean conflict, and (c) the author of the article.
  17. Imagine yourself a United States serviceman stationed in Japan for many years after World War II. Write a letter home describing (a) your experiences and (b) your observations of American policies there.
  18. Write a speech such as you would have delivered on American policy toward the Philippines after 1946 had you been secretary of state.
  19. Write a series of headlines on events in the Middle East since World War II. Consult the most recent newspapers and news magazines.

## CHAPTER

# 35

### *Americans Call For More Alert and Flexible American Policies in Waging the Cold War*

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#### **The Cold War Calls For More Co-operation with Latin America and Canada**

• Differing Points of View Between Latin America and the United States  
• Recent Changes in Cuba and Recent Relations with Panama Disturb Many Americans • Evidences of Co-operation Between the United States and Latin America Since World War II • The United States and Canada Form What Is Practically a Military Marriage • Influence of the St. Lawrence Seaway • Problems Disturbing the Close Relationship Between the United States and Canada

#### **The Cold War Calls For More Alertness Within the United States**

• Steps Taken to Root Out Communists • Differing Stands on the Anti-Communist Steps • Efforts to Achieve Greater Teamwork Among the Armed Forces • Demobilization Is Ceased • Armaments Are Increased • Competition in Producing Long-Distance Rocket-propelled Missiles • Getting America's Story Through the Iron Curtain

#### **Alertness and Flexibility Needed in Relations with the UN and U.S.S.R.**

• Some Disagreements Dividing the UN • Reasons Why Some Put Less Hope in the UN • Some UN Successes • Some Agreements Between Cold-War Enemies Before and After Stalin's Death • Doubts About the Communists' Intentions in Promoting 'Peaceful Coexistence' • Highlights of American Foreign Policy as It Culminated in the Cold War

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#### **The Cold War Calls For Greater Understanding Between the United States and Latin America**

How shocking to have a Vice-President of the United States and his wife stoned and spat upon! This was what happened to Vice-

President and Mrs. Richard M. Nixon in 1958 on a good-will tour of South America. Instigators of this ugly episode, most agree, were small groups of local Communists, desiring to stir up hatred of the United States.

Actually, only a small percentage of Latin Americans are Communists. Yet this small

group is sometimes quite active. In many Latin-American nations, Communists have propagandized, especially among student groups and labor unions. Would-be Latin-American dictators, to gain power, or dictators, to stay in power, have often co-operated with Communists. Furthermore, the U.S.S.R. has launched an economic offensive by making tempting trade offers to Latin-American nations.

In their propaganda, the Communists make the most of certain grievances that many Latin-Americans harbor against the United States. Disturbed by this, many statesmen have urged that the United States take a deeper interest in the problems of Latin America.

**Some Differing Points of View Between Latin Americans and the United States.** Latin-American grievances are sometimes expressed thus:

Why has the United States Government given far more economic and military aid to Europe and Asia than it has to Latin America? Why hasn't the United States lent us more money so that we can develop our industries and such welfare projects as housing? Must we always depend upon producing raw materials for factories in the United States and buying their manufactured goods? Why does the United States dump its surplus raw materials, such as wheat, on the world market, thus forcing prices down? Wouldn't it be better for the United States to co-operate with us in trying to stabilize the prices of such raw materials, which are our life's blood? Why does the United States place limits on imports of our oil, zinc, and lead, for example? Why does the United States, through its recognition and, often, financial aid, help to keep Latin-American dictators in power? Above all, why don't you North Americans try harder to understand us? Why don't more of your businessmen and tourists who come here try to learn our language?

The United States has explained its Latin-American policies somewhat as follows:

European and Asian nations have received

more economic and military aid from the United States because they were ravaged by World War II and because they are neighbors of the aggressive U.S.S.R. Besides, the United States Government has poured millions into Latin America. In general, however, it has preferred to have private investors make such loans, rather than public agencies. In fact, private American investors have poured billions into Latin America. They would invest still more, but many hesitate to do so when certain Latin-American countries *nationalize* (take ownership of) foreign-owned mines, oil wells, and plantations. Nor do such investors like to be called "Yanqui imperialists" by extreme Latin-American nationalists.

Moreover, the considerable industrialization that has taken place in Latin America since World War II has been helped by American funds and American technical training and advice. Even so, Latin America must do far more to industrialize, if it wishes to raise standards of living. For nowhere else in the world is the rate of population growth so great as in Latin America. Guaranteeing stable prices is no easy matter. Nor is the United States convinced that it is always a wise policy. At any rate, in the case of certain specific products, the United States has co-operated to keep the price from dropping too low.

As for United States policy toward Latin-American dictators, the Government contends that it has considerably toughened since the Nixon episode. Anyway, it is the feeling of many Americans that it is up to Latin Americans themselves to rid their countries of dictatorships.

**Recent Changes in Cuba Greatly Disturb Many Americans.** Many Americans applauded when, in 1959, a revolution led by Fidel Castro overthrew the brutal Cuban dictator, Fulgencio Batista. They were pleased when they saw Castro's Government carrying on a campaign against illiteracy, poverty, bad housing, gambling, and immorality. But they soon became displeased. Why? Castro suppressed freedom of expres-

sion and refused to hold an election. After speedy trials, he had many former Batista men, whom he accused of extreme cruelties, executed. Furthermore, he began carrying on a campaign against the United States. He accused the United States of having supported Batista. He condemned the United States as an imperialistic nation perpetually plotting conspiracies against his Government. He threatened to seize the American naval base at Cuatánamo Bay in Cuba (page 639). He sent agents throughout Latin America to stir up Castro-like revolutions.<sup>1</sup> He recognized Communist China and formed close ties with Communist Russia. He seized practically all American private investments in Cuba, with vague promises of compensation sometime in the future.

Finally, the United States, after many months, retaliated. It gradually stopped importing from Cuba first its main product, sugar, and later practically everything. In time, it stopped all exports to Cuba. Diplomatic relations were also broken off.

In 1961, an unsuccessful invasion of Cuba by American-trained and equipped anti-Castro Cubans took place. America's role was criticized by some inside and outside the United States as armed intervention in another nation's affairs. Others criticized the Kennedy Administration (page 892) for not giving all-out support to insure the success of this anti-Castro invasion.

Many Americans feared that the U.S.S.R. was planning to build up Cuba as a springboard for spreading communism to other Latin-American nations. By 1962, Cuba was an armed camp equipped with munitions from behind the iron curtain. It was also a police state, ridden with informers and with jails bursting with political prisoners. And Castro boasted that he was an out-and-out



*If you cannot translate these Cuban pro-Castro slogans, ask a student of Spanish to do so. Then compose the wording of a slogan in answer.*

Communist and would "be one until the day I die."

On October 16, 1962, the United States learned that Soviet missile bases had been set up in Cuba. A few days later, President Kennedy announced on television that "a strict quarantine of all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated." The navy and air force were ordered to enforce this quarantine by stopping and searching every ship headed for Cuba. American armed forces were alerted for a strike against Cuba, if the missile bases were not removed. The Organization of American States (footnote, page 556; page 850) supported the American stand. Apprehensive of a nuclear war, Secretary General U Thant of the UN urged both sides to take no hasty action.

The world held its breath. It breathed a sigh of relief when Premier Khrushchev announced, on October 23, that he had ordered "the dismantling of the weapons which you [President Kennedy] described as offensive, their crating and return to the Soviet Union." From all outward appearances, this was done. However, some Russian technical advisers and military personnel remained in Cuba.

**Recent Relations with Panama Disturb Many Americans.** For many years, many

<sup>1</sup> Castro's insistence that he is trying to introduce desperately needed social and economic reforms has had great appeal to many of the poverty-stricken masses throughout Latin America. However, many Latin-American Governments have broken off relations with Castro's Cuba.

Panamanians working for the Panama Canal Zone Company<sup>1</sup> had been dissatisfied with wages and working conditions. In 1955, the United States guaranteed the company's noncitizen employees the same opportunities for advancement and the same pay levels as citizen employees. The United States has twice raised its annual payment to Panama for use of the Panama Canal Zone (page 640). Many leaders in Panama's Government demand more. Many Panamanian nationalists insist that the Panama Canal Zone is Panama's. To place their flag over the Canal Zone, a group invaded the Zone in 1959. As a gesture of good will, President Eisenhower, in 1960, ordered that Panama's flag be flown alongside the flag of the United States at one spot in the Zone.

**Some Evidences of Co-operation Between the United States and Latin America Since World War II.** An attack on any American republic by a non-American aggressor from outside the Western Hemisphere, or by an American aggressor within it, will be regarded as an attack on all. This regional collective security pledge was made by the twenty-one republics of the Western Hemisphere when they signed the *Rio Defense Treaty* in 1947. If fourteen or more of the signers of this *Rio Pact* agree, diplomatic and trade relations with such an aggressor will be cut off by all of them. However, no signer is required to use its military forces without its consent.

At the inter-American conference at Bogotá, Colombia, in 1948, an *Organization of American States* (OAS) was created by the twenty-one republics. The Pan-American Union (page 556), established in 1889, became its secretariat. OAS nations agreed to promote peace, defense, education, and economic co-operation. They also agreed not to nationalize foreign-owned property without fair payment. At Bogotá, and at later inter-

American conferences, OAS nations agreed to stand together to check the spread of communism in the Western Hemisphere.

Its desire to check communism helps to explain why the United States has given much military aid, such as equipment and troop training, to Latin-American nations. For their part, some Latin-American nations have permitted the United States to establish bases in their territory. They also supply the United States with many strategic raw materials. Moreover, an *Inter-American Defense Council* was set up in 1948 to do what its name suggests.

Among recent examples of inter-American co-operation is the 1960 *Declaration of San José*. The foreign ministers of the OAS, in this declaration, warned against intervention by Communist Russia or Communist China in the Western Hemisphere. Without mentioning Cuba, the declaration was obviously directed at Castro for welcoming Russia's promise of rocket protection against the United States. As a result, Cuban newspapers called the OAS "an instrument of Yankee imperialism."

Also in 1960, the Eisenhower Administration (page 867) appropriated \$500 million for Latin America to improve housing, education, public health, and agriculture. In this same spirit, in the same year, the United States and the Latin-American nations signed the *Act of Bogotá*. In this act, they agreed to take steps to bring about higher standards of living for all Latin Americans. One step is to help make more poor peasants land-owners. Another is to set up a fairer system of taxation. A major goal of the Act of Bogotá is to check the threat of communism. Somewhat similar to this act is a program of President Kennedy's called the Alliance for Progress (page 894).

In 1962, at Punta del Este, Uruguay, an OAS resolution banned the participation of Castro's Cuba in the work of the OAS. This resolution received only the bare two-thirds majority needed for adoption. Some of the larger Latin-American nations abstained from voting. However, all but Cuba voted to

<sup>1</sup> The Panama Canal Zone Company, owned by the United States, operates the Canal. It has, among other things, its own schools, stores, hotels, and police department in the Canal Zone.

label Castro's Cuba a Communist state whose principles are completely opposed to those of the OAS.

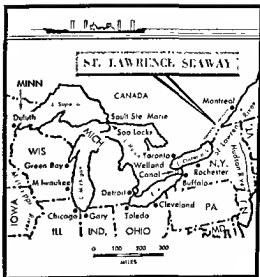
In 1963, at San José, Costa Rica, President Kennedy and the presidents of six Central American states pledged "resistance to any Soviet aggression in the western hemisphere and [promised] to strengthen the movement toward economic co-operation among states in the area."

## The Cold War Calls For Greater Understanding Between The United States and Canada

**The United States and Canada Form What Is Practically a Military Marriage.** Across Canada from ocean to ocean stretch three vast radar systems. The farthest north, in the Arctic Circle, is the *Distant Early Warning Line (DEW)*. These radar systems, Canadian-American co-operative enterprises, were constructed after World War II. They are intended to give quick warning of the approach of bombers or missiles heading toward Canada or the United States from across the North Pole.

In 1951, the two nations agreed to co-operate in civil defense "as far as possible . . . as if there were no border." In 1957, the two nations' air forces were placed under a combined command, called the *North American Air Defense Command (NORAD)*. Thus, just as Canada and the United States co-operated against the fascist threat before World War II, so they are now co-operating to a considerable extent in the cold war against the Communist threat.

**The St. Lawrence Seaway Brings the United States and Canada Even Closer Together.** Today ocean-going cargo ships can travel from the Atlantic Ocean up the St. Lawrence River to ports on the Great Lakes. Farmers in the Middle West of both Canada and the United States can thus ship crops to foreign markets more cheaply. And mining companies can save money shipping iron ore from Labrador and the Middle West to the



steel mills of Canada and the United States. These benefits were made possible by the completion of the *St. Lawrence Seaway* project in 1959. Hydroelectric power harnessed by this project furnishes electricity to both Canada and the United States.

Every President from Hoover to Eisenhower had tried to get the Senate to approve a treaty with Canada for the joint building of the St. Lawrence Seaway. But many senators had objected to the Government's going into the electric power business. Some were also concerned that railroads and East coast ports would lose valuable business to ships using the St. Lawrence Seaway. Then Canada threatened to build the project itself along an all-Canadian route. Finally, in 1954, the Senate ratified the treaty.

**Some Problems Disturbing the Close Relationship Between the United States and Canada.** Canada and the United States are each other's best customers. However, Canadians buy much more from the United States than Americans buy from Canada. Yet there are only nineteen million Canadians and about 190 million Americans. The unfavorable balance of trade with the United States annoys many Canadians. They say that if only the United States would lower its tariff, Canadians could sell more to Americans. Both nations are among the world's leading wheat producers. Sometimes the United States sells many tons of its surplus

wheat at low prices in world markets. Canadian farmers complain that this costs them many foreign customers.

In general, since World War II, Canada has enjoyed prosperity. Much of the capital for developing its mineral wealth and industries has come from the United States. In fact, more than half of Canada's oil wells, iron mines, and factories are American-owned. Many Canadians fear that this strong American economic influence will develop into strong political influence, too.

At times, especially during Canadian political campaigns, the United States has been charged with meddling in Canadian affairs. Friction has also arisen because the United States has tried to get Canada to accept nuclear warheads under United States custody. Canada's refusal to do so and misunderstandings in negotiations led, in 1963, to some sharp words between the two Governments. The United States contended that Canada had not come up with any "sufficiently practical arrangement for the completion of existing weapons systems." And Canada's prime minister, John Diefenbaker, went so far as to declare that the United States was an unreliable ally with respect to weapons. When a new prime minister, Lester Pearson, was chosen in 1963, Canadian-American relations seemed to improve somewhat.

## **Many Americans Call For More Alertness Within the United States**

**Some Steps Taken to Root Out Communists.** Revelations about the infiltration of Communists in the Government caused President Truman, in 1947, to order an investigation of all Federal employees. Thousands resigned as investigations proceeded. Any employee about whose loyalty there was reasonable doubt was considered a "security risk," and discharged. Hundreds were. In 1947, too, the United States attorney general listed organizations he considered subversive. Any person who belonged to such an organization

was considered by the Government of doubtful loyalty.

Two years later, eleven leading American Communists were tried under the *Smith Act* of 1940. This act had made it a crime to teach or advocate the overthrow of any government in the United States by force, or to belong to any organization teaching or advocating such action. The eleven defendants were found guilty. On their appeal, the Supreme Court upheld their conviction. A roundup of Communist leaders throughout the nation followed.

Then came the invasion of South Korea by the Communists in 1950. This caused passions to flare even more against Communists, both in and out of the United States. Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin accused the State Department of being overrun with Communists. This was the reason, he said, why Communists had been able to take over China and were then making their bold effort to take over all of Korea.

In 1950, too, it came to light that some British and American Communists had turned over to the U.S.S.R. secret data on how to produce the atomic bomb. By this time, millions of Americans were convinced that the American Communist Party was not really a political party but a tool of Moscow. And Moscow, they were equally convinced, was the headquarters for a world-wide Communist conspiracy against democracy.

Reflecting these convictions, the Congress passed the *Internal Security Act of 1950* (the *McCarran Act*). This act required Communist Party members and members of organizations considered to be Communist to register with the Government. Such organizations were required to turn over to the Government their membership lists. Foreigners who were or who had been Communists or fascists were forbidden to enter the United States. Alien Communists already here could be arrested and deported. The act also stated that in case of war, Communists might be held in detention camps. President Truman had vetoed the McCarran Act on the



grounds that it violated civil liberties. But the Congress passed it over his veto by an overwhelming vote. In 1954, the Congress went still further and outlawed the Communist Party.

By this time, Congressional committees had called many witnesses to testify as to whether they were Communists and to identify others whom they knew to be Communists. Such committees investigated to find out who were Communists in government, in industry, in schools, in colleges, and in the motion-picture business. Often, witnesses refused to give information to such committees, pleading the Fifth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment states that no person "shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Senator McCarthy angrily labeled such witnesses "Fifth Amendment Communists." At this time, he was making headlines by accusing many, in and out of government, of being Communists.

**Some Differing Stands Regarding the Anti-Communist Steps.** Some Americans said that there was too much fuss being made about Communists, since there were so relatively few in the United States. Some Americans were troubled when Federal employees were discharged on the grounds of "reasonable doubt" of their loyalty. They feared that some had been discharged merely because of rumors spread by persons hostile to them personally. Some Americans said that the nation was becoming so hysterical about the Communist menace that the civil liberties of people in general were in danger. They asserted that the reputations of certain Government employees and professors had suffered permanent damage, when they were unjustly labeled Communists. Some even criticized the decision to jail the eleven top Communists. It was, they said, a violation of the Bill of Rights to jail persons who had not *practiced* violent overthrow of the government, but merely *preached* it.

Senator McCarthy's tactics were also attacked. His critics accused him of smearing the reputations of many innocent people in order to build a reputation for himself. They

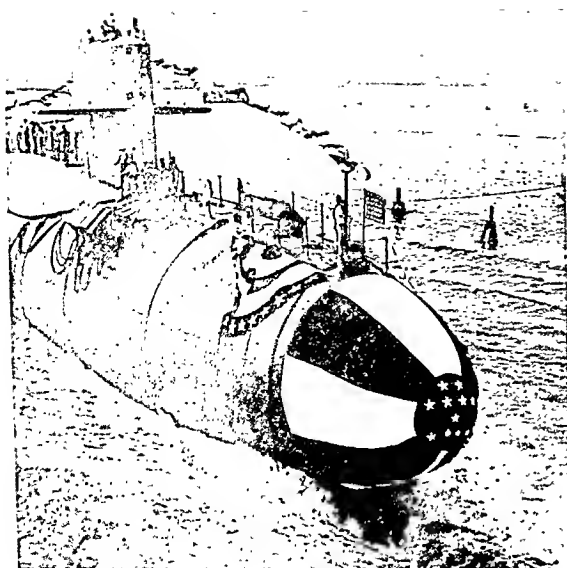
publicized the fact that a Senate committee had investigated his charge that the State Department was overrun with Communists and found it to be untrue. They were pleased when the Senate condemned him for insults to the Senate and abuse of some of its members.

What did the supporters of the strong anti-Communist steps say in answer to all this? They pointed out that there had been relatively few Communists in Russia, too, in 1917, but that these few had been able to overthrow the Government. They stressed the great threat facing the United States and the need, therefore, to place some limits on civil liberties. Why, they asked, give Communists the protection of civil liberties so that they can spread their poisonous propaganda? They applauded the majority decision of the Supreme Court on the jailing of the eleven top Communists. The Court had declared that the conviction was not a violation of freedom of speech. It declared the conviction justified on the ground that a government has the right to protect itself against "a clear and present danger" to its security (page 675).

In general, however, most Americans, then as now, seemed torn between their desire to check the Communist threat and, at the same time, preserve civil liberties.

**The United States Modernizes Its Military Establishment.** Teamwork among land, sea, and air forces was the key to many a victory during World War II. Many recognized the need for continuing such close co-operation after the war. There was also a desire to eliminate interservice rivalries.

**Efforts to Achieve Greater Teamwork Among the Armed Services.** For these reasons, the Congress passed the *National Security Act* in 1947. This act created a new Cabinet position called the *secretary of defense*. Subordinate to this secretary, and without Cabinet rank, were placed the secretary of the army, the secretary of the navy, and the secretary of the air force. Defense strategy was placed in charge of the joint chiefs of staff, made up of the chief of staff



*First fleet ballistic missile submarine to be launched. For what reasons do all Americans owe a great debt to those who serve on such submarines?*

of each of these services, plus a fourth member to act as chairman.

A *Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)* was also created. Its purpose was to compile, in the interest of the security of the United States, all possible information about other nations' military establishments and plans. In the interest of national security, too, the *National Security Resources Board*<sup>1</sup> was created. Its purpose was to plan policies so as to conserve strategic materials and make the best use of civilian, industrial, and military resources.

To parallel the Army's West Point and the Navy's Annapolis, a United States Air Force Academy was established in 1954, near Colorado Springs, Colorado.

*Demobilization Is Ceased and Armaments Are Increased.* To keep pace with the military establishment of the U.S.S.R., the United States, when the cold war began, stopped demobilizing its armed forces. A new *Selective Service Act* in 1948 made men from nineteen to twenty-five liable for twenty-one months' service. The United States increased its conventional armaments,

such as planes. It also began to stockpile atomic bombs and, after 1953, hydrogen bombs. So did the U.S.S.R.

*A Race with Russia in Producing Long-Distance, Rocket-propelled Missiles.* The two nations also competed to improve upon the rockets developed by the Germans at the end of World War II. Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. have developed rocket-propelled missiles that can hit targets thousands of miles away. Those with the longest range are called *intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)*. Such missiles are, in a sense, planes without pilots. Guided by radar, radio, or other devices, and carrying nuclear warheads, they could cause mass destruction. A submerged American submarine, in 1960, fired a missile 1,500 miles to a planned target. One submarine can carry sixteen such *Polaris missiles*, as they are called. Such a cargo of sixteen has as much power as all the bombs exploded in World War II.

*Getting America's Story Through the Iron Curtain.* To combat Soviet propaganda, and to give a picture of the American way of life, the *Voice of America* radio program was set up. Getting its broadcasts through to countries behind the iron curtain has been difficult, however, for the Communist Governments often "jam" the radio signals.

## **Alertness and Flexibility Are Needed In America's UN Policies, Too**

*Some General Reasons Why Some Put Less Hope in the UN.* Some have called the United Nations the "Disunited Nations." On many issues, instead of being *united*, the UN is *divided* into blocs: the Soviet bloc, the American bloc, and the Afro-Asian bloc, among others. The dream of UN founders for big-power unity in the organization has not been realized. The big powers seem to rely more on regional alliances, such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact, than they do on the UN.

Some nations have practiced aggression, with the UN sometimes doing very little about it. The UN has not prevented local

<sup>1</sup> Now called the *Office of Emergency Planning*.

wars, such as the Korean and Indo-China conflicts, from breaking out. The Communists have at times used the UN Assembly as a kind of broadcasting station for their propaganda. The U.S.S.R., and other nations, too, have often failed to pay their fair share of UN expenses.

Violent disagreements have occurred in the UN over such questions as the following: Which nations shall be admitted as new members of the UN? Which nations shall be chosen nonpermanent members of the Security Council? Should the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council be expanded so as to give representation to new nations from such areas as Asia and Africa? Which problems are internal problems of particular nations and which are international problems to be handled by the UN? What steps shall be taken to promote disarmament in general and to control atomic energy in particular?

Many of these questions have aroused the passions of many nations. But the deepest passions aroused have usually been those of the United States and the U.S.S.R. Again and again, the U.S.S.R. has vetoed proposal after proposal in the Security Council. As a result, the United States has proposed that the veto power be limited. But the U.S.S.R. has vetoed this idea. The UN, it has said, is pro-United States. It has maintained, therefore, that it needs an unlimited veto for its own protection.

**International Control of Atomic Energy: A Hot UN Issue.** Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. have agreed that there should be international control of atomic energy. But long-drawn-out and passionate debates have developed as to how this should be accomplished. The United States, in 1946, introduced a plan for international ownership and unlimited international inspection of atomic energy materials and production. This plan called for a foolproof system of inspection by an international agency. The United States said that it would then be willing to destroy its atomic bombs. It would also then turn over its atomic secrets to an

international authority in control of atomic energy.

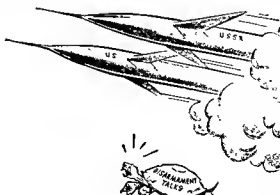
The Russians turned down this plan. They wanted all atomic bombs destroyed *before* a system of international inspection was set up. They also wanted the international agency's powers of inspection limited.

By 1949, the Russians, too, had learned how to make atomic bombs. Since no agreement had been reached on international control of atomic energy, both nations continued stockpiling atomic bombs and, later, as we know, the more murderous hydrogen bomb.

**Disarmament Talks Are Discouraging.** In the UN, and out of it, too, many disarmament discussions have been held since World War II. Among the numerous disarmament proposals made have been: destruction of all nuclear weapons; abolition of all alliances; recall home of all troops stationed in foreign lands, total world disarmament for a four-year test period; and agreement that "outer space be dedicated to the peaceful uses of mankind and denied to the purposes of war." But the many fears and suspicions of the cold war have thus far proved stumbling blocks to these and many other disarmament proposals.

Many predict that failure to achieve disarmament would ultimately lead to an all-out nuclear war that would blast all life from the face of the earth. They know that nuclear

A cartoon entitled "The International Derby" Draw an original cartoon expressing this idea in your own way.



testing poisons the atmosphere with a radioactive element called *strontium 90*. Strontium 90 fallout may result in disease, deformity, or death, especially for the descendants of many alive today. For radioactive poisons may be transmitted by parents to their children and grandchildren.

Millions around the world would like to see the billions spent on armaments spent instead on raising standards of living and fighting disease and illiteracy. But in these tense times they realize that security comes first.

## Some Glimmers of Hope In the Cold War

**Some UN Successes.** In spite of the failures and weaknesses of the UN, it has had a number of successes. In 1946, the Security Council helped persuade the U.S.S.R. to withdraw Russian troops from Iran. Similarly, it played a part in getting Britain and France to withdraw theirs from Syria and Lebanon. By 1950, it had helped to establish such new nations as Israel and Indonesia. In 1952, it made Libya, a former Italian colony, an independent nation. It has helped to prevent a bloody war between India and Pakistan over the province of Kashmir. A UN-sponsored army stopped Communist aggression in Korea. A UN order brought about a cease-fire and the withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli troops from Egypt in 1956. A *UN Emergency Force*, the world's first international police force, was set up after this conflict to patrol disputed areas between Egypt and Israel. UN troops were sent in 1960 to the Congo to try to bring about order and unity in that troubled new republic.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the many specialized agencies of the UN have, as we know, done much to

fight poverty, illiteracy, disease, and discrimination, and to resettle refugees.

Finally, it is obvious that nations and blocs in the UN are eager to have world public opinion on their side. Therefore, opposing nations or blocs have felt compelled to give arguments to support the stands they take. The freedom of debate afforded by the UN makes it possible for the peoples of the world to evaluate the arguments presented by both sides and thereby come to sounder conclusions.

### Agreement Is Reached on Punishing War Criminals and on Certain Peace Treaties.

Ten high-ranking Nazis were hanged in 1946 and many other Nazis imprisoned. They had been convicted after international trials at Nuremberg, Germany. Their judges represented the United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and France. The Nazis had been declared guilty of waging aggressive war, of murdering prisoners of war, and of persecuting people on political, racial, or religious grounds. About 300 lesser Nazis were later also tried, convicted, and executed for war crimes.

The trials indicated that the U.S.S.R. and the Big Three Western powers *could* agree on some policies. They also indicated agreement on the need to deter future would-be aggressors. Moreover, the trials' exposure of Nazi atrocities made the wartime allies feel that their wartime sacrifices had not been for nothing.

The U.S.S.R. and the Big Three Western powers clashed many times on the question of peace treaties for defeated Italy and the former Nazi-satellite nations (Finland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria). But finally, in 1947, they came to terms on this point, too. And, in 1955, after ten years of occupation by the Big Three Western powers and the U.S.S.R., an Austrian peace treaty was agreed upon.

**Agreements Are Stepped Up Between the U.S.S.R. and the West After Stalin's Death.** "At the present time there is no dispute or unresolved question that cannot be settled peacefully by mutual agreement of the inter-

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<sup>1</sup> Some applauded this move as a means of preventing the spread of Communist influence in the Congo (page 860).

ested countries." This statement was made by the then premier of the U.S.S.R., Georgi Malenkov, shortly after Stalin's death in 1953. Malenkov seemed to wish to show that the new Government was more compromising than the tough Stalin had been. As it happened, the Communist world soon agreed on truces in Korea and Indo-China.

Soviet dictator Khrushchev lashed out at dead dictator Stalin in 1956. He called him a conceited, suspicious tyrant, who had been responsible for the exile or execution of millions of Russians. He attacked him, too, for not doing more to promote what Communists call "peaceful coexistence" between Communist and non-Communist countries. Let us see what steps were taken by the Khrushchev dictatorship to try to prove that it was different from Stalin's.

**Co-operation in Promoting the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.** People on both sides of the iron curtain have expressed the desire to make the atom "the servant and not the destroyer of man." Toward this goal, at President Eisenhower's suggestion, an *International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)* was created in 1957. Neither the U.S.S.R. nor any other members of this UN agency may veto its decisions. Nations with nuclear materials may deposit some of them with IAEA. And nations without any may borrow some. Thus IAEA is like an atomic bank. Through research and exchange of nuclear information, IAEA aims to raise the health and living standards of the peoples of the world.

In 1958, the second UN International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy met. Scientists from sixty-nine countries were present. Nuclear information for peacetime uses was freely exchanged, even between scientists from Communist and non-Communist countries.

Beginning in 1958, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and Britain voluntarily stopped nuclear tests. Many lovers of peace and those greatly concerned about the dangers of atomic fallout to the health of the world prayed that the nuclear test moratorium would last forever.

**Co-operation in a Scientific Investigation of the Earth's Physical Environment.** "The earth, the seas, the atmosphere, and the sun"—all became subjects of a co-operative eighteen-month study by sixty-six nations, beginning in 1957. In this *International Geophysical Year (IGY)*, scientists from both the United States and the U.S.S.R. played important roles. IGY studies discovered a huge

*A cartoon entitled "Operation Necessity" The more one studies this cartoon, the more profound it seems. For what reasons?*



## Some Highlights in Relations Between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

1917	• Communists take control in Russia • U.S. refuses recognition
1918	• Allied troops enter Russia
1921	• U.S. sends food to relieve Russian famine
1933	• U.S. recognizes U.S.S.R.
1938	• House Un-American Activities Committee created
1939	• Nazi-Russian nonaggression pact, Russian invasion of Finland trouble U.S.
1940	• Smith Act passed
1941	• Germany invades U.S.S.R. • U.S. grants U.S.S.R. lend lease • U.S. and U.S.S.R. allies in World War II
1943	• Teheran Conference
1945	• Yalta and Potsdam Conferences
1946	• U.S.S.R. sets up satellite nations • U.S. and U.S.S.R. participate in Nuremberg Trials
1947	• Truman Doctrine • Marshall Plan rejected by U.S.S.R. • Cominform created
1948	• Berlin airlift begins

1949	• East Germany becomes satellite of U.S.S.R. • Point Four Program, NATO created • China goes Communist • Atomic explosion by U.S.S.R.
1950	• North Korean Communists invade South Korea • McCarran Internal Security Act passed
1953	• U.S.S.R. also has hydrogen bomb • Stalin dies
1954	• SEATO pact signed • OAS issues anti-Communist declaration • Pro-Communist Government in Guatemala ousted • U.S. outlaws Communist Party • NATO admits West Germany
1955	• Formosa Resolution • U.S. sponsors Baghdad Pact (CENTO today) • Austrian peace treaty • Warsaw Pact
1956	• Polish and Hungarian revolts crushed
1957	• Eisenhower Doctrine • NO-RAD created • International Geophysical Year begins • IAEA created • U.S.S.R. launches Sputnik
1958	• U.S. launches Explorer I • U.S. sends troops to Lebanon • Temporary nuclear test ban begins • U.S.-U.S.S.R. cultural exchanges begin
1959	• Castro comes to power in Cuba • Agreement on Antarctica
1960	• Polaris missile fired from submerged nuclear submarine • U-2 plane downed in U.S.S.R.

1961

• Unsuccessful invasion by anti-Castro Cubans • Soviet astronaut orbits earth • U.S. military aid sent to South Vietnam

1962

• Cuba expelled from OAS • American astronaut orbits earth • Russian missile bases in Cuba dismantled

1963

• Communist threat stepped up in Southeast Asia • Direct cable hookup between Washington and Moscow agreed upon

underwater mountain range, previously unknown ocean currents, unsuspected bands of radiation beginning a few hundred miles above the earth, and much data about previously uncharted areas of Antarctica. It was during IGY that both the U.S.S.R. and the United States first launched man-made earth satellites (page 833). Thus the space age was ushered in.

**Co-operation in Cultural Activities.** Symphony conductors, jazz headliners, opera stars, television comedians, champion athletes, leaders in industry, agriculture, and medicine, students, and just plain tourists have visited the U.S.S.R. in recent years. They have gone either to study, to entertain, to compete, or just to learn more about the Russians. And their Russian counterparts have come to the United States for similar purposes. Such extensive intervisitation was unheard of while dictator Stalin was alive. It was in 1958, a few years after his death, that Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower agreed to these cultural exchanges. They also agreed that their two countries should co-operate in wars on diseases that plague millions.

Furthermore, a treaty on Antarctica was signed in 1959 by the United States and the U.S.S.R., and other nations having claims there. It was agreed that Antarctica would be used for peaceful purposes only. The

treaty forbids military activities or nuclear explosions there. It is especially significant as the first international agreement that provides unlimited right of inspection to see that such terms are not violated.

**Some Doubts About the Communists' Intentions in Promoting 'Peaceful Coexistence.'** Many Westerners fear that "peaceful coexistence" is a carefully planned "peace offensive" to lull the West to cut down on its defenses. This would enable the U.S.S.R. to cut its own heavy military expenses. It could then spend more money on trying to catch up to the United States economically. Skeptical Westerners point to the U.S.S.R.'s meddling in the Middle East, which has helped to foment rebellions there. They point, too, to the ruthlessness with which the U.S.S.R. crushed revolts in its satellites Hungary and Poland in 1956. Many feel that world domination is still the main Communist goal. To them, the smiling face that Khrushchev's U.S.S.R. presents to the West every now and then is just a "new look" disguising old purposes.

In 1960, an American plane, a U-2, was brought down over Russian territory. After some contradictory statements, the United States admitted that the plane had been sent to get military intelligence about the U.S.S.R. American officials said this was necessary because of the fear that the U.S.S.R. was planning a sneak attack on the United States. This "spy flight," as it was called, infuriated Khrushchev, even though President Eisenhower promised that no further flights of this type would be made. Khrushchev insisted that the "spy flight" indicated that the United States wanted war with the U.S.S.R. He warned that he would blast with nuclear weapons any European or Asian bases that were used as jumping-off places for such "spy flights." He canceled an invitation that had previously been extended to Eisenhower to visit the U.S.S.R.<sup>1</sup> He broke up a meeting

<sup>1</sup> This was to have been in return for a visit that Khrushchev made to the United States in 1959

in Paris of the heads of the major powers, who were to discuss settlement of major differences. Ironically, this so-called "summit conference" was one that Khrushchev himself had long been seeking.

Then came another 1960 event that made many doubt the sincerity of Khrushchev's peaceful-coexistence policy. The Congo had just received its independence from Belgium. When rioting between conflicting groups there broke out, the UN sent in troops. Khrushchev threw his support to one side. Finally, Khrushchev's ambassador and technical experts were ordered out of the Congo by a Congo army official who had gained control. Khrushchev blamed UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld and the Western powers for the ousting of the U.S.S.R. from the Congo. He said that Western imperialists were trying to control the Congo because of its deposits of uranium and other valuable minerals. Many Westerners felt that Khrushchev had planned to make the Congo and many other new African nations Soviet satellites.

Shortly afterward, Khrushchev attended the UN General Assembly meeting in New York. There he condemned Hammarskjöld and demanded his resignation. Hammarskjöld refused.<sup>1</sup>

The cold war seemed to be getting warmer still, when, in 1961, Khrushchev, without warning, ordered the resumption of testing of nuclear bombs in the atmosphere. One such bomb was estimated to be well over fifty megatons in power—equivalent to fifty million tons of TNT. In 1962, when Khrushchev refused to agree to a nuclear test ban with foolproof inspection, the United States resumed testing, too.

The Khrushchev technique of mixing smiles with frowns continued. He still insisted that he believes in peaceful coexistence.

## **Summarizing Some Highlights Of American Foreign Policy As It Culminated in the Cold War**

For a long, long time, no one nation dominated much of the continent of Europe for very long. When any nation threatened to do so, Great Britain always stepped in to maintain the balance of power. This meant that no nation, with the possible exception of Britain, was ever strong enough to threaten the security of the United States. However, by the late nineteenth century, both Germany and Japan had also become great powers. Now the United States began to fear that the balance of power would be destroyed. Americans began to question whether the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans would give the United States much protective insurance, as they had in the past.

This helps to explain why, for added insurance, the United States annexed such areas as Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, and Hawaii, the Philippines, and Guam in the Pacific. It also throws light on why the United States established Caribbean protectorates and why it built the Panama Canal.

The United States helped to preserve the balance of power when it helped to defeat Germany in World War I. It also helped to maintain the balance of power in Asia by insisting on an Open Door policy in China. As a result, feeling more secure, the United States, during the Twenties, tended to become more isolationist once again. It felt secure enough to begin withdrawing marines from such Caribbean areas as Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. It began to take steps to give the other American republics a voice in interpreting the Monroe Doctrine.

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<sup>1</sup> Hammarskjöld was killed in a plane crash in Africa in 1961, while on his way to bring about a cease-fire between UN forces and Katanga. Katanga, a mineral-rich province of the Republic of Congo, was challenging the authority of the central Government. In 1963, it seemed as though the UN forces had finally compelled Katanga to recognize the central Government's authority.



But then, in the 1930's, Germany and Japan again threatened the balance of power. The United States soon realized that its attempt to maintain neutrality was just playing into the hands of such aggressors. Its entrance into World War II speeded their downfall. Soon after the war ended, a "balance of terror" replaced the age-old balance of power. For the two great powers that emerged from the war, the United States and the U.S.S.R., were soon engaged in a cold war. The United States, which, in its isolationist period, had spurned entangling alliances, now signed them with more than half the world's nations. And the U.S.S.R. surrounded itself with satellites and signed an alliance with Communist China.

Few believe that the U.S.S.R. wants to see the cold war become an all-out nuclear war. For such a war would be suicidal for the U.S.S.R., as well as for the rest of the world. In 1957, Khrushchev described the kind of

war he wants to wage with the United States in these words:

We declare war upon you . . . in the peaceful field of trade . . . The threat to the United States of America is not the Inter-continental Ballistic Missile, but in the field of peaceful production. We are relentless in this and it will prove the superiority of our system

The United States feels confident, however, that its economic system, under freedom, will continue to give its people the highest standard of living in the world. At the same time, it seems convinced that it must keep up its military might to contain communism, and must continue its program of aid to the underprivileged peoples of underdeveloped areas. Convinced also are millions of Americans that the United States must remain ever alert and flexible in its relations with other nations.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 35

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

nationalization of industry	DEW	Selective Service Act of 1948	IAEA
Fidel Castro	NORAD	ICBMs	IGY
U Thant	St. Lawrence Seaway	Polaris missiles	Antarctica Treaty
Rio Defense Treaty	Smith Act	Voice of America	Hungarian revolt
OAS	Joseph R. McCarthy	strontium 90	U-2 incident
Inter-American Defense Council	Internal Security Act of 1950	UN Emergency Force	Dag Hammarskjöld
Declaration of San José	National Security Act of 1947	UN blocs	"balance of terror"
Act of Bogotá	CIA	Nuremberg trials	
Punta del Este Inter-American Conference	Office of Emergency Planning	Austrian peace treaty	
		"peaceful coexistence"	

## ☆ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. For what reasons have many American statesmen in recent years urged that the United States take a deeper interest in the problems of the Latin-American countries?
2. Under the headings *Political*, *Economic*, and *Social*, list some of the grievances that some Latin Americans have against the United States.
3. Sum up some of the explanations given by the United States in answer to the grievances listed in the answer to Question 2.
4. Explain (a) what actions of Fidel Castro antagonized the United States and (b) the specific reactions of the United States to these actions.
5. What has the United States done in recent years to try to placate Panamanians?
6. Give specific examples of steps taken at inter-American conferences in recent years to promote (a) military, (b) economic, and (c) social co-operation.
7. With respect to Canadian-American relations in recent years, give (a) three examples of co-operation and (b) three sources of friction.
8. Concerning the St. Lawrence Seaway project, tell (a) why it was long delayed and (b) what its benefits have been.
9. Concerning the drive against American Communists, describe (a) reasons why it was stepped up in the 1950's and (b) some steps taken in it.
10. For what reasons were there differences of opinion on the way the drive against American Communists was carried on?
11. Describe four steps taken to modernize the military establishment of the United States after World War II.
12. For what reasons have some been disappointed in the UN?
13. Explain the disagreement over the 1946 American plan for international control of atomic energy.
14. Concerning world disarmament, tell (a) what benefits might result from it and (b) what proposals have been advanced to achieve it.
15. For what reasons do some still have high hopes for the UN?
16. In the (a) judicial, (b) diplomatic, (c) scientific, and (d) cultural realms, the United States and the U.S.S.R. have sometimes been able to reach agreements. Give proof in each case.
17. For what reasons are many suspicious of Khrushchev's professed belief in peaceful coexistence?
18. Describe Khrushchev's reaction to the U-2 incident.
19. Show ways in which (a) the balance-of-power policy and (b) the "balance-of-terror" policy have affected American policy over the years.

## ☆ Questions for Thought and Discussion

1. What techniques do you think the U.S.S.R. uses to spread communism in Latin America?
2. What techniques do you think the United States should use to combat the spread of communism in Latin America?
3. What would you add to (a) the Latin-American grievances and (b) the explanations given by the United States that appear at the beginning of this chapter?
4. What steps do you think the United States might have taken to prevent the rise to power of a Castro in Cuba?
5. Give your opinions of United States policies toward Castro.
6. After Castro declared himself an out-and-out Communist, should the United States have used its armed forces to overthrow him? Give reasons for your answer.
7. Instead of initiating a quarantine, should the United States have turned the problem of Soviet missile bases in Cuba over to the UN? Give reasons for your answer.
8. For what reasons must the United States

- handle its relations with Panama with particular delicacy?
9. In its relations with Latin America since World War II, which policies of the United States do you think have been most effective: (a) military, (b) economic, or (c) social? Explain
  10. For what reasons is friction between the United States and Canada especially regrettable?
  11. What lessons are there in the story of the St. Lawrence Seaway?
  12. For what reasons do you think some Canadians in 1963 objected to accepting nuclear warheads under United States custody?
  13. Explain fully whether you think President Truman was (a) right or (b) wrong in vetoing the Internal Security Act.
  14. The word "witch hunt" was heard frequently after World War II. (a) What does it mean? (b) What explains its use after World War II? (c) Explain why some have called it a "propaganda" word.
  15. Give reasons why you (a) approve or (b) disapprove of the expression "Fifth Amendment Communist."
  16. Give your views on the differing stands taken with respect to the anti-Communist steps.
  17. For what reasons, do you think, is it so difficult to eliminate interservice rivalries?
  18. Even if there were no Communist Governments in the world today, for what reasons might there be value in having a Voice of America radio program?
  19. What do you think is the main reason why many have been disappointed in the UN? Justify your choice.
  20. "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking. . . . We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive." Explain fully what you think Albert Einstein meant by this statement.
  21. Of the hydrogen bombs, it has been said that they are "suicide for the nations who use them, genocide for those against whom they [might be] used, and infanticide for posterity." Explain all parts of this statement.
  22. What do you think is the main reason why many still have high hopes for the UN? Justify your choice.
  23. Some say that the realms in which the United States and the U.S.S.R. have been able to reach agreement have not been particularly significant ones. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
  24. "We declare war on you . . . in the peaceful field of trade." (a) What do you think Khrushchev meant by this statement to the United States? (b) What weapons do you think we should use in this war? (c) Why do you think they might be effective?
- ★ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. From day to day clip important newspaper or news magazine articles that relate to any phase of the cold war. Either keep these in a scrapbook or contribute them for posting on the class bulletin board.
  2. Consult the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* for sources of recent articles on (a) Latin America or (b) Canada. Read one or two articles and report on how the topics discussed affect or might affect the United States.
  3. Make a time line on (a) Cuban-American (b) Panamanian-American, or (c) Canadian-American relations in the twentieth century. Cite your sources of information.
  4. For a committee-compiled report on "Problems and Progress in Latin America," submit your findings on any major country there.
  5. Write a television script on Castro's Cuba, keeping in mind all the aspects that make for drama and significance.

6. In committee, investigate all the inter-American conferences that have been held since World War II. The committee-made chart should sum up (a) the purposes of each conference, (b) differences of opinion expressed, (c) decisions reached, and (d) some sources of information.
7. In *American Past*, Vol. II, edited by S. Fine and G. S. Brown, read and compare the two conflicting viewpoints on Senator McCarthy.
8. In *America in the World: Twentieth-Century History in Documents*, edited by O. T. Barck, Jr., read and report on any document dealing with any topic discussed in this chapter, such as Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace Proposal, the Communist Control Act, or the Nuremberg Trials.
9. Write an imaginary dialogue (a) between two persons behind the iron curtain after they have listened to a Voice of America broadcast or (b) between an optimist and a pessimist on the future of (1) the UN or (2) disarmament.
10. To a committee research project on the International Geophysical Year, contribute your findings.
11. Make a series of questions you would like to ask Premier Khrushchev if you were granted an interview with him.

## CHAPTER

# 36

### *Some Pressing Domestic Problems Of Recent Presidential Administrations*

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#### **The Presidential Elections of 1948, 1952, 1956**

• Elected Officials Are Put First in Succession to the Presidency • Similarities in the Two Parties' Platforms in 1948 • Truman's Victory Is One of the Biggest Political Upsets in American History • The Republican Party in 1952 Becomes the 'In' Party After Twenty Years of Being 'Out' • Eisenhower's Popularity, Rather Than Party Differences, Decides the Elections of 1952 and 1956

#### **Domestic Problems and Policies of the Truman Administration**

• Strong Pressures Result in Rapid Demobilization of the Armed Forces and Contribute to Inflation • Drastic Action Is Taken to Curb Strikes • The Taft-Hartley Act Amends the Wagner Act and Antagonizes Unions • The Truman 'Fair Deal' Program • Opposition to the Fair Deal

#### **Domestic Problems and Policies of the Eisenhower Administration**

• Eisenhower Endorses a Middle-of-the-Road Policy • Some Legislation of the Eisenhower Administration Resembles New Deal and Fair Deal Legislation • Eisenhower Shows Concern for Private Business and Fear of 'Big Government' • Eisenhower, a Republican, Prevails Over an Overwhelmingly Democratic Congress • Curbs Are Placed on Certain Labor Unions and Leaders

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#### **The Presidential Elections Of 1948, 1952, and 1956**

"Last night, the moon, the stars, and all the planets fell on me." So said Harry S. Truman on April 13, 1945. On April 12, he had suddenly been notified that President Roosevelt had died, and that he, as Vice-President, had become President. Truman

had been a bank clerk, farmer, army officer in World War I, haberdasher, county judge, and United States senator. Little had he thought, when he had been nominated for the Vice-Presidency in 1944, that the following year he would be President. "Pray for me now, boys," he begged reporters. Bewildered as he seemed at first at having the great responsibility of the Presidency



How many of the Presidents in the background of this cartoon on President Truman taking office in 1945 can you identify? For what reasons, do you think, is this one of President Truman's favorite cartoons?

abruptly thrust upon him, Truman soon showed confidence, competence, and courage.

**Elected Officials Are Put First in Line of Succession to the Presidency.** Now that Truman was President, the nation was left without a Vice-President. This meant that the secretary of state, and then other members of the Cabinet, would succeed to the Presidency if anything happened to the President.<sup>1</sup> This procedure did not seem very democratic, since Cabinet members are not elected officials. Consequently, it was changed by the *Presidential Succession Act*, passed in 1947. This, as we know, is the order of succession it established: first, the Speaker of the House of Representatives; second, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate; then, the members of the Cabinet in the order in which their positions were created.

**Truman Wins the Election of 1948: One of the Biggest Political Upsets in American History.** The betting odds were overwhelmingly against him. The pre-election sampling polls indicated that he didn't have a chance of winning. Most Democrats themselves seemed convinced that Truman would not be successful in his bid for a full term as President in 1948.

What explains the gloom in the Democratic camp? The Democratic Party seemed to be splitting into three parts. One Southern group split off and formed a *States' Rights Party*. Its candidate for President was South Carolina's governor, J. Strom Thurmond. Thurmond's supporters were popularly called *Dixiecrats*. They were angry at the regular Democrats for including a strong civil rights plank in the party platform. This plank was designed to protect the interests of minority groups, such as Negroes. The Dixiecrats asserted that it would interfere with the rights of states to handle relations between Negroes and whites in their own way.

The Dixiecrats hoped that they could win enough votes to prevent any candidate from gaining a majority in the electoral college. This would mean that the House of Representatives would have to pick the President. Bargaining over the choice would obviously result there. In this bargaining, the Dixiecrats felt that they would have much to say about who the President would be.

Still another group split off from the Democratic Party. It formed the *Progressive Party*, with Henry A. Wallace as its candidate. Wallace had been secretary of agriculture, then Vice-President (1940-1944), under Roosevelt, and secretary of commerce under Truman until 1946. This Progressive Party was quite different from the Progressive Party of Theodore Roosevelt or that of Robert M. La Follette. Wallace's Progressive Party opposed Truman's firm policy toward the Russians (page 826). Instead, it favored a much friendlier policy as a means of ending the cold war. Its platform called for a sharp reduction in armaments, destruction of atomic bombs, the abolition of the draft, and

<sup>1</sup> See *Presidential Succession Act of 1886* (page 535).

more social and economic legislation. Some liberal and left-wing Democrats were attracted to the Progressive Party. So were Communists and Communist sympathizers.<sup>1</sup>

The Republicans renominated Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York as their candidate for President in 1948. They were convinced that this time he would not be defeated, as he had been in 1944 by President Roosevelt.

*The Democratic and Republican Platforms in 1948 Are Almost Carbon Copies of Each Other.* In general, both major parties had strongly supported Truman's firm stand against the U.S.S.R. in the cold war. Continuation of this *bipartisan foreign policy* was endorsed in both party platforms in 1948. Both endorsed the UN, the Marshall Plan, and reciprocal trade treaties. Continuation of New Deal legislation was endorsed in both platforms, but more enthusiastically in the Democratic platform. Both platforms endorsed expansion of social security, conservation projects, slum clearance, and low-cost housing.

*Truman Wages a 'Slam-bang,' 'Whistle-stop' Campaign.* President Truman, in spite of the betting odds, poll predictions, and pessimism of his own advisers "never doubted" that the voters would elect him. To reach voters directly, he carried on what he called "my one-man crusade." He traveled nearly 32,000 miles. For thirty-five days, he made an average of ten speeches a day. Because most of his speeches were delivered from the rear platform of a train, this was called a "whistle-stop" campaign. Truman attacked, often in tough language, the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress as the "do-nothing, good-for-nothing, worst Congress in history." He urged farmers, wage earners, and minority groups, such as Negroes, to remember how much the New Deal had done for them.

*Some Reasons Why Truman Won.* Truman's fighting, cross-country campaign is one reason given for his victory and for the Democrats' winning control of both the House and the Senate in 1948. Besides, Americans have great admiration for a man who keeps on fighting against heavy odds. Some Republicans, overconfident of victory, didn't even bother to go to the polls. Dewey himself was so confident that he did not conduct a vigorous campaign. Labor unions worked overnight to get out the vote for the Democrats. Many farmers voted Democratic. They feared that the Republicans would not do as much as the Democrats to maintain price supports for farm products. Many Negroes in Northern cities, pleased with the civil rights stand of the Democratic Party, voted Democratic. Finally, since times were prosperous, millions of voters disagreed with Dewey's appeal that it was "time for a change."

*The Republican Party, in 1952, Becomes the 'In' Party After Twenty Years of Being 'Out.'* "We like Ike!" was the rallying cry of the supporters of General Eisenhower at the Republican Convention in 1952. His leading opponent for the Republican nomination was Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio. Taft was a son of the former President and chief justice of the Supreme Court. He was a brilliant and dedicated public servant, whose views had long been conservative and isolationist. Eisenhower, who had a more liberal attitude in domestic affairs and strongly supported international co-operation, was the convention's choice. Its choice as vice-presidential candidate was Richard M. Nixon of California.

The Democratic Convention was also the scene of a struggle. This one was between the more liberal Northern Democrats and conservative Southern Democrats. As a kind of compromise, the convention nominated Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for President and Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama for Vice-President. Truman, to whom the Twenty-second Amendment (Constitution in Appendix), ratified in 1951,

<sup>1</sup> After the election, Wallace, fearing that he had become a tool of the Communists, quit the Progressive Party. Shortly afterward, it died out.

did not apply, had earlier said: "I shall not be a candidate for re-election."

*Eisenhower's Popularity, More Than Party Differences, Decides the Election of 1952.* The eloquent and witty Stevenson faced in Eisenhower one of the most popular candidates in all American history. The name "Eisenhower" brought forth some such responses in voters' minds as these: Abilene, Kansas, boy from modest home goes to West Point; spends years as career army officer; is plucked almost from obscurity to become commander of the United States forces in Europe, then Supreme Allied Commander; becomes, when war ends, president of Columbia University, then NATO's first head. To many, the Eisenhower story represented once more how far a man of humble origins can rise in America. And the familiar Eisenhower grin charmed millions.

Furthermore, people tended to blame the Democrats, the party in power, for the steadily rising prices since World War II. The voters were weary of the seesaw fighting in Korea, which was costing so many lives. Many Southerners, normally Democratic, voted Republican because of the strong civil rights stand taken in the Democratic Party platform.

Vigorous attacks by Senator McCarthy and others had given many the impression that the Democratic Party was in the habit of "coddling Communists." Then came exposures of corruption. Using such ammunition, the Republicans revived the cry: "It's time for a change!" Finally, toward the end of the campaign, Eisenhower announced: "I shall go to Korea and try to end the war."

This pledge was a major factor in his overwhelming victory.<sup>1</sup>

What were some significant highlights of the Republican victory in 1952? As in the election of 1948, both the candidates and the parties took somewhat similar stands on basic issues. For the first time in a century, a national party in power was swept out in a period of prosperity. Many of the farmers and wage earners, as well as Southerners, who had formerly voted Democratic voted for Eisenhower. In fact, for the first time since Al Smith's defeat in 1928, the Republicans had broken into the traditionally solid Democratic South. Yet despite the Eisenhower landslide, the Republicans won both houses of the Congress by only the narrowest of margins.

#### **Eisenhower Wins Again in 1956: Again a Personal Victory, Rather Than a Party One.**

President Eisenhower suffered a heart attack in 1955. He underwent an abdominal operation in 1956. But he recovered quickly and was renominated in 1956, as was Vice-President Nixon. Once again, Eisenhower's popularity proved too much for the Democratic candidate—again Governor Stevenson. Again a Southerner, this time Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, was Stevenson's running mate.

As in 1948 and 1952, so in 1956, there were no basic differences between the two parties on basic issues.

Normally, when a President wins overwhelmingly, other members of his party are swept into office with him. But, as we know, this had not happened in the election of 1952. And in 1956, the Democrats did even better. Thus, in 1956, as in 1952, Eisenhower's victory was more a tribute to his personal popularity than to his party's strength.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, in 1956, as in 1952, Eisenhower

*Democrats, as well as Republicans, have frequently used the campaign appeals represented on this Republican campaign button of 1956. What appeals?*



<sup>1</sup> When elected, Eisenhower *did* go to Korea. But his visit had little, if any, effect on the truce negotiations there.

<sup>2</sup> The strength of the Democratic Party was indicated by its victory in the Congressional election of 1954 and by its sweeping victory in that of 1958.



won several states in the once solidly Democratic South. It began to look as if the Democrats could no longer rely on Southern support for their presidential candidate.

Only a few days before the election, the British, French, and Israelis had invaded Egypt (page 841), and the Hungarians had revolted against Soviet domination. These events won Eisenhower additional votes. People felt that his experience as a military leader equipped him well for dealing with such crises.

### **Some Domestic Problems And Policies of the Truman Administration**

**Strong Pressures on the Government Result In Rapid Demobilization of the Armed Forces.** "Bring-daddy-back-home" clubs brought pressure on the Government as soon as World War II ended. Washington was swamped with letters from parents, wives, and sweethearts, as well as from children, demanding the speedy discharge of their dear ones. But peace treaties had not yet even been signed. Furthermore, the U.S.S.R. was keeping its armed forces intact. For these reasons, many Government officials felt that rapid demobilization was not wise. But they could not resist the popular pressure for it. By September, 1946, the huge eleven-million-man army had been reduced to about one-and-one-half million. And many a naval vessel had been taken out of service and placed in the so-called mothball fleet.

However, by 1947, the cold war had broken out. Soon afterward, as we know, the armed forces were modernized and their size was increased (page 853).

**Strong Pressures Contribute to Mounting Inflation.** A frantic competition among consumers to buy goods began when the war ended. Millions of demobilized servicemen, as well as civilians, wanted automobiles, radios, washing machines, and refrigerators. Such items had been in short supply during the war—and still were. During the war,

most civilians had been employed at fairly good pay. Many had saved a good deal of money. With more money around than goods to buy, prices tended to go up, in spite of the OPA ceilings (page 811). Some began to call price controls "police-state" methods. Many were weary with the "red tape" involved in ration stamps.

Many businessmen began to demand that the Government abolish OPA. They argued that with the removal of price controls, there would be an incentive to produce more goods. This increased production, they said, would lead to so much competition among producers that ultimately prices would fall.

President Truman made efforts to retain price controls. However, in late 1946, all, except those on rent and a few other items, were canceled by the Congress. Almost immediately, prices shot up, especially in industries where the demand was much greater than the supply.

The huge national debt, most of it incurred during the war, also encouraged inflation. In order to start paying it off, the Government, through bond issues, borrowed money from such institutions as the Federal Reserve Bank. The Federal Reserve System used such Government bonds as backing for the issuance of more money. More money in circulation cheapened the value of the dollar and caused prices to rise.

As the years rolled on, the Government borrowed more and more and spent more and more on foreign aid and defense. This, too, caused prices to rise steadily. The passing of a tax-reduction bill in 1948 over President Truman's veto also left more money in circulation. In ten years, from 1939 to 1949, the value of the dollar was cut in half.

The tremendous costs of the Korean conflict stepped up inflation still more. So has the general prosperity since World War II. This has meant great profits and far more people employed than ever before. Consequently, there has been more money to spend.

As prices soar, employees usually demand more. As employers pay labor more, they



A cartoon on the wage-price spiral captioned "Better stop that figure skating." Give your (a) reactions to this cartoon and (b) suggestions for solving the problem it illustrates.

raise the prices of their products. But then, as prices rise, employees demand still more. This process has been repeated over and over again.

**The Truman Administration Takes Drastic Steps to Curb Strikes Affecting the Entire Nation.** In general, President Truman had a pro-labor attitude. Yet he felt obliged to take some drastic actions to curb strikes during his time in office.

**What Caused So Many Strikes Shortly After the War.** Many workers had made more money during the war than ever before by working overtime. When the war ended, and overtime work in general was halted, their pay envelopes shrank. At the same time, prices rose. Labor unions then demanded an increase in wages. They asserted that businessmen could well afford this, in view of

the high profits they were making. But many firms maintained that they couldn't grant the demanded increases. They pointed out that the Government had canceled their war contracts. They pointed to their many expenses connected with reconverting their factories to peacetime production. Because many of the demanded increases weren't granted, many strikes swept the nation in 1945 and 1946.

**The Government's Role in the Coal and Railroad Strikes of 1946.** In 1946, John L. Lewis warned that he was planning a coal strike. When the Government issued an injunction against the proposed strike, the union defied it. The Supreme Court decided that the injunction had not violated the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act (page 761), and fined the union heavily. The strike was called off. Nevertheless, most of the union's demands were later met.

Railroad strikes in 1946 had practically tied up the rail facilities of the nation. President Truman asked the Congress to give him the power to draft strikers into the army. Then, as Commander in Chief, he could order them to operate trains. However, the strikers gave in and this action was not taken.

**The Taft-Hartley Act Amends the Wagner Act and Antagonizes Unions.** A "slave-labor" law is what many labor leaders called an act passed by the Eightieth Congress in 1947. They protested that the purpose of the act, the *Taft-Hartley Act*, was to destroy the nation's labor unions. "Nonsense!" responded many employers. The purpose of the act, they asserted, was to amend certain clauses in the Wagner Act of 1935 (page 761), which they called unfair to employers.

**Chief Features of the Taft-Hartley Act.** What was in the Taft-Hartley Act that stirred up such heated controversy? Many of the rights granted labor in the Wagner Act, including the right to organize, were retained in this Taft-Hartley Act. However, the Taft-Hartley Act listed certain labor practices as unfair and therefore illegal. Declared illegal were refusal to bargain collectively with employers, high union initiation and mem-

bership fees, secondary boycotts,<sup>1</sup> jurisdictional strikes (page 763), strikes of Federal employees, and featherbedding.<sup>2</sup>

The Taft-Hartley Act prohibited the closed shop (page 505), but permitted the union shop. In a union shop, the hiring of non-union workers is permitted, provided that, once hired, they join the union. However, the act specified that a union shop could not be set up unless a majority of the workers approved. The act also required union officials to sign affidavits stating that they are not members of the Communist Party. And it required unions to file financial statements.

The act further provided that before a union could call a strike, it would be required to give sixty days' notice. It was hoped that in this so-called *cooling-off period*, differences would be settled. In the case of strikes affecting the nation's health or safety, the Government, according to the act, could obtain an injunction holding up a strike or lookout for eighty days.

President Truman, regarding the Taft-Hartley Act as antilabor, vetoed it. But it was passed over his veto by the votes of Democrats as well as Republicans. The public in general, annoyed with the many post-war strikes, seemed to approve of its passage. Labor leaders' fears that the Taft-Hartley Act would destroy unions did not materialize. Unions, as we shall see, won not only wage increases but other benefits. They grew steadily more powerful.

**The Truman 'Fair Deal' Program.** "He pushed the New Deal beyond the frontiers Franklin Roosevelt had staked out sixteen years before." So commented the *New York Times* on the proposals President Truman made in his State of the Union address of

January 5, 1949. These proposals make up what has been called Truman's *Fair Deal* program. Let us see how much of this program he was able to get through the Congress.

About ten million persons not previously covered were made eligible for Social Security benefits. More money was spent on slum clearance, low-rent housing projects, educational research, and hot lunches for school children. However, far less was spent on these programs than Truman had asked for. Money was appropriated for medical research and for building hospitals, though not for the compulsory national health insurance plan<sup>1</sup> that Truman proposed. More funds were appropriated for expanding TVA and hydroelectric and irrigation projects in the West, though not for constructing more TVAs, as Truman had requested.

The Congress also voted funds to continue aiding farmers with high farm price supports (pages 758, 759) and with loans to buy or improve their farms. The Fair Labor Standards Act (page 763) was amended to raise the minimum wage from forty to seventy-five cents per hour. However, many protested that this was not enough in such an inflationary period. Truman was unsuccessful in getting the Taft-Hartley Act repealed. Nor was his Federal civil rights program adopted.

**The Opposition to the Fair Deal Program.** President Truman's own party controlled the Congress. Why then was he unsuccessful in getting it to approve a good deal more of his Fair Deal proposals? Conservative Southern Democrats usually voted with conservative Republicans to oppose the Fair Deal.<sup>2</sup> Some Americans charged that Truman's

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a union that is striking against or boycotting a factory may also boycott a department store that sells the factory's products. This is an example of a secondary boycott.

<sup>2</sup> Featherbedding is a union demand that an employer employ more workers than are needed.

<sup>1</sup> Under the proposed plan, people would have received medical care financed by a special tax on employers and employees, plus Government contributions.

<sup>2</sup> This coalition of conservative Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans has dominated the Congress ever since World War II. It has even been called a kind of third party.

proposals, if adopted, would take the nation "down the road" to socialism. The compulsory national health insurance proposal was attacked by the American Medical Association, among others, as "socialized medicine." Some economy-minded congressmen asserted that such Fair Deal legislation would make it harder than ever to balance the budget.

## **Some Domestic Problems And Policies of the Eisenhower Administration**

**Eisenhower Endorses a Middle-of-the-Road Policy for Government.** To make government "smaller rather than bigger and [to find] things it can stop doing instead of seeking new things for it to do"—this, Eisenhower once said, was his party's goal. In his opinion, Roosevelt and Truman, in concentrating on New Deal and Fair Deal legislation, had gone too far in making government too "big." To him, many matters that might have better been left in the hands of city or state governments, or of private businessmen, had, under Roosevelt and Truman, been handled by the Federal Government. A "middle-of-the-road" policy was what he endorsed. By this, he meant retaining the New Deal and Fair Deal legislation, and passing more such legislation, but in moderation. More moderate legislation would, he felt, interfere less with city and state governments and with private business.

**Some Legislation During Eisenhower's Administration Is Similar to New Deal and Fair Deal Legislation.** During Eisenhower's time in office, the Social Security system was expanded both in numbers covered and in benefits granted. By the end of his second term, practically every person, employed or self-employed, was so covered. Limited public-housing programs and loans to would-be home purchasers were continued. Reciprocal trade agreements were extended. The minimum wage for workers in industries involved in interstate commerce was raised from seventy-five cents to \$1.

Price supports for farm products were continued. But Eisenhower's secretary of agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, felt fixed high price supports were encouraging farmers to overproduce. Government warehouses were bulging with surplus farm products bought up under the fixed price support program. Much spoilage resulted. Eisenhower, on Benson's advice, got the Congress to introduce a system of flexible price supports for basic farm products. This enabled the Government to lower price supports when it felt that the time was favorable. Lowering price supports, Benson thought, would discourage overproduction and save taxpayers millions spent on buying up surpluses.

Somewhat similar to the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Plan (page 758) of the New Deal was the Eisenhower Administration's *soil bank*. Under this program, farmers who permitted a portion of their soil to lie fallow were paid by the Government. However, just as neither the New Deal nor the Fair Deal was able to solve the problem of farm surpluses, neither was the Eisenhower Administration.

**Some Evidence of Eisenhower's Concern for Private Business and Fear of 'Big Government.'** The people appointed to Eisenhower's Cabinet were almost all successful businessmen. His first Cabinet included the first Republican woman Cabinet member, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, a successful businesswoman. She was placed in charge of a new department, the *Department of Health, Education, and Welfare*. Such business people had great influence in determining the policies of the Eisenhower Administration.

The Administration turned over to states bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean the oil-rich tidelands off their coasts. With these *offshore oil lands* under state, rather than Federal, control, private business would be given greater opportunity to develop them under state franchises. Businessmen were pleased, too, when wage and price controls introduced by the Truman Administration during the Korean conflict were ended. This was in keeping with the

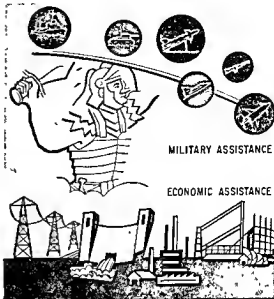
Eisenhower viewpoint. He believed that wages and prices should be determined by supply and demand, and not by Federal Government regulation.

The Government got out of many businesses in which it had become involved during the depression and war years. The Eisenhower Administration closed down the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (page 741), for example. This left more of the field of banking to bankers and less of it to the Government. To encourage small businessmen, however, the Government set up a *Small Business Administration*, which made them loans.

**The Policies of the Eisenhower Administration on Power Projects.** In general, the Eisenhower Administration believed that power projects should be built and run by private companies or by city or state governments. The Federal Government might do so, if private companies or city or state governments were unable to because of the size or cost of projects. It might do so, also, if the main aim of a project was, for example, irrigation, rather than generation of power for sale in competition with private companies.

To illustrate, the Administration opposed Federal construction of a big dam in Hell's Canyon on the Snake River in Idaho. Instead, a private company was given a license by the Federal Power Commission (page 770) to build three small dams there. However, where the main aim was irrigation, as in many Western areas, the Administration got the Congress to appropriate huge funds for constructing dams. It also amended the Atomic Energy Act (page 883) to permit private companies to produce electricity through atomic power.

**Why Eisenhower Altered His Policy on Big Budgets.** On taking office, Eisenhower felt that "big government" was encouraging inflation by spending too much money. He considered the budget dangerously unbalanced. In an effort to balance it, he had many Federal positions eliminated and foreign aid and defense spending sharply reduced. But



*Explain whether or not you agree with those who say that such United States assistance to other nations as is represented here is in the long run an economy*

in his second term, he submitted budgets to the Congress higher than those of any other administration in time of peace. So high were they that his secretary of the treasury became alarmed. He warned that the high taxes required by such budgets would cause "a depression that will curl your hair."

The President had found that certain economies could prove expensive. He had found that certain Federal agencies could not operate efficiently with cuts in their budgets. He had found that economizing on foreign aid, defense spending, and scientific research could be dangerous. He feared that the United States might lose out to the U.S.S.R. in winning cold-war allies, in the missile race, and in the space race. He had found that new problems were constantly arising that meant additional expenditures for the Federal Government. Furthermore, he was convinced that with the United States as

prosperous as it was, the budget could be big without being unbalanced.

**Republican Eisenhower Prevails Over an Overwhelmingly Democratic Congress.** A landslide Democratic victory took place in the Congressional elections of 1958. What explains this?

**Why Congress Went Overwhelmingly Democratic in 1958.** Beginning in 1957, a recession interrupted the amazing prosperity of the 1950's. Many, especially many farmers, blamed the Eisenhower Administration for this recession. Although fairly well off in the Fifties, farmers had not enjoyed the prosperity of many other groups. Labor unions had gone all out to defeat very conservative Republicans. Such conservatives had supported laws in many states that would have made union shops illegal. These laws (called *right-to-work laws*) made it illegal to bar a worker from a job because of his refusal to join a union. Republicans also lost votes after it was learned that President Eisenhower's chief assistant had accepted gifts from a manufacturer seeking Govern-

*Dwight D. Eisenhower and Mrs. Eisenhower. In his First Inaugural Address, President Eisenhower said: "The men who mine coal and fire furnaces and balance ledgers and turn lathes and pick cotton and heal the sick and plant corn—all serve as proudly, and as profitably, for America as the statesmen who draft treaties and the legislators who enact laws."*



ment favors. Many voters were also disturbed by fears that a war might break out over Taiwan (page 832).

**Proof That Eisenhower Prevailed Over the Congress.** President Eisenhower felt that it was not the business of a President to lead or dominate the Congress. In short, he did not want to go down in history as a "strong" President, such as Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin Roosevelt had been. Yet it is remarkable how many bills that Eisenhower asked for were passed by a Congress that was Democratic throughout almost his entire time in office. Furthermore, Eisenhower vetoed many bills passed by the Congress and almost never could the Congress muster the necessary two-thirds vote to override his veto.

**Why Eisenhower Was Able to Prevail Over the Congress.** "To counter the threat of those who seek to rule by force, we must pay the costs of our own needed military strength and help to build the security of others. We must use our skills and knowledge . . . to help others rise from misery, however far the scene of suffering may be from our shores . . . We recognize and accept our deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere."

Calling the United States "the best hope of our age," President Eisenhower expressed the above sentiments in his Second Inaugural Address. It was because they agreed with these sentiments that many Democrats and Republicans alike generally supported his foreign policy and his requests for money for foreign aid.

What else explains why Eisenhower had his way with the Congress? Good times had made the nation's middle class larger and larger. In general, this middle class had a middle-of-the-road attitude toward legislation, just as Eisenhower did. Like him, they wanted to retain much of the New Deal and Fair Deal legislation. Like him, they wanted to encourage private enterprise as much as possible. Many of the most influential Democratic congressmen also had a middle-of-the-road philosophy. Furthermore, Eisen-

hower was personally so popular that some congressmen did not want to offend public opinion by opposing his policies too strongly.

However, Eisenhower *did* meet some opposition from liberals in both parties, especially Democratic liberals. They thought his policies too moderate. Some opposition also came from conservatives in both parties who thought his policies too "New Dealish." Sometimes the President met more opposition from members of his own party than from the Democrats.

*Eisenhower and the Democratic-controlled Congress Agree on Certain Curbs on Certain Labor Unions and Leaders.* Certain labor unions have been guilty of serious abuses. So reported a United States Senate investigating committee in the late 1950's. This *McClellan Committee* reported that in such unions racketeers played an important part in associating with labor leaders, that certain labor leaders had enriched themselves through the misuse of union funds; and that the average union member had very little say in such unions.

*The AFL-CIO Begins a Union Housecleaning Campaign.* Such evidence of corruption caused the AFL-CIO<sup>1</sup> to expel or suspend certain unions or their officers from its membership. It also drew up new rules for the handling of union funds and for promoting more democracy in unions. It pointed out that corruption existed in relatively few unions. And it insisted on its right to do its own housecleaning of such corruption.

*The 1959 Labor Law Infuriates Labor Leaders.* But there was growing public sentiment that certain unions were growing much too powerful. Many felt that the Government should take a stronger stand against corruption in unions. President Eisenhower strongly urged public support for a stronger labor law. In 1959, such a law was passed, the *Labor-Management Reporting and Dis-*

*closure Act of 1959*<sup>1</sup> By its terms, former convicts were barred from holding office in unions. To insure greater democracy in unions, the law included a bill of rights guaranteeing freedom of speech and regular secret elections in unions. Controls against the secondary boycott (page 871) were tightened. Picketing to get the workers of a company organized or a specific union recognized was forbidden if either (1) a company has legitimately recognized another union or (2) the NLRB (page 761) has held an election in the company concerned within the preceding twelve months.

One labor leader called the new labor law "a hundred times worse than Taft-Hartley" (page 870). Some protested that the bill-of-rights provision might paralyze union meetings by giving Communists and puppets of employers opportunities to talk on and on. Some also argued that the limitations on picketing might increase corruption in unions. What is to stop a racketeer, they asked, from drawing up a union charter and getting recognition for his paper union from an employer? The limitation on picketing, union leaders said, would prevent legitimate unions from acting against such a conspiracy between a racketeer and an employer.

However, many persons predicted that unions would probably continue to thrive, as they had after the Taft-Hartley Act.

*Eisenhower, After a Long Delay, Intervenes in The Longest Steel Strike in American History.* In general, President Eisenhower believed that labor and management should settle their own differences and that the Government should intervene as little as possible. Only after a steel strike in 1959 had dragged on for many months did he intervene. He obtained a Taft-Hartley injunction halting the strike for eighty days.

In obedience to the injunction, the strikers went back to work. Before the eighty days were up, differences were settled—and favorably to the workers.

<sup>1</sup> As we know, the AFL-CIO had been formed as a result of a merger between the AFL and the CIO in 1955 (page 763).

<sup>1</sup> Popularly known as the Landrum-Griffin Act

## Looking Back at the Progress Of Labor-Management Relations Since the End of World War II

The Taft-Hartley Law, the 1959 labor law, and the right-to-work laws in many states have angered organized labor. Yet, although there have been some bitter and long-drawn-out strikes, the over-all picture of labor-management relations since World War II has been one of co-operation. More and more business executives, many trained in scientific management, act on the principle that well-paid, contented workers are better workers. And more and more labor leaders today are well-educated men who look upon their careers as a profession. In general, both management and labor try to settle their differences around the conference table, rather than by lockouts, strikes, or violence.

In many firms, a kind of partnership spirit has developed. In such firms especially, employees feel that if the firm prospers, they will, too. Wealthy unions in some firms have

even lent the firms money to help them prosper. Some firms give wage increases as production increases. Some set aside a portion of the profits to be shared among the employees. Some guarantee an annual wage so that employees are sure of incomes during seasonal layoffs. Many provide health, accident, and life insurance, medical and dental care, hospitalization insurance, and pension plans. These are called *fringe benefits*. Along with the growing harmony in labor-management relations, union membership has also grown—from fewer than thirteen million in 1945 to more than eighteen million in 1960.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> However, in the early 1960's, the AFL-CIO faced some serious problems, including automation (page 884), a drop in membership, friction over the status of Negroes in certain unions, and the criticism of labor leader Walter Reuther that George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, favored craft unions over industrial unions. Furthermore, many union leaders believe that union membership cannot continue to grow unless the ever-increasing numbers of white-collar workers are unionized.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 36

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

Presidential Succession Act of 1947	Robert A. Taft Richard M. Nixon Adlai E. Stevenson	Fair Deal Ezra Taft Benson soil bank Oveta Culp Hobby	Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959
Twenty-second Amendment	John J. Sparkman Estes Kefauver	offshore oil lands	fringe benefits
States' Rights Party	Taft-Hartley Act	Small Business Administration	
Dixiecrats	secondary boycott	right-to-work laws	
Progressive Party of 1948	featherbedding	McClellan Committee	
bipartisan foreign policy	union shop cooling-off period		

### ★ Questions to Check Basic Information

1. Point out how the Presidential Succession Act of 1947 differs from that of 1886.

2. In what ways did the two minor parties in the election of 1948 differ from (a) the two major parties and (b) each other?
3. Compare the two major parties in the



- election of 1948 as to (a) candidates, (b) platforms, and (c) campaigning.
- What factors explain Truman's victory in 1948?
  - Concerning the election of 1952, (a) give reasons for the choice of the presidential candidates, (b) give reasons for the Eisenhower victory, and (c) explain its significance.
  - Give specific proof that the Eisenhower victories in 1952 and in 1956 were personal, rather than party, victories
  - What factors explain (a) the rapid demobilization of the armed forces, (b) the growing inflation, and (c) the many strikes while Truman was President?
  - Give (a) the major provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and (b) the reactions to it of (1) President Truman, (2) the general public, and (3) labor leaders
  - Prove by examples that President Truman got some of his Fair Deal program enacted.
  - For what reasons was President Truman unable to get more of his Fair Deal program enacted?
  - For what reasons did President Eisenhower favor a middle-of-the-road policy for government?
  - Give examples of legislation passed during Eisenhower's administration that could be called "New Dealish."
  - Tell specifically what policies of the Eisenhower Administration pleased many businessmen.
  - Prove that the policy of the Eisenhower Administration on power projects depended upon the purpose to which a particular project was to be put.
  - What reasons explain President Eisenhower's (a) original attitude and (b) later attitude on the budget?
  - For what reasons did the Congress hesitate to oppose legislation recommended by President Eisenhower?
  - Specifically how did (a) the AFL-CIO and (b) the Federal Government react to the report of the McClellan Committee?
  - What specific provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act aroused the hostility of unions? For what reasons in each case?
  - Prove that in recent years there has been considerable co-operation between labor and management.

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

- Give reasons why you think the line of succession in the Presidential Succession Act of 1947 is (a) wise or (b) unwise.
- For which party would you have voted in 1948? For what reasons?
- What do you consider the most interesting aspect of the election of 1948? Give reasons why.
- There are lessons for politicians in the Truman victory of 1948. What lessons?
- Do you agree with those who say that probably no candidate could have defeated Eisenhower in 1952? Explain fully.
- If you had been President Truman in 1952, would you have refused renomination? Give reasons why or why not.
- Apart from his personality, what do you consider the most important reason for the Eisenhower victory in 1952? Give reasons for your choice.
- Suppose the United States had not demobilized its armed forces so quickly after World War II. What might have been the effects (a) at home and (b) abroad?
- After studying the pressures that contributed to inflation, tell what steps you think might have been taken to curb it.
- Give your opinions (a) on why many strikes occurred after the war and (b) on the Government's actions in the coal and railroad strikes of 1946.
- What do you think was the aim behind each of three provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act?
- If you had been President Truman, would you have vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act? Give reasons why or why not.

13. To what extent do you agree that (a) the Fair Deal and (b) the policies of the Eisenhower Administration were the New Deal continued? Explain fully.
14. For what reasons do you think the Fair Deal was not opposed as bitterly by many as the New Deal had been?
15. Do you agree or disagree that all Administrations should adopt a middle-of-the-road policy? Give reasons.
16. Do you (a) approve or (b) disapprove of the Eisenhower policies on power projects? Give reasons.
17. Do you think it would be fair to criticize President Eisenhower for not being consistent in his attitude on big budgets? Explain fully.
18. What is your attitude on right-to-work laws? Explain.
19. If you had been a member of the Congress, would you have voted for the Landrum-Griffin Bill? Give reasons why or why not.
20. What suggestions would you make for still better relations between labor and management?

#### **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**

1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check Presidents (a) Truman and (b) Eisenhower. Use as many sources of information as possible.
2. Imagine yourself Vice-President Truman on learning of the death of President Roosevelt. Write the dialogue that might have ensued between you and your wife.
3. Write a letter to a television producer telling him why you think the election of 1948 would make a fascinating subject for an hour television show. Base your letter on research on the election.
4. Collect quotations from any of the presidential or vice-presidential candidates in 1952 or 1956. Indicate in each case

what the quotation tells you about the candidate.

5. For a committee report on the world outside of the United States in the 1950's, find out and report on highlights of the history of (a) Europe, (b) Asia, (c) Latin America, and (d) Africa at this time.
6. Write a newspaper editorial such as might have appeared in the late 1940's telling (a) why rapid demobilization of the armed forces would be unwise or (b) how you feel about the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar.
7. Make a three-column chart in which you outline the provisions of (a) the Wagner Act, (b) the Taft-Hartley Act, and (c) the Landrum-Griffin Act.
8. After selecting any problem that faced President Truman or President Eisenhower, consult the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* for magazine articles on it. Summarize the articles you select for a report to the class.
9. In committee, collect newspaper or current magazine clippings for a bulletin board exhibit on Labor-Management Problems Today.
10. In committee, prepare a mimeographed pamphlet comparing the (a) Square Deal, (b) New Freedom, (c) New Deal, and (d) Fair Deal.
11. Make a series of sketches in which you trace the career of Dwight D. Eisenhower.
12. Write out the arguments for an imaginary debate between Presidents Truman and Eisenhower on the functions of a President.
13. In *Labor in America* by F. R. Dulles, read Chapter 21, "Labor Faces an Uncertain Future." Sum up the evidence the author gives to justify this chapter heading.
14. From the *American Heritage* series, read "The Presidents and the Presidency" (April, 1956). Then arrange the Presidents in what you consider the order of their greatness.

## CHAPTER

# 37

### *Some Trends of Our Times in Our Nation*

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#### **Population Trends Since World War II Reveal Much About the Nation**

- The Population Increases and Shifts • Business Opportunities Attract Many to the South and West • The Shift to Cities Aggravates the Housing Problem
- Suburbia Attracts Many • The Increasing Number of Aged Creates Problems
- Immigration's Small Role in the Recent Increase in Population

#### **Science, Health, Education, Race Relations: Progress and Problems**

- Uses of Nuclear Power • The Significance of Space Explorations • Automation Highlights Progress in Industrial Science • Efforts at and Success in Raising Health Standards • Education Gains New Respect • Efforts to Meet the Crisis in Education • Race Relations Make Headlines • Some Post-War Cultural Trends

#### **Some Problems and Policies of the Kennedy Administration**

- Democrats Win in a Most Unusual Election • Kennedy Calls For War Against "Tyranny, Poverty, Disease, and War Itself" • Cold-War Problems • The Alliance for Progress: To Help Latin Americans to Help Themselves and to Curb Communism • The Peace Corps: To Help Underdeveloped Countries to Meet Their Needs for Skilled Manpower • An Atlantic Partnership Is Urged • Some Highlights in Domestic Affairs • Kennedy Is Assassinated, Johnson Succeeds Him
- 

#### **Prospects for a Better Life Brighten as More and More Americans Prosper**

The United States since World War II has been blessed with great prosperity. Here are some signs of this prosperity:

- In no other country do as many families own refrigerators, television sets, and cars. Nearly two-thirds of American families own their own homes.
- With the very rich and the very poor be-

coming fewer in proportion to the total population, the middle-income group in the nation is the overwhelming majority.

- The great majority of American stockholders are people with moderate, or even modest, incomes. Thus, millions of working people here are capitalists.
- Labor unions are capitalists, too. Millions of dollars of their pension and reserve funds are invested in the stocks and bonds of corporations.

Thus the communist prediction that in the

United States, as in all capitalist nations, the rich would grow richer and the poor poorer has not been fulfilled. Nor has the communist prediction that the United States, like all capitalist nations, would become sharply divided into rigid classes, engaged in a class struggle.

It is true that there are still many American families that earn low incomes and live in city slums or country shacks. However, since World War II, their number has steadily declined. It is true, too, that the nation's prosperity since the war has been interrupted by a number of recessions. However, in each case, the nation has snapped back to prosperity fairly quickly. The basic good health of its economic system was a major reason why. Furthermore, even during recessions, people have had spending power, aided by unemployment insurance and old-age pensions. Defense spending and money spent on public projects, such as road building, also have given boosts to the nation's economy during recessions. In 1956, for example, the Congress passed a bill for the construction of highways that would cost \$33 billion over a period of sixteen years.

Yet some Americans are worried about our nation's future economic health. A main reason for their concern is the fact that the rate of economic growth has been higher in certain European nations than in the United States. Another is that even in good times there are anywhere from three to five million unemployed.

### **A Study of Its Population Since World War II Reveals Much About the Nation**

**The Rate of Population Increase Is Greater Than Ever.** Young people still in their teens have been marrying in large numbers since World War II. This has been one reason for the great increase in the nation's population in recent years. Other reasons have been prosperity and the great progress in medicine.

The nation's population in 1900 was fewer than eighty million. By 1963, it was nearly 190 million. By 1975, it is expected to be somewhere between 220 million and 240 million. Thus the rate of increase is expected to be much greater even than the great increase between 1900 and 1963.

**Some Population Shifts: To the South and West; from Farms to Cities; from Cities to Suburbs.** Americans have always tended to be a people on the move. Let us examine this tendency in more specific terms.

**Business Opportunities Attract Many to the South and West.** During and after World War II, millions of Americans moved to the South and West. Jobs were plentiful in these sections because of the building there of war plants during the war and of new plants after the war. Job seekers poured into Texas' oil and natural gas fields, into Louisiana's shipyards and synthetic rubber factories, and into Alabama's steel plants—all greatly expanding. They poured, too, into the new steel mills and aviation industries of the Pacific Coast area.

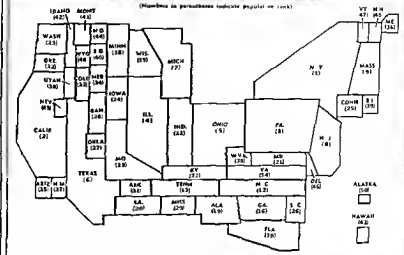
Many businessmen in many fields saw in these areas even greater possibilities than in the traditionally industrial East. The increasing population in the South and West caused political parties to give greater consideration to these sections in selecting candidates for President and Vice-President.

**The Shift to the Cities Aggravates the Housing Problem.** During and after World War II, millions of Americans also moved from farms to cities, and from cities to suburbs. In 1900, about sixty per cent of the population lived on farms or in country districts. By 1963, only about thirty per cent did. The flood of population to cities aggravated a serious housing situation. The demand for housing also increased as the number of marriages increased and as veterans returned from World War II and the Korean conflict. Private builders and Government housing agencies have done much to relieve this situation. But many families still lack decent housing. Very bad housing conditions are blamed by some for contributing to

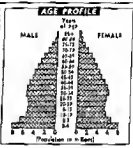
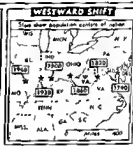
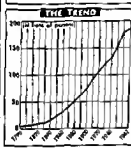
# U. S. POPULATION—AS THE TOTAL REACHES ANOTHER HIGH

STATES OF THE U. S. ACCORDING TO POPULATION

(Numbers in parentheses indicate population in 1961)



Much American history is summed up here (1961 figures). Explain.



the rising rate of juvenile delinquency since World War II.

**Suburbia Develops with Distinctive Characteristics.** Many of the suburbs that have developed since World War II are planned communities of one-family homes. Such communities have their own huge shopping centers with department store branches. Many suburbs are connected with the nearby city centers by express highways and railroads by which many commute. However, many residents of suburbia take jobs in the huge industrial plants that have been set up in some suburban areas.

Many hope that in suburbia their children will escape the juvenile gang warfare, air pollution, congested streets, and crowded schools that plague many big cities. However, many do not find their utopia in suburbia, and move back to the cities.

Many books have been written analyzing social life in suburbia. According to such

books, residents there seem to have developed a way of life all their own, quite different from that of city dwellers.

**The Steadily Increasing Number of Aged in the Population Creates Problems.** The number of Americans sixty-five years old or over is steadily increasing. The amazing progress of medical science helps to explain why. So, too, do the greater understanding of proper diet and the increased interest of local and state governments and the Federal Government in public health. But as the numbers of oldsters grow larger, so do the problems of medical scientists. More old people suffer from such diseases as hardening of the arteries, heart trouble, cancer, and mental ailments. To help such persons, many doctors are now practicing a relatively new specialty in medicine, called *geriatrics*.

The increasing number of aged also explains why private industry, labor unions, and the Government place increasing

emphasis on pension systems. It has meant an ever-increasing number of nursing homes for the helpless aged, of communities catering to the retired aged, and of clubs where the aged can get together.

Many of the increasing numbers of aged cannot afford medical care. Therefore, there is much talk in the Congress, and in the country at large, about setting up some form of medical insurance for the aged as part of the Social Security program (page 896). Supporters point out that the United States is the only heavily industrialized nation without national health insurance for the aged. Opponents insist that tying such a program to social security would be a first step toward socialized medicine.

**Immigration Plays Little Part in the Recent Increase in Population.** Roughly a million Europeans were without homes at the end of World War II. The Congress passed a law in 1948 admitting over a two-year period 205,000 of these displaced persons (page 827) beyond the regular quota. President Truman felt that certain of the law's clauses discriminated against displaced persons from Southern and Eastern Europe. He persuaded the Congress in 1950 to eliminate the discriminatory clauses and to raise the total number to be admitted to 415,000.

The ban on immigration of Asians was lifted by an act of the Congress in 1952.<sup>1</sup> This *McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act* allotted quotas to Asian nations. The total for all Asian nations was 2,000. For each, it was 100, out of the annual total of quota immigrants of approximately 155,000.

Under this act, would-be immigrants were carefully screened. The purpose was to prevent the entry of politically undesirable individuals, such as Communists, anarchists, and fascists. The attorney general of the United States was given power to deport such undesirables, even if they had become naturalized American citizens.

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<sup>1</sup> A small quota had been set up earlier, in 1943, for the Chinese. China was then an ally of the United States.

The McCarran-Walter Act was passed over President Truman's veto. He felt that the national origins quota system (page 704), which the act continued, was "outdated" and "inhumane." He feared, too, that the act might interfere with the civil liberties of naturalized citizens.

## Science, Health, and Education: Progress and Problems

**Some Scientific Achievements in the Field of Nuclear Energy.** Scientists have come to be looked upon almost as supermen. Never before have Americans been so aware of how much their prosperity, and even their survival, depends upon science. Nothing dramatized the seeming superman quality of the scientist so much as the development of the atomic and hydrogen bombs.<sup>1</sup> Such bombs, Americans knew, could destroy the world. At the same time, scientific reports also informed them that the harnessing of nuclear energy, as in the development of these bombs, could bring untold blessings to the human race.

**Nuclear Power for Submarines, Ships, Aircraft, and Generation of Electricity.** The first nuclear-powered submarine, the *Nautilus*, was completed in 1954. Four years later, it amazed the world by making the first under-sea crossing of the ice-packed North Pole from the Pacific to the Atlantic. This feat resulted in predictions that the route of the *Nautilus* would become a major world trade route for nuclear-powered, cargo-carrying submarines.

Soon the United States built other nuclear-powered submarines. One of these, the *Sea Wolf*, established a record by remaining sub-

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<sup>1</sup> The energy of an atomic bomb is the result of the splitting apart (*fission*) of the atoms of uranium or plutonium. The energy of a hydrogen bomb is the result of the joining together (*fusion*) of nuclei of heavy hydrogen (double-weight deuterium and triple-weight tritium) to form helium. In both fission and fusion, a small quantity of matter is converted into a tremendous quantity of energy.

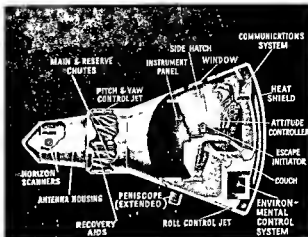
merged for sixty days. Another, the *Triton*, made the first underwater trip around the world in 1959. Nuclear-powered ships and aircraft were other American projects.

Ever since 1957, nuclear-powered plants for the generation of electric power from atomic energy have been constructed in the United States. Thus far, the costs of producing electricity from such plants have been quite high. Therefore, it would be difficult for them to compete today with plants producing electricity in conventional ways.

*The Atomic Energy Commission and Private Industry Co-operate on Some Nuclear Projects.* Such projects as nuclear-powered submarines and nuclear power stations have been sponsored by a Federal agency called the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Created by the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, this agency was placed under civilian, rather than military, control. However, associated with it is a military committee. The AEC encourages production of nuclear materials for defense purposes. It also promotes advances in the application of nuclear energy in such fields as medicine, biology, chemistry, and agriculture. Private corporations such as General Dynamics, General Electric, and Westinghouse Electric have carried out the actual construction of nuclear-powered submarines and other projects.

*Scientists Take the World into the Space Age.* Relatively recently, the possibility of sending a man to the moon seemed ridiculous. But in the late 1950's came a series of exploits that indicated that the idea was far from impossible. Beginning in 1957, first the U.S.S.R., then the United States, successfully launched man-made moons or earth satellites into space. The Russian earth satellites were called *Sputniks*. The first American one was called *Explorer I*. Both nations have launched rockets that have gone into orbit around the sun, thus becoming man-made planets.

Then, in September, 1959, a Soviet rocket, Lunik II, scored a direct hit on the moon. Next came Lunik III, which circled the moon



*Project Mercury ballistic capsule* If you are one of those who understands the intricacies of a space ship, explain them to the class. If you are not, ask one who does to explain them to you.

and sent back photographs of the side of the moon that the earth never sees. Meanwhile, at ever more frequent intervals, the United States had successfully launched numerous space vehicles. One hit the moon in 1962.

A long-standing dream of mankind was realized in the spring of 1961. On April 12, Yuri Gagarin, a Soviet Air Force major, orbited the earth in space. On May 5, United States Naval Commander Alan B. Shepard traveled to a height of 115 miles into space. His 302-mile flight lasted fifteen minutes. On July 21, a somewhat similar flight by American Air Force Captain Virgil I. Grissom was made. On August 6, Soviet Major Gherman S. Titov orbited the earth seventeen times in space. On February 20, 1962, American Marine Lieutenant Colonel John H. Glenn made three orbits, as did Naval Lieutenant Commander M. Scott Carpenter on May 24. Beginning on August 12, two Russian space-men followed each other in the same orbit, one of them remaining in space for ninety-four hours. On October 3, American Naval Commander Walter M. Schirra completed nearly six orbits in space. And on May 16, 1963, Air Force Major L. Gordon Cooper, Jr., completed twenty-two

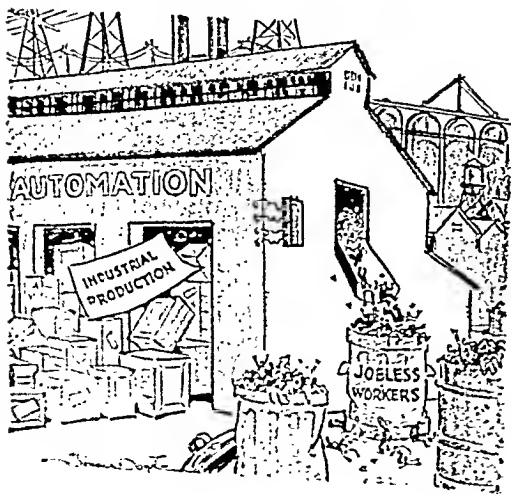
Millions watched the launchings and recoveries of America's astronauts over television. Commentators reported each step as it proceeded. Thus the United States, in contrast to the U.S.S.R., demonstrated to the world that ours is an open society willing to risk letting the world know when we fail, as well as when we succeed.

#### **What Do the Space Explorations Signify?**

Such space experiments indicate that man in the future need not be earth-bound. They are like a key that may unlock many secrets of the universe. Perhaps there is human life on some of the other planets. If so, their civilizations may be more advanced than ours. Perhaps on other planets or on the moon will be found abundant minerals rare on earth. Perhaps it will be possible to dump nuclear wastes, so dangerous to man, into outer space. Some of the American space vehicles are designed to give information on weather, magnetic fields, or radiation, and to help ships and planes in navigation. In fact, both telephone conversations and television programs have been relayed by a satellite, *Telstar*, launched in July, 1962.

Space probes are for purposes of peace, not war, both the United States and the U.S.S.R. have announced. Yet deep-seated

*A cartoon on automation entitled "Profit and Loss." There are those who say that automation may not be as tragic as it seems in this cartoon. What reasons might they give?*



mutual suspicions remain. This explains why space vehicles are also designed to give warning, in case of surprise missile attacks. Observers from spaceships, equipped with rockets having nuclear warheads, can pinpoint targets in hostile countries. Dr. Edward Teller, so-called "father of the hydrogen bomb," has warned that the Soviet space experiments prove that the U.S.S.R. is "very far along in rocketry development." This means that the U.S.S.R. is undoubtedly very far along in the development of ICBMs (page 813). Russians have used their achievements in space to let loose a flood of propaganda for their communist system.

To beat out the U.S.S.R. in every phase of space experimentation has been a major goal of the United States. Toward achieving this goal, it set up, in 1958, the *National Aeronautics and Space Administration* (NASA). However, in 1962, President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev agreed to discuss the possibility of co-operation in space exploration.

**Automation and Other Indications of the Great Progress of Industrial Science.** The time is not far off when the average work-week will be about twenty hours. This prediction was recently made by the president of the New York Academy of Sciences. He based it on the future abundant use of cheap nuclear energy and on what is called *automation*. In automation, new machines, instead of men, run other machines. Automation has reached the point where machines give directions to, and correct the mistakes of, other machines. Electronics is the science on which automation depends most. An example of automation and its dependence upon electronics is the electronic calculator. Using this "giant brain," an operator can accomplish as much as many thousands of the best mathematicians—and much faster. A major concern of our times is that, in time, automation may make millions permanently unemployed.

Since World War II, there has been great emphasis on industrial research. This has resulted in tremendous expansion in old



industries and the opening up of many new ones. Color television, the new synthetics such as Dacron, and the most precise of machine tools and surgical instruments are just a few of the products of such industrial research. This tremendous post-war industrial expansion meant a big increase in the work force. But in terms of percentages, this increase was much smaller than the increase in production.

**Some Victories on the Health Front.** A very real fear used to grip the hearts of parents of young children each year as summer approached. For summertime was polio time. But then, in 1953, the Salk vaccine for immunization against infantile paralysis was successfully demonstrated.<sup>1</sup> Not many years before this victory on the health front, such childhood diseases as diphtheria and scarlet fever had been conquered. In retreat today are such diseases as pneumonia and tuberculosis. Vaccines, so-called *miracle drugs*, such as penicillin and streptomycin, improved surgery, sanitation, and public health services, and better dietary habits have meant that people today are healthier while they live, and they live longer.

**Some Health Battles Still to Be Won.** Nevertheless, many thousands of new cases of such diseases as heart trouble, cancer, Parkinson's disease, and peptic ulcers occur yearly. And one out of every ten Americans spends part of his or her life in a mental institution. In World War II, five million men were turned down for military service because they could not meet physical standards. There are still millions of Americans who cannot afford proper medical care. And the ratio of doctors to the total population is falling.

**Some Efforts to Conquer Such Diseases and Raise the Nation's Health Standards.** Throughout the nation are many free services for those who cannot afford medical

care. Many persons, in recent years especially, have joined voluntary health insurance and hospitalization plans. Private laboratories, public agencies, philanthropic foundations, hospitals, and universities are co-operating in research projects. The dedicated doctors, chemists, and biologists who carry on such research are among the heroes of our times.

"... To advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare," as well as the promotion of science in general, is the aim of the *National Science Foundation*, established by the Congress in 1950. A Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as we know, was created with Cabinet rank in 1953. The laboratories of the Atomic Energy Commission produce, distribute, and sell radioactive by-products of fission called *isotopes*. Such isotopes are used in medical research for the diagnosis and treatment of diseases.<sup>2</sup>

In recent years, many new chemicals have been added to foods. Many such *additives* help, for example, in keeping bread fresh, or in preserving canned foods. However, it is possible for some chemical additives to cause allergies or cancer, or to have a poisonous effect on individuals. That is why, in 1959, an amendment to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (footnote, page 605) was put into effect. This amendment requires companies to let the Government know the results of tests made to determine the effects of such additives. The *Food and Drug Administration (FDA)* is empowered to limit the quantity of such additives used in a product, so as to avoid harmful effects.

The *Drug Industry Act* of 1962 gave the FDA even greater powers. The agency was thereby authorized to decide on the safety of drugs and determine whether they are as effective as their manufacturers claim them to be. Without FDA approval, no antibiotic can be marketed.

**Education and the Educated Gain New Respect.** "Egghead" was a slang term used

<sup>1</sup> The Salk vaccine is administered by injections. Another type, the Sabin vaccine, accepted as suitable for licensing in 1960, is administered orally.

<sup>2</sup> They are also used in agriculture and industry.

by some in the 1950's to mock educated people or people interested in learning. At the same time, there were millions who realized that in education might lay the salvation of the nation. World War II helped to drive home to them the need for skilled technicians and experts in the history, geography, and languages of the nation's allies and its enemies. It was shocking to learn that about 800,000 Americans were turned down for military service because they could neither read nor write.

Russia's Sputniks and Luniks shocked the United States into re-examining its educational system. These space vehicles indicated that the U.S.S.R. was way ahead of the United States in its stress on scientific and technical education. So said the United States Office of Education. Again and again, Government officials and educational, civic, business, and labor groups urged the speeding up of improvements in American education. Many warned, however, that, in stressing science and mathematics, schools should not neglect other subjects. Nor should they neglect to emphasize spiritual and moral values and the needs of *all* children.

**The Crisis in Education in Recent Years.** In some communities during the early 1950's, classes were held in vacant stores, or even in garages. Classrooms in regular school buildings were terribly overcrowded. School construction could not keep pace with the tremendous enrollment resulting from the high birth rate of the war years and after.

Aggravating the situation in education was the serious teacher shortage. During the four years that the United States was involved in World War II, one out of every three of its teachers quit the classroom. Many went into the armed forces. Many went to work in war industries, where pay was higher than in teaching. When the war ended, few returned to the classroom. Many others quit teaching, as rising inflation ate into their low salaries.

Colleges and universities have had their heartaches, too. Enrollment has greatly increased. To cover increasing costs, colleges have increased their tuitions. But costs keep

mounting higher and higher. Since the colleges have not been able to pay salaries comparable to industry, many of their professors have quit.

**Some Efforts to Meet the Crisis in Education.** Much remains to be done to meet the crisis in education. Yet many well-planned and well-equipped school buildings have been erected throughout the nation. Teachers' pay has been raised. Many millions have been contributed by private foundations, such as the Ford, Rockefeller, and Guggenheim Foundations, to advance higher education. Many so-called "snap" subjects have been replaced by so-called "stiff" subjects, such as mathematics and physics.

A new type of student appeared among the others on college campuses after World War II. Such students were there because of a law sponsored by the American Legion and passed by the Congress in 1944. This law was popularly called the *GI Bill of Rights*.<sup>1</sup> It granted veterans of World War II and later those of the Korean conflict free college or vocational education in proportion to their length of military service.

"To strengthen the national defense and assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs" is the aim of the *National Defense Education Act* of 1958. The act grants loans to students and funds to states to encourage the study of science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. Efforts of the Eisenhower Administration<sup>2</sup> to get Federal aid for communities whose educational standards were lower than others were rejected by the Congress. There was a fear that the Federal Government might, through the use of its funds, dictate educational policies in the various states.

Furthermore, there was a bitter dispute

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<sup>1</sup> The GI Bill of Rights also granted veterans unemployment insurance and loans for building homes or for going into a business.

<sup>2</sup> For efforts of the Kennedy Administration to aid public education through Federal appropriations, see page 896.

as to whether Federal funds should be granted to communities that had separate schools for Negro and white children. Separation of Negroes from whites in schools and elsewhere is called *segregation*. The opposite is called *desegregation* or *integration*. Let us now study more about segregation and desegregation and other racial problems.

## Race Relations Make the Headlines

Here are a few examples of developments in race relations during and after World War II that stirred strong emotions:

- "Discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries because of race, creed, color, or national origin" was forbidden by the *Committee on Fair Employment Practices (FEPC)*, set up during World War II.
- Many Northern states, since World War II, have passed laws forbidding discrimination, because of race, religion, or national origin, in the hiring of workers
- The major leagues of baseball opened their doors to Negro players after World War II. Many professions and occupations were opened to Negroes, too
- President Truman began the process of ending segregation in the armed services and President Eisenhower completed it.
- For the first time since Reconstruction days, the Congress, in 1957, passed a *Civil Rights Act*. The act set up a *Civil Rights Commission*. Its purpose was to investigate complaints that a citizen's right to vote had been interfered with because of his race, color, religion, or national origin.
- To strengthen the 1957 act, another Civil Rights Act was passed in 1960. Under this act, if a Negro is barred from voting because of his race, a Federal court may appoint a referee to help secure him the right to vote. Such a referee may grant him a voting certificate, which the state is expected

to respect. In this connection, the 1960 act makes it a Federal crime for any individual to interfere with a Federal court order by "threats or force."

- In some rulings since World War II, the Supreme Court has decided the following: that segregation in transportation facilities<sup>1</sup> and in publicly financed playgrounds, parks, and golf courses is illegal; that Negroes who meet reasonable qualifications may not be barred from voting, even in primaries, that it is illegal to force Negroes and whites to live in separate sections of a community, that unions doing so must cease barring Negroes, and that white graduate schools must admit Negroes
- In the fight against segregation, Negro students in 1960 quietly sat down at lunch counters in certain Southern cities. This was a violation of a long-standing Southern tradition that Negroes would be served only while standing. These "sit-in" demonstrators were, in imitation of Thoreau and Gandhi (page 282), practicing "passive resistance"
- Also in the fight against segregation, Negroes have, in the early Sixties, pressured lawmakers, held integration rallies, and boycotted stores. Segregation practices have been tested by whites and Negroes traveling in buses from the North to the Deep South. To integrationists in general, these "Freedom Riders" are heroes, to segregationists in general, they are "troublemakers."

**The Supreme Court Decides That All Public Schools Must Be Desegregated.** A unanimous Supreme Court decision in 1954<sup>2</sup> made headlines around the world. It stated that all public schools in the United States must be desegregated. Since Reconstruction days,

<sup>1</sup> To clarify this point, the Supreme Court said in 1962 "We have settled beyond question that no state may require racial segregation of interstate or intrastate transportation facilities."

<sup>2</sup> In the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*

## Some Highlights in Our Nation's History Since World War II

Immigration Act passed • Eisen-  
hower elected President

1946

• Independence of the Philip-  
pines • AEC created • Nurem-  
berg trials end • Most wage and  
price controls ended • Inflation  
increases • Rapid demobiliza-  
tion of armed forces

1947

• Truman Doctrine proclaimed  
• Marshall Plan suggested  
• Taft-Hartley Act • Presiden-  
tial Succession Act • Unifica-  
tion of armed services under sec-  
retary of defense • Loyalty  
check to detect disloyal begins

1948

• 205,000 displaced persons  
admitted, with many to follow  
• First contract tying wages to  
cost of living • Berlin blockade  
and airlift begin • Truman  
elected in own right

1949

• Truman announces Fair Deal  
and Point Four programs  
• NATO ratified by the Senate  
• Eleven top United States Com-  
munists convicted of conspiracy  
• United States alarmed by Rus-  
sian atomic explosion and Chi-  
nese Communist conquest of  
China

1950

• National Science Foundation  
created • Truman orders United  
States forces to defend South  
Korea • Internal Security Act  
passed

1951

• Twenty-second Amendment  
ratified • Japanese Peace  
Treaty signed • ANZUS and  
Philippines defense pacts signed

1952

• United States explodes hydro-  
gen bomb • McCarran-Walter

1953

• Department of Health, Educa-  
tion and Welfare created • Ko-  
rean armistice signed

1954

• First atomic-powered subma-  
rine launched • Mutual defense  
assistance pact with Japan rati-  
fied • Supreme Court decision  
on desegregation of public  
schools • Eisenhower signs St.  
Lawrence Seaway bill • United  
States Communist Party out-  
lawed • SEATO pact signed

1955

• Formosa Resolution • AFL-  
CIO merger

1956

• Eisenhower re-elected • United  
States votes with the Soviet  
Union to order British-French-  
Israeli withdrawal from Egypt

1957

• IGY begins • Eisenhower Doc-  
trine announced • Atoms-for-  
peace program ratified • Civil  
Rights Commission appointed

1958

• United States launches its first  
successful satellite • North  
American Air Defense (NORAD)  
Command created • United  
States sends troops to Lebanon  
in keeping with Eisenhower Doc-  
trine • United States space  
agency (NASA) formed • Two  
United States atomic-powered  
submarines cross North Pole un-  
der Arctic icecap • Federal  
funds appropriated for improving  
science and language instruction

1959

• Castro takes over in Cuba  
• Alaska and Hawaii admitted  
as states • First atomic mer-  
chant ship launched • Landrum-  
Griffin Act passed

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- Polaris missile launched from submerged atomic-powered submarine
- New Civil Rights Act
- U-2 reconnaissance plane downed in Soviet Union
- Khrushchev breaks up Paris summit conference
- Antarctica Treaty ratified
- Supreme Court awards states offshore oil rights
- Kennedy elected President

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- United States breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba
- Peace Corps created
- Alliance for Progress proclaimed
- Twenty-third Amendment ratified
- Cuban invasion crushed
- First American launched into space
- Kennedy-Khrushchev talks in Vienna
- ICC bans racial segregation on buses
- Kennedy urges steel industry to hold price line
- Military aid sent to South Vietnam

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- Cuba ostracized by OAS
- First American orbits earth
- Seattle's Century 21 Exposition
- Telstar relays TV pictures across Atlantic
- United States quarantines Cuba on learning of Soviet missile bases there
- United States bans bias in Federally financed housing
- Trade Expansion Act
- United States sends arms to India, menaced by Communist China

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- Automation a major cause of long New York City newspaper strike
- Direct cable hookup between Washington and Moscow agreed upon
- Racial tensions in United States mount
- United States, Russia, Britain sign treaty banning nuclear testing in air, space, under water
- President Kennedy assassinated; Johnson succeeds him

nothing has affected Federal-state relations so much.

Knowledge of a clause in the Fourteenth Amendment and of a Supreme Court decision of 1896<sup>1</sup> is needed to understand the 1954 decision. The clause in the amendment states that no state may "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The 1896 decision stated that so long as a state provided "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes and whites, it was living up to the "equal-protection-of-the-law" clause.

But in giving the Court's 1954 decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren stated:

... in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

The Court, however, felt that to insist upon immediate desegregation in the seventeen Southern states having segregated schools would be impractical. Therefore, in another decision the following year, it implied that desegregation should be gradual.

Negroes and many whites, mainly in the North, hailed the 1954 decision. They said that it was a big step forward in the march of democracy. They called it an answer to the Communists who accuse the United States of treating Negroes as second-class citizens.

In the South, whites generally denounced the decision as an unlawful interference by the Federal Government with states' rights. They pointed out that education, according to the Tenth Amendment, is one of the rights reserved to the states. Many Southern congressmen joined in a pledge to use "all lawful means" to get the 1954 decision reversed. There were even incidents of violence. When, for the first time, a high school in Little Rock, Arkansas, admitted a few Negro pupils, tensions ran high. Then President Eisenhower sent in Federal troops to prevent any-

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<sup>1</sup> In the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*

one from blocking the entrance of these Negro pupils to the school.

Many Southerners asserted that the Supreme Court decision would make relations between Negroes and whites worse. Such relations, they asserted, had been getting better and better up to 1954. They pointed out that Negroes in the South had been hired as policemen and firemen; that more and more Negro teachers were getting the same pay as white teachers; and that more and more Negroes were voting and running for office in Southern states. Calling Northerners who criticized the South hypocrites, they charged that the North discriminated against Negroes in many ways, both obvious and subtle.

In Northern communities where there had been some segregation, and in the border states, the 1954 decision was carried out in a generally peaceful manner. In parts of the mid-South, and especially in the Deep South, desegregation is still traveling a rough road.

**Some Explanations for the Changes in Race Relations.** Following both World War I and World War II, millions of Negroes moved to Northern cities. As voters and officeholders there, they were able to wield great political influence. Many Negroes joined organizations whose main purpose was to obtain for Negroes "equal protection of the laws" in all respects. As more and more Negroes got a better education and improved their economic status in both North and South, they demanded an end to all discrimination. Many whites, many of them influential, supported their cause.

### **'The American Imagination Has Become the Most Powerful Stream Of Western Thought and Culture'**

Throughout the nineteenth century, Europeans in general looked upon Americans in general as dollar chasers, with little interest in the arts and sciences. Remember reading about the English critic who, in 1820, ridiculed American books, plays, pictures, and statues (page 280)? How surprised he

would have been could he have read in the *Literary Supplement* of the *Times* of London in 1959 this tribute to American culture:

The American imagination has become the most powerful stream of western thought and culture . . . It may be said that . . . the imagination of a Rockefeller . . . is more appropriate to American society than that of any potential Bach or Michelangelo. For it [may be] more important to design a society than to plan and execute a work of art. . . . What is impressive is that they [Americans] have found time for both. . . . If neither a Bach nor a Michelangelo has as yet appeared in [the United States], a splendid mass of evidence has been assembled to point the way. . . .

Actually, as a review of our study would show, much progress in the arts and sciences was made in the United States even in the nineteenth century. So much progress has been made in the twentieth that it is almost hard to measure. Since 1900, museums, art galleries, historical societies, and symphony orchestras have mushroomed throughout the nation. Many a wealthy American takes pride in his private art collection. From the kindergarten through the college, great efforts are made to develop art and music appreciation and participation. In the fields of modern painting and sculpture especially, many an American has won world-wide recognition. Millions of Americans are no longer satisfied to be merely music listeners or art viewers. They have become "doers" in the arts. Reading has become more popular with millions, too, in spite of the competition of movies, radio, and television. One proof of this is the ever-increasing millions of "paperbacks" printed each year. Paperbacks are, to a great extent, a post-World War II phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

**Some Post-War Trends in Literature.** *The Young Lions* by Irvin Shaw and *The Naked and the Dead* by Norman Mailer are two of

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<sup>1</sup> However, some say that our mass culture, as it has been called, is superficial.

the many American novels that have been written about World War II. Toughness in content, terseness in style, cynicism about military officers, hatred of war, and disillusionment are some of the general characteristics of many such novels. Many show the influence of the distinctive qualities of Hemingway and Dos Passos, both of whom were still writing after World War II.<sup>1</sup>

The major criticism that has been made of many of these war novels is that they seem to lack any well-thought-out philosophy or well-defined purpose. But this is not so true of such war novels as *The Wall* by John Hersey, *Tales of the South Pacific* by James A. Michener, or *The Caine Mutiny* by Herman Wouk. The theme of *The Wall*, for example, is how the human spirit can endure and even flourish in the face of the most horrible atrocities. Nor is it true, for example, of a nonwar, nonfiction book published in 1962 that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas called "the most important chronicle of this century for the human race." This controversial book, *Silent Spring*, by Rachel Carson, created a sensation by publicizing the harm done to animal life and human life by the widespread spraying of insecticides.

American history has been a favorite theme of many books since World War II. Reader interest in the War Between the States has been especially high.

Some recent books have criticized Americans for following too slavishly the same pattern of life as their friends, neighbors, and business associates. This applies to the type of clothing they wear, homes they buy, parties they run, sports they engage in, and colleges they send their children to. The titles of such books give a clue to this theme, for example: *The Status Seekers* and *The Organization Man*.

**Some Post-War Trends in the Theater, in Motion Pictures, and in Television.** In playwrighting since World War II, a powerful

impact has been made upon the public by Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller. Such plays as Williams' *The Glass Menagerie* and Miller's *The Death of a Salesman* search the hearts and minds of sad, lonely, and frustrated characters.

However, it is in musical comedy that the United States has made the biggest strides in the theatrical world since the war. A musical comedy produced during the war, *Oklahoma!*, by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, set the pattern for many later ones. It not only introduced ballet but merged the dances, the story, and the songs into a meaningful, harmonious production. Most old musical comedies had been not much more than a series of vaudeville skits, loosely tied together by a love story, which many today would consider sickeningly sweet.

Many a modern musical comedy preaches a moral or teaches a lesson. Rodgers and Hammerstein's *The King and I*, for example, shows how understanding can be promoted when people of different backgrounds are willing to get acquainted. These lyrics from it suggest this idea:

Getting to know you  
Getting to feel free and easy,  
When I am with you,  
Getting to know what to say  
Haven't you noticed  
Suddenly I'm bright and breezy  
Because of all the beautiful and new  
Things I'm learning about you  
Day by day<sup>1</sup>

As for Hollywood, many films were made during the war on the Nazi threat, and after the war, on the Communist threat. In the post-war period, too, there appeared many films on religious themes, such as *Going My Way*, *A Man Called Peter*, *The Ten Commandments*, and *Ben Hur*. Social problems,

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<sup>1</sup> "Getting to Know You" Copyright © 1951 by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II, Williamson Music, Inc., New York, N. Y., owner of publication and allied rights

<sup>1</sup> As were many of the other writers discussed on pages 709-711 and 772-773.

such as alcoholism, drug addiction, and the need for better care of the mentally sick, were also dealt with. As always, many films continued to be produced for pure entertainment.

Attendance at movie theaters dropped tremendously when television blossomed after World War II. A popular pastime has been to criticize television for giving too much time to shallow skits and plays, Westerns, crime stories, and trivial, overage movies. Its critics say that it has failed to make the most of its great opportunity to raise the cultural level of the nation. Defenders of television point out that the medium has offered ancient Greek dramatic masterpieces, Shakespearean plays, operas, documentaries, lectures, current events forums, and interviews with world figures.

#### **Some Post-War Trends in American Music.**

"Since the war, they [Europeans] are as well-informed about jazz as we are." So said the American clarinetist Benny Goodman, after playing before European audiences following World War II. American jazz, folk songs, and songs from musical comedies and films have continued to win new esteem, even among serious musicians. They see in this music America's great vitality and expressions of the many different strains that make up America. Today, too, more and more serious composers are working American themes and American rhythms into their compositions. Long-playing-record sales, radio and television programs of serious music, concert and opera attendance—all indicate that millions of Americans have developed a healthy appetite for serious music.

From Puerto Rico to the White House in 1962 came the world-renowned cellist Pablo Casals. To hear him play, a virtual roll call of American composers was invited, including Samuel Barber, Aaron Copland, Norman Dello Joio, Roy Harris, Gian Carlo Menotti, Roger Sessions, Virgil Thomson, and Leonard Bernstein.

In 1963, to promote American culture, President Kennedy established a *National Advisory Council on the Arts*.

## **Some Problems and Policies Of the Kennedy Administration**

**The First President Born in the Twentieth Century Takes Office.** Does it make much difference whether the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate wins the Presidency in 1960? So asked many after the nominating conventions of that year. The platforms of the two parties were similar in many ways. The candidates of both parties, both relatively young men in their forties, expressed somewhat similar ideas in their campaign speeches. The Republicans had nominated Vice-President Richard M. Nixon of California for President and UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts for Vice-President. The Democrats had nominated Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts for President and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate majority leader, for Vice-President.

Both parties had fairly strong civil rights planks in their platforms. Kennedy wanted medical care for the aged tied to the Social Security system. Nixon proposed a plan for medical care for the aged that would be voluntary, not compulsory, as under the Social Security system. Both candidates took a strong stand against Soviet imperialism. Both condemned the injection of the religious question into the campaign. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, answered those who charged that he would be dictated to by his church thus:

I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute, . . . where no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from . . . [any] ecclesiastical [church] source.

During the campaign, Kennedy urged that the Federal Government spend large sums on education, housing, transportation, relief of unemployment in depressed areas, and projects to spur economic growth. He summed up his program as the *New Frontier*. Nixon, too, favored expansion of public services and projects to promote economic



growth. But he felt that these should be handled mainly by states and local agencies or private business, rather than by the Federal Government.

Kennedy and Nixon faced millions of viewers in four nationally televised debates. This was the first time such televised debates had been held in a presidential campaign. They gave voters all over the country an opportunity to size up the leading candidates as they challenged each other.

**Democrats Regain Power in an Election Unusual in Many Ways.** Sixty-nine million Americans voted in the 1960 election—more than in any other election in American history.<sup>1</sup> Of these sixty-nine million votes, Kennedy's margin of victory was less than two-tenths of one per cent—less than in any other election in American history. Although Kennedy won fewer states than Nixon, he won in the electoral college by a vote of 303 to 219.

Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, who wasn't even a candidate, polled fifteen electoral votes. A main reason for this was the opposition of Democratic electors from Mississippi and Alabama to the civil rights plank in the Democratic platform. They hoped, by voting for Byrd, to prevent Kennedy from receiving a majority of the electoral votes, thereby causing the election to be thrown into the House of Representatives (page 145). Then, the South would have had more influence in deciding who would be chosen President and what his policies would be.

This election was also unusual in that Kennedy was the first Roman Catholic, as well as the youngest man, ever to be elected President. Like Franklin D. Roosevelt, Kennedy won by polling a huge vote in the heavily industrialized states and by keeping most of the formerly Solid South in the Democratic column. These were areas in which Eisenhower had made great inroads in 1952 and 1956.

**Kennedy Calls For a War Against 'Tyranny, Poverty, Disease, and War Itself.'** "To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, . . . not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

So pledged President Kennedy to the poverty-stricken around the world, in his Inaugural Address. To the Latin-American nations, he pledged that the United States would "join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas." To the United Nations, he pledged the support of the United States by calling this organization "our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace. . . ." To all nations, he issued a call for an alliance against "tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself."

To our cold-war opponents, the new President issued this invitation.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce. . . . Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations. . . . Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Kennedy concluded his Inaugural Address by urging:

. . . My fellow-Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country. My fellow-citizens of the world, ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

The man who delivered this Inaugural

<sup>1</sup> Out of a population of 180 million, there were still millions more who, for one reason or another, did not vote.

Address had served as both a congressman and a senator. He had won medals for his display of courage in World War II and a Pulitzer prize for his *Profiles in Courage*, a book that praises certain men in American history who displayed courage in politics.

**Kennedy Finds Himself 'in the Very Thick of the Fight' in the Cold War.** President Kennedy had great respect for such "strong" Presidents as Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt. He once said that a President "must place himself in the very thick of the fight." From his inauguration, the cold war provided him with many opportunities to do so. As we know, he tried to meet the threat of Communist subversion and/or invasion in South Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand (page 835), and took an especially strong stand against Soviet missile bases in Cuba (page 849). When India's northern border was invaded by Chinese Communists in 1962, India received United States military sup-

John F. Kennedy. President Kennedy said: "Let us hope that other nations will mobilize the spirit and energies and skill of their people in some form of Peace Corps—making our own effort only one step in a major international effort to increase the welfare of all men and improve understanding among nations."



plies. When the U.S.S.R. once more threatened to bar access to West Berlin, the President answered this challenge by issuing strong warnings and sending more troops there. While the U.S.S.R. opposed the UN action in the Congo (pages 856, 860), Kennedy gave it his strong support.

However, in 1963, the United States and the U.S.S.R. joined with Great Britain in agreeing not to engage in nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. No agreement was reached on banning underground nuclear tests. France, which has conducted nuclear tests and is eager to become a major nuclear power, refused to sign the agreement. So did Communist China. Otherwise, the *nuclear test ban treaty* seemed to have world-wide approval, and many nations added their signatures. Also in 1963, President Kennedy recommended that American dealers sell wheat to the U.S.S.R., where wheat production had sagged.

**The Alliance for Progress: To Help Latin Americans to Help Themselves and to Curb Communism.** An "instrument of economic imperialism" is what a Cuban Communist leader called a program initiated by President Kennedy in 1961. A major purpose of this program, called the *Alliance for Progress*, was to check the spread of communism in poverty-stricken, heavily populated, politically unstable Latin America. Under this ten-year plan, \$20 billion in foreign aid, \$10 billion of it from the United States, would go to Latin America. The other \$10 billion is to come from international agencies, Western Europe, and private capital. Latin-American countries are to receive this aid provided that they use it to expand education, fight diseases, speed the construction of public housing, and introduce land and tax reforms to benefit the underprivileged masses.

Although progress has been made under this co-operative endeavor, there have been many disappointments. The promised social and economic reforms have not made too much headway. Military dictators with little interest in the welfare of the people in gen-

eral have seized control in some Latin-American countries. And even in other countries the money sometimes gets into the hands of the "haves" rather than into those of the "have nots."

**The Peace Corps: To Help Underdeveloped Countries 'to Meet Their Urgent Needs for Skilled Manpower.'** Many a young American man or woman is now living in an underdeveloped country, contributing his or her skill in teaching, agriculture, health, engineering, or other fields in hopes of bettering living conditions there. Such volunteers are members of the *Peace Corps*, created by the Kennedy Administration in 1961. Thus far, the Peace Corps has proved to be quite successful and a valuable weapon in the cold war.

**An Atlantic Partnership Is Urged by Kennedy.** It looked as though a United States of Europe was beginning to take shape after World War II. Of this trend, President Kennedy said in 1962:

... we will be prepared to discuss with a United Europe the ways and means of forming a concrete Atlantic partnership, a mutually beneficial partnership. . . .

A major obstacle to an Atlantic partnership has been certain policies of President De Gaulle of France. De Gaulle, it seems, would like to see a United States of Europe, but under French leadership. This helps to explain why he vetoed Britain's application for membership in Western Europe's Common Market.<sup>1</sup> He appears to fear that Britain and the United States are co-operating in an effort to dominate any proposed Atlantic partnership. He also prefers an independent nuclear force for France and has refused to take part in a joint nuclear force in NATO (page 828), which the United States desires.

**Taking Stock of Some Domestic Legislation of the Kennedy Administration.** To promote

greater unity among the nations of the non-Communist world was a major aim of the Kennedy Administration, as it had been of the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations. Like its predecessors, the Kennedy Administration attempted to speed up social and economic progress at home.

**Some Social and Economic Legislation of the Kennedy Administration.** A privilege granted to women earlier—that of retiring at the age of sixty-two—was granted to men under an amendment to the Social Security Act in 1961. In the same year, the minimum wage was raised and coverage was extended to more workers. Nearly \$5 billion was appropriated for loans to encourage middle-income housing and to improve housing for college students and the aged. This sum also covered grants to cities for urban renewal projects that would have slum clearance as a major aim. Areas hard hit by widespread unemployment and serious business slumps—so called *depressed areas*—were aided by Federal loans and grants. The Congress also appropriated funds to pay for the retraining of workers who had lost their jobs because the industries in which they had been employed no longer needed their skills.

As in previous administrations, efforts were made by various means to curb farm surpluses. The *Agricultural Act of 1962*, for example, attempted to reduce the amount of land devoted to agriculture and to increase that devoted to soil, water, wildlife, and recreation resources.

The prosperity of the non-Communist world is vital in the cold-war struggle, President Kennedy believed. That prosperity is promoted, he was also convinced, by "a mutual lowering of tariff barriers among friendly nations so that all may benefit from a free flow of goods." Toward this end, the Congress passed the *Trade Expansion Act* in 1962. The act gives the President power to cut tariffs, or even, in certain cases, to remove them entirely. Industries that are harmed by such action may be compensated by the Government. Such legislation should help the United States to compete with the Common

<sup>1</sup> The Common Market is an economic union of France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Eventually, there will be no tariff barriers among these "Inner Six" and a common tariff against outside nations.

Market. By a mutual lowering of tariffs, the United States may be able to sell more goods to the Common Market countries and other non-Communist countries, and all of these may be able to sell more goods to the United States.

**Some Other Highlights of the Kennedy Administration.** In 1961, President Kennedy issued an executive order "to insure that Americans of all colors and beliefs will have equal access to employment within the Government and with those who do business with the Government." By executive order also, in 1962, he banned racial and religious discrimination in future housing built or purchased with Federal funds. In the same year, he called out the Mississippi National Guard and sent in Federal troops to insure the admission of a Negro to the University of Mississippi. He urged the Congress in 1963 to pass civil rights legislation that would, among other provisions, (1) grant all citizens equality with respect to service in hotels, restaurants, places of amusement, and retail establishments engaged in interstate commerce; (2) allow the Federal Government to refuse financial grants to any state or local program in which discrimination is practiced; and (3) prohibit discrimination in Federal jobs financed by Federal funds.

To dramatize the need for such civil rights legislation, more than 200,000 persons—Negroes and whites alike—participated in a "March on Washington" in the summer of 1963. There, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., one of the most active leaders in the civil rights movement, declared in a speech that he had a "dream" that "one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'"

In many states, heavily populated urban areas have, proportionately, far less representation in the state legislature than thinly populated rural areas. A Supreme Court decision of 1962, that in *Baker v. Carr*, ruled that the Federal courts had the authority to pass on the validity of distribution of state

legislative seats. The year before, a constitutional amendment, the Twenty-third, had been adopted granting qualified residents of the District of Columbia the privilege of voting for President and Vice-President.

A proposal of the President to grant Federal aid to education from public elementary school through college was killed in committee in the House of Representatives. Its strongest opponents were staunch supporters of states' rights, who feared possible Federal domination of public education, and Roman Catholic spokesmen, who protested the failure to provide funds for parochial schools.

Kennedy's proposal to provide medical care for persons over sixty-five through the Social Security system was also killed in a House committee. The strongest opponents of this so-called *medicare* plan were conservatives who feared Federal control of medicine and the American Medical Association, which labeled it "socialized medicine."

### **President Kennedy's Assassination Arouses Deep Emotions And Raises Many Questions**

"Oh my God! They've killed my husband! . . ." This was the anguished cry from the lips of Jacqueline Kennedy on November 22, 1963 as she cradled the bloodstained head of the President. To the shock and bewilderment of the world, an assassin's bullets had struck him down as he rode in a motorcade in Dallas, Texas. Governor John B. Connally of Texas, who was accompanying the President, was also shot, but survived. Two days later, Lee Harvey Oswald, charged with the assassination, was fatally shot by a man who had made his way through police guards and television cameras while Oswald was being transferred to the county jail. Millions witnessed Oswald's murder on television.

Many questions were raised by the President's assassination and the murder of Oswald. Here are some:

- What must we do to rid our country of the

climate of hate and violence that has been generated in recent years over political, economic, and social differences? (There were those who felt that it was the peddlers of hate who, though they might not trigger guns personally, created the climate that encouraged others to do so.)

- What is wrong in democratic America when four of its thirty-five Presidents have met their deaths at the hands of assassins and several others have had attempts made on their lives?
- What must we do to insure greater security for our Presidents?
- What steps can be taken to restrict the sale of firearms, such as the rifle used to kill the President?
- Who would have succeeded to the Presidency—even temporarily—if the President had not been killed but had been seriously incapacitated by the assassin's bullets? (Should a President die, be removed, or resign, succession to the Presidency is clear. But no clause in the Constitution or the Presidential Succession Act states what will happen if a President should become seriously ill or incapacitated. And in these critical times, the failure of the nation to have a President even for an hour could be disastrous.)
- Is not even the vilest of criminals entitled to a fair trial in democratic America? (The murderer of Oswald claimed to be avenging the President, whom he professed to admire. Many Americans, however, agreed with former Vice-President Nixon's statement that "We cannot help but deplore a man taking the law into his own hands.")
- Who knows what valuable information the nation might have gained about the accused Oswald's motivations or accomplices, if any, had his lips not been sealed by his murder?

Millions mourned President Kennedy as a martyr. To his impressive funeral came heads

of government from all over the world. The head of the British Government, Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home, expressed the feelings of many when he spoke of the late President as

*... this young, gay, and brave statesman, killed in the full vigor of his manhood, when he bore on his shoulders all the cares and hopes of the world. ... A man of peace and a man with a deep religious faith dedicated to healing the divisions between man. ... A man who hated bigotry, who believed all men were equal*

### **President Johnson Pledges To Carry On the Kennedy Program**

In some countries, when the head of the government is assassinated, violence breaks out between rival factions seeking to gain control of the government. Within ninety-eight minutes of President Kennedy's death, Vice-President Johnson had taken the oath of office as President. This smooth transition from one Administration to another at such a tragic time gave many Americans increased confidence in the sense of continuity that is characteristic of the American system of government.

Prior to becoming Vice-President, President Johnson had been a member of the House of Representatives, a senator, and both minority and majority leader in the Senate. He had demonstrated unusual ability in influencing not only members of his own party in the Congress but many members of the Republican Party as well. His guiding principle in working with others, he often said, was the Biblical quotation from Isaiah: "Come now, let us reason together."

Addressing a joint session of the Congress, the new President declared:

*... No words are strong enough to express our determination to continue the forward thrust of America that he [Kennedy] began*

President Johnson pledged to support the space program, the Peace Corps, the UN, a



*Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson taking the oath of office as President in the plane that carried the body of President Kennedy back to Washington. At his right is Mrs. Johnson; at his left, President Kennedy's widow, Jacqueline. What thoughts must have been passing through the minds of each of these three individuals?*

strong defense policy, the Alliance for Progress, a tax cut that had been proposed by President Kennedy to stimulate business, "the fight against poverty and misery and disease and ignorance in other lands and in our own," education and jobs for all, care for the aged, the crusade against mental illness, and, "above all, the dream of equal rights for all Americans whatever their race or color."

In conclusion, the President said:

... let us put an end to the teaching and preaching of hate and evil and violence. Let us turn away from the fanatics, from the far left and the far right, from the apostles of bitterness and bigotry, from those defiant of law, and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream.

### **Looking Back at 'Where [We] Came From' and 'What Brought [Us] Along'**

Long before this time of our America saw the faces of her men and women torn and shaken in turmoil, chaos and storm. In each major crisis you could have seen despair written on the faces of the foremost strugglers. Yet there always arose enough of reserves of strength, balances of sanity, portions of wisdom, to carry the nation through to a fresh start with an ever-renewing vitality.

You may bury the bones of men. . . . But their ideas won. . . . They live in the sense that their dream is on the faces of living men and women today. . . . They ought not to be forgotten—the dead who

held in their clenched hands that which became the heritage of us, the living.

So wrote Carl Sandburg in his novel, *Remembrance Rock*. But many of us tend at times to forget our common "heritage" and those men and women who helped "to carry the nation through." Sandburg warns of the dangers of this forgetfulness thus:

... We know when a nation goes down and never comes back, when a society or civilization perishes, one condition may always be found. They forgot where they came from. They lost sight of what brought them along. The hard beginnings were forgotten and the struggles farther along. They became satisfied with themselves. Unity and common understanding there had been, enough to overcome rot and dissolution, enough to break through their obstacles. But the mockers came. And the deniers were heard. And vision and hope faded. And the custom of greeting became: "What's the use?" And men whose forefathers would go anywhere, holding nothing impossible, ... joined the mockers and deniers. They forgot where they came from. They lost sight of what had brought them along.

No one can deny that there have been

aspects of American history on which "mockers and deniers" could seize for criticism. But those who dwell on such evils ignore the incredible progress that America has made—in combating these evils and in countless other ways. In any case, millions of Americans are not "mockers and deniers" who have lost "vision and hope." In Sandburg's words,

They are faces I have seen ... from coast to coast, ... many of these same faces have had their shining moments in our America of the past. We can go back ... two and three hundred years, and we meet these same faces. ... They shared in the making of America, in bringing this country on from the colonial wilderness days through one crisis after another. Their faces moved through shattering events and the heartbreak of war and revolution ... They saw years of startling change and dazzling invention, till America took her place among nations as one of the great powers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All these quotations from *Remembrance Rock* by Carl Sandburg, reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

## STUDY AIDS FOR CHAPTER 37

### ★ Persons to Identify and Terms to Define

suburbia	Yuri Gagarin
geriatrics	Alan B. Shepard
McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act	Virgil I. Grissom
Nautilus	Cherman S. Titov
Sea Wolf	John H. Glenn
Triton	M. Scott Carpenter
AEC	Walter M. Schirra
earth satellites	L. Gordon Cooper
Sputniks	Telstar
Explorer I	Edward Teller
Luniks	NASA
	automation
	Salk vaccine

Sabin vaccine	FEPC
miracle drugs	Civil Rights Act of 1957
National Science Foundation	Civil Rights Act of 1960
isotopes	"sit-ins"
additives	"Freedom Riders"
FDA	<i>Brown v Board of Education of Topeka</i>
Drug Industry Act	Earl Warren
GI Bill of Rights	<i>Plessy v Ferguson</i>
National Defense Education Act	Irwin Shaw
segregation	
desegregation	

Norman Mailer	Aaron Copland	nuclear test ban	Trade Expansion Act
John Hersey	Gian Carlo Menotti	treaty	"March on Washington"
James A. Michener	Leonard Bernstein	Alliance for Progress	Martin Luther King, Jr.
Herman Wouk	National Advisory	Peace Corps	<i>Baker v. Carr</i>
Rachel Carson	Council on the	Atlantic partnership	Twenty-third
Tennessee Williams	Arts	Common Market	Amendment
Arthur Miller	Henry Cabot Lodge	depressed areas	medicare
Rogers and	Lyndon B. Johnson	Agricultural Act	Lee Harvey Oswald
Hammerstein	New Frontier	of 1962	
Benny Goodman	Harry F. Byrd		

☆ **Questions to Check**  
**Basic Information**

1. Give as much proof as you can that the economic picture today for most Americans is a basically healthy one.
2. Give reasons for (a) the increase in the rate of the American population and (b) some population shifts in the United States.
3. For what reasons has there been a serious housing problem since World War II?
4. How has the steadily increasing number of aged in the population created problems for (a) themselves, (b) their families, and (c) the Government?
5. Mention specific changes made in our immigration laws after World War II.
6. Give examples of specific uses to which nuclear power has been put.
7. Describe the work of the Atomic Energy Commission.
8. Describe (a) the purposes of space exploration and (b) the accomplishments of some of its heroes.
9. Describe the roles of (a) automation and (b) industrial research in the great progress of industrial science.
10. Give examples of (a) some progress made in medical science since World War II and (b) some unsolved medical problems.
11. Give some specific examples of what the Federal Government has done in recent years to protect the health of Americans.
12. With respect to education since World War II, give (a) reasons for the increased interest in it, (b) its problems, and (c) efforts to solve these problems.
13. Sum up ways in which the status of the American Negro has improved since World War II.
14. What were the effects of the Supreme Court education decision of 1954?
15. What reasons help to explain why race relations made the headlines after World War II?
16. What evidence might be given to prove that Americans have become increasingly culture-minded?
17. Mention some highlights among American cultural developments since World War II.
18. For what reasons has television had (a) sharp critics and (b) staunch defenders?
19. Concerning the election of 1960, describe (a) the platforms, (b) the campaign, (c) the results, and (d) the election's significance.
20. What (a) pledges and (b) appeals did President Kennedy make in his Inaugural Address?
21. Describe specific efforts made by President Kennedy to combat the spread of communism abroad.
22. Describe the purposes of (a) the Alliance for Progress and (b) the Peace Corps.
23. Tell specifically what action the Ken-



- neddy Administration took on (a) unemployment, (b) agriculture, (c) housing, (d) international trade, (e) racial and religious questions, (f) education, and (g) medical care for the aged.
24. In the selection from *Remembrance Rock*, what types of Americans is Carl Sandburg (a) criticizing and (b) praising?

### ★ Questions for Thought and Discussion

- Do you believe that the United States should share more of its blessings with other peoples around the world? Give reasons why or why not.
- Do you believe that the increasing population shifts in the United States are a sign of (a) strength or (b) weakness? Give reasons.
- Essentially, the problems in suburbia are no different from those in large cities. Give reasons why you agree or disagree.
- In what ways is the increasing number of aged in our population a tribute to our civilization?
- President Eisenhower suggested that the immigration quota should be increased from 155,000 to 220,000 and that the 1950 census should be used in determining each country's quota. What do you think of these suggestions? Explain fully.
- Should that part of an immigration quota that is not used up by a given country in any year be shifted to another country that has used up its quota? Give reasons for your answer.
- In what ways may nuclear power revolutionize our lives or those of our children?
- "Scientists are this century's version of the explorers of earlier times." In what ways (a) is this or (b) is this not a good analogy?
- Alan B. Shepard, in describing his flight into space, spoke of "we." Explain fully the significance of the "we."
- Should the United States and the U.S.S.R. co-operate in space explorations? Give reasons for your answer.
- What arguments might be given (a) for or (b) against the argument that the money spent on space exploration might better be spent on more earthly matters.
- Automation arouses both (a) fears and (b) hopes. What fears? What hopes?
- What specific steps do you think might be taken to improve (a) the health of the American people as a whole and (b) American education.
- It might be said that the greatest enemies of civil liberties are each and every one of us. Explain whether you agree or not, giving reasons.
- Is it (a) a healthy or (b) an unhealthy sign for the nation that race relations have made the headlines in recent years? Give reasons to justify your choice.
- What do you think (a) each of us, (b) our local communities, and (c) the Federal Government could do to improve race relations?
- What do you consider the most interesting development in post-World War II American culture? Give reasons.
- As chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Newton Minow said in 1961 that television programming is, for the most part, "a vast wasteland." What do you think he meant? To what extent do you agree?
- The number of independent voters has increased greatly in recent years. Do you consider this a sign of (a) strength or (b) weakness in our political system? Give reasons why.
- What do you consider the most interesting feature of the election of 1960? For what reasons?
- "Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us," said President Kennedy to the Soviet Union in his Inaugural Address. To what specific problems do you think he was referring?
- Do you think that the United States and

- the Latin-American nations should form a common market such as Europe has? Give reasons why or why not.
23. Would you automatically deny economic aid to any Latin-American country that is taken over by a dictator? Give reasons for your answer.
  24. If you had been President Kennedy, what advice would you have given to anyone joining the Peace Corps?
  25. What do you think would be the benefits of a strong Atlantic partnership? For what reasons might some oppose such a partnership?
  26. What do you consider the most important piece of legislation enacted under President Kennedy?
  27. "... We have become selfish, fat, conceited, soft, and lazy. Where once we were doers, we are now viewers." Give your views of this criticism of contemporary American society.
  28. It is important for us to "project the image of the United States." (a) What does this mean? (b) Why is it important for us to do so? (c) What are some excellent ways of doing so? (d) What factors in the United States harm its image?
  29. If you were preparing a time capsule for posterity on our civilization in the 1960's, what would you include in it? Justify your choices.
  30. For what reasons, do you think, were the selections from Carl Sandburg's *Remembrance Rock* chosen as a conclusion to this book?
- ☆ **Activities to Develop Creative Abilities, Skills, and Deeper Understanding**
1. Against the mimeographed check list of desirable qualities a President should possess, check President Kennedy. Use as many sources of information as possible.
  2. Write an article entitled "The United States in 1980." Include your predictions with respect to (a) conveniences in the home, (b) sources of power, (c) transportation and communication, (d) education, (e) recreation, (f) standards of living, (g) the cold war, (h) industrial advances, and (i) medicine.
  3. There is much talk today about urban renewal. Investigate (a) its aims, (b) why it is a problem today, and (c) what is being done about it in any particular area. Contribute your report to a committee-compiled report encompassing various areas.
  4. For a report on (a) economic changes brought about by World War II or (b) population growth, consult *America's Needs and Resources* by J. L. Dewhurst and others.
  5. Write an article for your local newspaper telling (a) what your community is doing and (b) what else it might do to make life happier for the aged.
  6. Investigate the details of the McCarran-Walter Act to find out why it "has been furiously condemned and . . . furiously defended." Write your own conclusions.
  7. Make a list of questions you would like to ask (a) a nuclear physicist, (b) an astronaut, (c) a segregationist, (d) an integrationist, or (e) a member of the Peace Corps.
  8. Write an essay entitled (a) "I Lost My Job Through Automation," (b) "I Found My Utopia in Suburbia," (c) "I Served on the *Nautilus*," (d) "My Flight in Space," or (e) "I Live in a Depressed Area."
  9. Investigate the contributions of (a) Dr. Robert H. Goddard to the space age or (b) Dr. Selman A. Waksman to antibiotics. Report on lessons to be drawn from the career of the man chosen.
  10. Update (a) medicine, (b) education, (c) labor, or (d) any other topic dealt with in this chapter by checking the index and reading the information in the most recent issue of either the (a) *World Almanac* or (b) the *Information Please Almanac*.
  11. Draw up arguments pro or con on: The

- Federal Government should contribute billions of dollars to the states for public education.
12. As a research project, find out why (a) the Supreme Court or (b) the American Civil Liberties Union has been attacked in recent years. Write a report on whether you think these attacks have been justified or not.
  13. In committee, investigate and report on the progress of automation in (a) industry, (b) agriculture, (c) education, (d) the armed forces, (e) recreation, (f) communication, (g) transportation, and (h) any other field.
  14. In committee, investigate the great economic changes that have taken place since World War II in (a) the East, (b) the South, (c) the Middle West, and (d) the Far West. Make a mimeographed report of the committee's findings for distribution to the class.
  15. Write a newspaper editorial on the present status of race relations, using current newspaper clippings and magazine articles as your sources of information.
  16. Investigate and report on the role of any individual or organization that has played an important role in race relations in recent years.
  17. Play for the class recordings of the music of as many as possible of the composers mentioned in this chapter.
  18. Compare President Kennedy's Inaugural Address with that of any other recent President. Then write a paper pointing out (a) similarities and (b) differences.
  19. Write an imaginary conversation such as might take place at a meeting of President Johnson's Cabinet.
  20. In committee, make sketches for a mural entitled "Highlights of Life in America since World War II."
  21. Make a list of what you consider the ten (a) most significant events in American history, (b) greatest American humanitarians, (c) greatest threats to the American Dream throughout American history, (d) greatest problems still facing the nation, or (e) Presidents who did most for the nation. Justify your first three choices.
  22. Compile a list of ten quotations that express best what America stands for.
  23. In committee, collect cartoons from current newspapers or magazines that depict various phases of American life today. The committee-compiled report should indicate what light the cartoons throw on contemporary problems.
  24. Write a speech in which you prove the thesis that the world cannot afford (a) economically, (b) militarily, or (c) politically a deep depression in the United States.
  25. Interview two or three persons, asking what they consider the most pressing contemporary problems of (a) their local community or city, (b) their state, (c) the nation, and (d) the world. Report on to what extent they agree.
  26. In *A History of the United States from 1865 to the Present*, edited by F. W. Klingberg, read and summarize a document on the Kennedy Administration.

## RECOMMENDED READING FOR UNIT SEVEN<sup>1</sup>

Barach, A. B., and others, *1975 and the Changes to Come* (Harper & Row). Predictions based upon calculations by scientists and other specialists.

Barber, J., *Good Fences Make Good Neigh-*

*bors* (Bobbs-Merrill). On political, military, social, cultural, and economic relations with Canada.

Barek, O. T., Jr., and N. M. Blake, *Since 1900: A History of the United States in Our Times* (Macmillan).

Brown, F. J., and J. S. Roucek, eds., *One America. The History, Contributions, and*

<sup>1</sup> See also general bibliography on page xv.

<sup>2</sup> PB means paperback.

- Present Problems of Our Racial and National Minorities* (Prentice-Hall).
- Brown, S., *Spaceward Bound* (Prentice-Hall).
- Burns, J. M., *John Kennedy: A Political Profile* (Harcourt, Brace & World; Avon PB<sup>2</sup>).
- Commager, H. S., *Contemporary Civilization* (Scott, Foresman). Since World War II.
- Courlander, H., *Shaping Our Times: What the United Nations Is and Does* (Oceana PB).
- Daniels, J., *The Man of Independence* (Lippincott). About President Truman.
- Davis, C. E., *Man and Space* (Dodd, Mead). The space race: military and peaceful aspects.
- Dean, W. F., *General Dean's Diary* (Viking Press). About the Korean conflict.
- Degler, C. N., *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (Harper & Row). Interpretive rather than mere informational aspects are stressed.
- Donovan, R. J., *Eisenhower: The Inside Story* (Harper & Row).
- Dulles, F. R., *Labor in America: A History* (Crowell). Sec chapters on period since World War II.
- Dunlap, O. E., *Communications in Space from Wireless to Satellite Relay* (Harper & Row).
- Galbraith, J. K., *The Affluent Society* (Houghton Mifflin).
- , *The Liberal Hour* (Houghton Mifflin).
- Gellhorn, W., *American Rights: The Constitution in Action* (Macmillan).
- Goldman, E. F., *The Crucial Decade and After: 1945-1960* (Knopf; Vintage PB).
- Gramont, S. de, *The Secret War: The Story of International Espionage Since World War II* (Putnam).
- Gunther, J., *Inside U.S.A.* (Harper & Row). See most recent edition.
- Harrington, M., *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (Macmillan). Author argues that many are not enjoying the benefits of America's general prosperity.
- Higbee, E. C., *The Squeeze: Cities Without Space* (Morrow). Suggests planning to prevent strangling of cities.
- Higgins, M., *The War in Korea: The Report of a Woman Combat Correspondent* (Doubleday).
- Holmes, D. C., *What's Going On in Space* (Funk & Wagnalls).
- Hoover, J. E., *Masters of Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston; Pocket Books PB).
- Information Please Almanac* (Simon and Schuster). Most recent edition, for bringing topics down to date.
- Johnson, W., *1600 Pennsylvania: Presidents and the People, 1929-1959* (Little, Brown).
- Jones, H. S., and others, eds., *Space Encyclopedia* (Dutton).
- Kaempffert, W. B., *Explorations in Science* (Viking Press). Medical and other scientific progress of recent times.
- Kefauver, E., *Crime in America* (Doubleday). Based on the author's experience on a Senate committee investigating crime.
- Kissinger, H. A., *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (Harper & Row; Anchor PB).
- Laurence, W. L., *Men and Atoms: The Discovery, the Uses, and the Future of Atomic Energy* (Simon and Schuster PB).
- Leckie, R., *Conflict: The History of the Korean War 1950-1953* (Putnam).
- Lederer, W. J., and E. Burdick, *The Ugly American* (Norton; Crest PB). A novel criticizing American representatives in foreign lands; considered exaggerated by some.
- Ley, W., *Rockets, Missiles, and Space Travel* (Viking Press).
- Life* magazine, *The National Purpose* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston PB). "Famous Americans comment at mid-century about our hopes and goals as a nation. . . ."
- Lillienthal, D. W., *Big Business: A New Era* (Harper & Row). A former chairman of TVA speaks up for the contributions of big business.
- Link, A. S., *American Epoch: A History of the United States Since the 1890's* (Knopf).
- Lippmann, W., *United States Foreign Policy:*

- Shield of the Republic* (Little, Brown).
- Lubell, S., *The Future of American Politics* (Harper & Row). The various factors that affect how people vote.
- Morris, J., *As I Saw the U.S.A.* (Pantheon). An English visitor reports on the United States in the 1950's.
- Pollock, F., *Automation: A Study of Its Economic and Social Consequences* (Praeger).
- Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*. To keep abreast of current articles
- Roosevelt, E., *On My Own* (Harper & Row; Dell PB) Her story from the time she was First Lady.
- Rossiter, C., *Parties and Politics in America* (Cornell University Press PB).
- Tomlinson, E., *Look Southward, Uncle* (Devlin-Adair). About our neighbors in Latin America.
- Truman, H. S., *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman: Year of Decisions 1945* (Doubleday).
- , *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman: Years of Trial and Hope 1946-1952* (Doubleday)
- Tugwell, R. C., *The Enlargement of the Presidency* (Doubleday). Suggests how the Presidency might be strengthened to keep pace with the complexity of our times.
- White, T. H., *The Making of the President 1960* (Atheneum). Practical politics.
- Williams, I. G., *The American Vice-Presidency: New Look* (Random House PB).
- Willoughby, C. A., and J. Chamberlain, *MacArthur 1941-1951* (McGraw-Hill).
- Wood, R. C., *Suburbia, Its People and Their Politics* (Houghton Mifflin).
- World Almanac* (New York World-Telegram and Sun). For updating topics.
- Zelomek, A. W., *A Changing America: At Work and Play* (Wiley). Comments on women, automation, modern culture, and suburbia, among other subjects today.

## The Declaration of Independence

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

### *The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent

should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise, the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States, for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from

punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large-Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & Perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

WE THEREFORE, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.—And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

# The Constitution of the United States (1787-1788)<sup>1</sup>

## Plus Some Explanations of, and Comments on, Its Clauses<sup>2</sup>

### THE PREAMBLE

#### The Constitution's Purposes

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

*This introduction states the Constitution's purposes as these were understood by the Founding Fathers. Because of the weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution's framers wanted "to form a more perfect union" Under the Articles, there had been no national judiciary to "establish justice." There had been no national means of insuring "domestic tranquility" by suppressing uprisings such as Shays' Rebellion; of adequately defending all the states against Indian raids, piracy on the seas, and other foreign threats; of regulating foreign and interstate trade, or of raising enough funds to, for example, "promote the general welfare." The Preamble concludes that the Constitution is so written as to insure "the blessings of liberty" for those alive in 1787 and for those who would come after them.*

*How would each of the purposes stated in the Preamble apply to specific problems facing the nation today?*

### ARTICLE I

#### The Congress Is the Lawmaking Branch of Our Federal Government

**Section 1: A Two-House Congress Has Lawmaking Power.** All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

*The two-house legislature was in line with the Great Compromise (page 118).*

**Section 2, Clause 1: The Voters Elect Members of the House of Representatives Every Two Years.** The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications

requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

*Essentially, the right to decide who may vote is reserved to the states. This right of the states was later restricted by the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments. As used here, "electors" means "voters."*

**Section 2, Clause 2: Who Is Eligible to Be a Representative.** No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

*What explains each of these three qualifications needed for a person to become a member of the House of Representatives? (Custom has also come to require usually that a representative be a resident of the Congressional district in which he is chosen.)*

**Section 2, Clause 3: Representation of States in the House (and Direct Taxes) Are Both Based upon Population as Determined by a Census Taken Every Ten Years.** Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one Representative, and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 3, Massachusetts, 8, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1, Connecticut, 5, New York, 6, New Jersey, 4, Pennsylvania, 8, Delaware, 1, Maryland, 6, Virginia, 10, North Carolina, 5, South Carolina, 5, and Georgia, 3.

*The Constitution does not define a "direct tax" (page 120) For a change in this clause, see Amendment XVI*

*Persons "bound to service for a term of years" were the former indentured servants (page 53) By "other persons" was meant slaves in line with the three-fifths compromise (page 120).*

<sup>1</sup> See also Chapter 7.

<sup>2</sup> This annotation appears in italics.



three-fifths of the slaves were counted for representation in the House. See Amendments XIII and XIV, which have nullified the clause with respect to so-called "other persons."

The national Government is required to take a census every ten years to determine the population. The Congress reapportions membership in the House of Representatives after each census. As we know, the size of a state's population determines the number of its representatives in the House of Representatives. However, no matter how small its population, each state is entitled to at least one representative.

**Section 2, Clause 4: Vacancies in the House Are Filled by Election.** When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The "executive authority" calling such special elections is the governor of the state concerned.

**Section 2, Clause 5: The House Chooses Its Speaker and Has Power to Impeach.** The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

The Speaker, always a member of the House, is its presiding officer. He is elected by the political party that has a majority in the House. He is usually very influential. The House also elects such other officers as the majority and minority leaders and the chaplain.

For an explanation of impeachment, see page 135.

**Section 3, Clause 1: The Two Senators Elected from Each State for Six-Year Terms Originally Were Chosen by the State Legislature.** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

In line with the Great Compromise, the smallest of the fifty states has as much voice as the largest in the Senate. As a result of Amendment XVII, voters now elect senators as well as representatives directly. Amendment XVII also provides that vacancies will be filled in the Senate as they are in the House—through special elections called by the governors of states. Pending such elections, it empowers the state legislatures to empower the governors to make temporary appointments.

**Section 3, Clause 2: One-Third of the Senators Are Elected Every Two Years for Six-Year Terms.** Immediately after they shall be assem-

bled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

*This means that the Senate is a continuous body, with two-thirds of the senators always individuals with some Senatorial experience.*

**Section 3, Clause 3: Who Is Eligible to Be a Senator.** No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

*What explains each of these qualifications needed for a person to become a senator? For what reasons do you believe the requirements were made more difficult than those for a representative?*

**Section 3, Clause 4: The Vice-President Is the Presiding Officer of the Senate.** The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

*To act as chairman of the Senate is the only power the Constitution grants the Vice-President. Since he is not an elected senator, he may vote only in case of a tie. More prestige and power have been attached to the Vice-Presidency lately: The President now has the Vice-President attend Cabinet meetings and often has him perform special functions as a presidential representative.*

**Section 3, Clause 5: The Senate Chooses a President Pro Tempore and Its Other Officers.** The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Pro tempore means "for the time being." As recent Presidents have called upon Vice-Presidents to perform more and more duties, Presidents Pro Tempore preside frequently. Other officers chosen by the Senate, such as clerks, doorkeepers, chaplains, and pages, are, of course, not senators.

**Section 3, Clause 6: The Senate Acts as a Court in an Impeachment Trial After the House Has Impeached an Official.** The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside. and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Since the Vice-President is next in line to the President, it would not be desirable to have such an interested party preside at a President's trial. Because of the seriousness of impeachment cases, a two thirds vote of the senators present, rather than a majority vote, is required for conviction.

**Section 3, Clause 7: The Penalties for Impeachment Conviction: Removal from and Disqualification for Office.** Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States, but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

After conviction on an impeachment charge, a guilty official is removed from office and denied the right to hold other Federal offices. He may then be tried on the same charge in the regular courts and, if found guilty, punished as others would be. Up to 1963, the House had impeached twelve suspected officials. Of these, four—all judges—were convicted by the Senate.

**Section 4, Clause 1: Both State Legislatures and the Congress Regulate Elections.** The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The states, for example, decide how candidates for the Senate and House are nominated, and, in general, run elections. However, the Congress, for example, requires that ballots be secret. Elections of congressmen take place in all states on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November in the even-numbered years.

**Section 4, Clause 2: The Congress Is Required to Meet at Least Once a Year.** The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

This requirement is designed to prevent the executive branch from exercising too much power at the expense of the legislative branch. Should the executive branch do so, checks and balances (page 135) would be weakened. Originally, the Congress met annually in December. Since the ratification of Amendment XX, in 1933, the date of the beginning of its first regular session has been January 3.

**Section 5, Clause 1: Each House May Reject Newly Elected Members—A Majority Makes a Quorum.** Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

If either the House or the Senate feels that a member has been elected by corrupt means, for example, or has preached revolution, the member may be refused his seat. A minority of members may compel the attendance of absentees, under threat of punishment. Actually, if no member demands a roll call, the Congress may conduct business without a "quorum" (the majority required by the Constitution to do so).

**Section 5, Clause 2: Each House Makes Its Own Rules.** Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house decides what procedures it will follow and what functions its officers and committees will perform and how. Since each house may expel a member, congressmen are never impeached. Expulsion must be by a two-thirds vote. Rarely is a member expelled.

**Section 5, Clause 3: Each House Must Record and Publish Its Work.** Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

The official Congressional Record is published daily while Congress meets. If twenty per cent of the members of either house present request it, a written record is kept of how the members vote on a particular question. Thus citizens may know how their congressmen have voted. Some procedures are kept secret, however, if the members vote to keep them so.

**Section 5, Clause 4: Both Houses Must Agree on When to Adjourn.** Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

*Once in session, the two houses must agree on when to stop meeting. For, obviously, the work of each is almost always necessary to the other.*

**Section 6, Clause 1: Pay and Privileges of Congressmen.** The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

*Under the Articles of Confederation, members of Congress had been paid by the states. To save money, some states sent no delegates. To avoid this situation, the Constitution stipulates that congressmen are to be paid by the United States. Pay of congressmen today is \$22,500 yearly. Besides, there is a tax-free allowance for such expenses as secretaries, travel, and the privilege of sending mail with only their names as stamps (a privilege called franking).*

*Congressmen are guaranteed against arrest at meetings of the Congress and on their way to and from such meetings, except for committing the crimes mentioned. This clause was intended to prevent a congressman's enemies from trumping up minor charges that might require him to be absent from the Congress. In order to enable them to express themselves freely and to act as they think for the public good, congressmen may not be held to account, except by the house of which they are members, for anything they say in the Congress (page 130).*

**Section 6, Clause 2: Congressmen Are Prohibited to Hold Any Other Federal Civil Office.** No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

*"Emolument" means compensation, such as sal-*

*ary or fees. What evils might result were it not for this clause?*

**Section 7, Clause 1: Tax Bills Must Originate in the House.** All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

*In practice, all financial measures (for appropriating and spending money, as well as for raising revenue), originate in the House. Actually, the Senate's power over finances is great, too, since it may make as many changes as it wishes. A joint committee, made up of members of both houses, compromises differences.*

**Section 7, Clause 2: Steps in the Lawmaking Process.** Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

*Bills must be passed in the same form by both houses of the Congress. For the three things a President may do about a bill that the Congress sends him, see page 142.*

**Section 7, Clause 3: 'Every Order, Resolution, or Vote' That Both Houses Must Agree on Must Also Be Approved by the President or Passed Over His Veto.** Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate

and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

The only exception to this rule is a vote to adjourn the Congress.

#### **Section 8: The Enumerated (Delegated) Powers Granted to the Congress—**

**Section 8, Clause 1: The Congress May Lay and Collect Taxes.** The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

Largely because the states held the purse strings under the Articles of Confederation, the national Government had remained weak. Clause 1 of Section 8 of the Constitution gave the Congress the power to levy external taxes, such as duties on imports from abroad. It also gave the Congress power to levy internal taxes, such as excise taxes on goods produced within the country. In the interest of fair play, the Constitution requires that all Federal taxes be the same throughout the United States. This taxing power is a broad one, since the Congress may tax for three purposes: (1) to pay the country's debts; (2) to insure protection against enemies; and (3) to promote the general welfare of the American people. Sometimes the Congress stretches its taxing power by laying high taxes to prevent the use of harmful products or to discourage activities such as gambling.

**Section 8, Clause 2.** To borrow money on the credit of the United States,

The Federal Government usually borrows money by selling Government bonds. The Constitution places no limit on the power of the Congress to borrow money. In practice, the Congress fixes a debt limit, which it may change at will.

**Section 8, Clause 3.** To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

One of the main weaknesses of the Congress under the Articles of Confederation had been its inability to regulate foreign and interstate commerce. Doing so was the power of the states. Under Clause 3 of the Constitution, the Congress can regulate commerce between foreign nations and the United States, and between states within the United States. The Congress has stretched its interstate commerce power to make rules for a wide variety of businesses operating across the borders of states, such as railroads, bus lines, airlines, radio, television, and

telephone. It has made kidnaping across state lines punishable by the Federal Government. The Congress sets up commissions such as the Interstate Commerce Commission (page 488) to put its regulations into effect. The many laws the Congress has passed under its power to control interstate commerce have been designed to promote business prosperity and to discourage both harmful practices and the admittance of immigrants considered undesirable.

**Section 8, Clause 4.** To establish an uniform rule on naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

This means that the Congress decides how immigrants may become naturalized citizens. In practice, for a long time, the states were also permitted to pass laws on bankruptcy (business failures). Today, bankruptcy laws are the same in all states and all such cases are tried in Federal courts.

**Section 8, Clause 5.** To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures,

Confusion had reigned under the Articles of Confederation, when the Congress lacked this power and each state issued its own money. The Congress, not the states, may now decide what constitutes money, may mint money, and may decide what foreign money is worth here.

**Section 8, Clause 6.** To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

Manufacturers of counterfeit money or counterfeit Government bonds may be punished in Federal courts.

**Section 8, Clause 7.** To establish post offices and post roads,

**Section 8, Clause 8.** To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries,

This clause gives protection to inventors and authors. Anyone who uses a patented invention or the copyrighted printed matter of an author without permission is liable to punishment by Federal courts. The purpose of patents and copyrights is not only to protect creative persons but to benefit the nation.

**Section 8, Clause 9.** To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court,

Only the Supreme Court was established by the Constitution. Less powerful Federal courts, such

as district, circuit, and claims courts, have been created by the Congress and could be abolished by the Congress. The Congress established the first such inferior courts immediately—in 1789.

**Section 8, Clause 10.** To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

*The Congress may punish crimes committed on the high seas (outside the three-mile limit), such as piracies and other crimes against what has come by tradition to be called international law.*

**Section 8, Clause 11.** To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

*Only the Congress may declare war. However, some act of a President or of a foreign nation might force the hand of the Congress. Letters of marque and reprisal were licenses granted to ordinary, not naval, ships, giving them the right to seize an enemy's ships. Such licensed ships were called privateers. Privateering is today illegal. But in the days when our navy was small, it was commonly practiced (page 89).*

**Section 8, Clause 12.** To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

*Under the Articles of Confederation, it had been difficult for the Congress to pay an army unless the states voted the money. It was because of fear that the military might become more powerful than the civil authority that the Constitution limits military appropriations for the army to two-year periods.*

**Section 8, Clause 13.** To provide and maintain a navy;

**Section 8, Clause 14.** To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

*This clause speaks for itself. The Congress has stretched it to read "land, naval and air forces."*

**Section 8, Clause 15.** To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

*Today, citizen volunteers in the states are called the National Guard. The Congress may call on the National Guard for help for what three specific reasons stated here?*

**Section 8, Clause 16.** To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to

the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

*In practice, Federal control over the National Guard is very extensive, even though the states have much power over it, too, such as the right to appoint its officers.*

**Section 8, Clause 17.** To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; And,

*The Congress makes laws for the District of Columbia (an area ten miles square, established in 1791, to house the nation's capital at Washington). The Congress also legislates for other Federal property that it owns or may buy.*

**Section 8, Clause 18: The Implied (Understood) Powers of Congress.** To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

*This is the famous elastic clause (page 128). The powers the Congress has stretched most often have been the powers to tax and to control interstate commerce. The power of the Congress is nevertheless curbed, because it may stretch only the powers delegated to it in the Constitution. Furthermore, Federal courts may declare that some acts of the Congress were not "necessary and proper" to carry out the powers granted in the Constitution.*

**Section 9: Powers Denied to the United States—<sup>1</sup>**

**Section 9, Clause 1: The Congress Is Forbidden to Forbid the Slave Trade Until After 1808.** The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

<sup>1</sup> Other powers denied to the United States are listed in Amendments I through X.

One of the compromises at the Constitutional Convention had dealt with this subject. The clause forbade the Congress to interfere with the slave trade until after 1808. "Such persons" meant slaves (page 346)

**Section 9, Clause 2: The Congress Is Forbidden to Suspend the Writ of Habeas Corpus Except in Case of Rebellion or Invasion.** The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

A writ of habeas corpus (page 139) protects persons against false arrests by their enemies. The Congress claimed that only it had power to suspend habeas corpus. However, when President Lincoln suspended habeas corpus during the War Between the States, the Congress supported his action. Later, the Supreme Court declared that a President could not suspend it without the Congress' consent.

**Section 9, Clause 3: The Congress Is Forbidden to Pass Bills of Attainder or Ex Post Facto Laws.** No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed

For explanations of these terms, see page 139.

**Section 9, Clause 4: The Congress Is Forbidden to Levy Direct Taxes Except in Proportion to Population.** No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken

As we know, an income tax is a direct tax. (See footnote, page 120.) Because of Clause 4, an amendment (the Sixteenth) was necessary to enable the Federal Government to levy an income tax. Income taxes were levied earlier than 1913 (when Amendment XVI was passed), but the Supreme Court declared one unconstitutional in 1894 as a violation of Clause 4.

**Section 9, Clause 5: The Congress Is Forbidden to Levy Taxes on Exports.** No tax or duty shall be laid on any articles exported from any State.

Such a tax on goods going from one state to another or to a foreign country would have been opposed by manufacturers, merchants, and farmers. Why?

**Section 9, Clause 6: The Congress Is Forbidden to Favor the Ports of One State Over Those of Another.** No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

For what obvious reason was the Federal Government forbidden to play favorites among the states or their seaports through taxation or other means?

**Section 9, Clause 7: The Congress Controls and Must Account For All Federal Expenditures.** No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time

Federal public money may not be spent by anyone without the Congress' approval beforehand. An accounting must be published in businesslike fashion to let taxpayers know where their money is going.

**Section 9, Clause 8: The Congress Is Forbidden to Grant Titles of Nobility.** No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

This ban on the granting of titles of nobility sprang in part from the new nation's hatred of the undemocratic class divisions of the Old World. In practice, an American official sometimes accepts gifts from foreign Governments without permission of the Congress.

**Section 10: Powers Denied to the States—**

**Section 10, Clause 1: The States Are Forbidden to Do Stated Things.** No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility

The framers of the Constitution wanted to make it clear that the states do not have certain powers that have been granted to the Federal Government, such as the power to coin money and the power to make treaties. They also made it clear that the states, like the Congress, are forbidden to pass ex post facto laws or to grant titles of nobility, for example. Furthermore, Clause 1 warns the states not to pass any law that would allow violation of contracts legally made by individuals or groups. A major purpose of such clauses was to protect creditors by making it impossible for the states to reduce debts.

**Section 10, Clause 2: The States May Not Levy Taxes on Imports or Exports, Unless the Con-**

*gress Consents.* No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

*This clause forbids the states to levy duties (except necessary inspection fees) on goods entering or leaving their borders, except by consent of the Congress. The need for this clause was driven home by the problems that arose when states had this power under the Articles of Confederation.*

**Section 10, Clause 3: The States Are Especially Forbidden to Exercise Certain Military Powers, Unless the Congress Consents.** No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

*The powers stated here are powers of the Federal Government. Therefore, the states are forbidden to exercise them without the consent of the Congress, unless the states are invaded or are in immediate danger.*

## ARTICLE II

### The Executive Branch Of Our Federal Government

**Section 1: The President Is the Nation's Chief Executive—**

**Section 1, Clause 1: The Terms of the President and Vice-President.** The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows

*One of the major weaknesses of the Government under the Articles of Confederation had been that it had no real Executive to enforce law. The President's four-year term seems to be a compromise between the representatives' two-year term and the senators' six-year term. Originally, there was no curb on the number of terms a President might serve. (See Amendment XXII for change.)*

**Section 1, Clause 2: The President Is Elected Indirectly—by the Majority Vote of Electors.** Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of elec-

tors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

*This clause does not state by what means the states shall choose the presidential electors. For many years in many states, the legislatures chose them. Today, electors are, as a rule, important members of the political parties, but they must not be persons holding positions in the Federal Government. Almost always, they vote for the candidate their party has nominated. How can you figure how many electoral votes a state has? The Constitution does not state in what manner candidates for the Presidency shall be nominated. Nor does it mention political parties. In practice, the nominating caucus (page 244) was originally used and today candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency are chosen by national nominating conventions run by the political parties.*

**Section 1, Clause 3: The Responsibilities of the Electors.** The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The political party whose electors win the largest number of popular votes in a state gets all of the electoral votes of the state. If its candidate receives a majority of the total electoral votes of all the states, he is elected. It is possible for a candidate to receive a majority of the popular vote without being elected (pages 146, 535). In the middle of December, the electoral college, as the electors are called collectively, cast the electoral votes. They do so not in one meeting but in their respective state capitals. At a meeting of both houses of the Congress on January 6, the electoral votes are counted. What two changes did Amendment XII (pages 145, 181; text of Amendment XII) make in this Clause 3?

**Section 1, Clause 4: The Congress Fixes Election Day and the Day for Meeting of Electors.** The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

The Congress has fixed the Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each year that can be divided by four, such as 1964, for the voters to choose electors.

**Section 1, Clause 5: Who Is Eligible to Become President.** No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

Today, no naturalized citizen may become President. State the other two requirements for a presidential candidate to fulfill. (The clause "a citizen of the United States at the time of adoption of this Constitution" is, of course, now obsolete. It was intended to make such leaders as Alexander Hamilton eligible.)

**Section 1, Clause 6: What Happens If the Presidency Becomes Vacant.** In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

For the Presidential Succession Act of 1886, see page 535; for that of 1947, see pages 133 and

866. In practice, no President has been removed because of conviction after impeachment. Nor has any President resigned. The Constitution does not state how it will be determined whether a President is physically or mentally well enough to perform his powers and duties.

**Section 1, Clause 7: The President's Salary May Not Be Raised or Lowered During His Term.** The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

So that poor, as well as rich, men may become President, the President is paid a salary. A 1949 law raised his salary to \$100,000 a year. His tax-exempt expense allowance amounts to an additional \$50,000. He also receives free the use of the White House and such expenses as transportation. Neither the United States nor the individual states may pay him an additional salary. For what reason do you think that the Congress was forbidden to raise or lower a President's salary during his term of office?

**Section 1, Clause 8: The President Must Take an Oath of Office.** Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

**Section 2: The Many Powers of the President—**

**Section 2, Clause 1: The President's Military and Judicial Powers.** The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

To keep civilian authority supreme over the military, the framers of the Constitution thought it wise to make the President Commander in Chief of the army and navy. The seeds of what came to be called the Cabinet were planted in this clause in the reference to "the principal officer in each of the executive departments." The Cabinet, which is an advisory group to the President, is not specifically mentioned in the Constitution.



*The President's judicial power to grant pardons and reprieves in Federal offenses does not extend to impeachment cases. Otherwise, he might have power to pardon himself and Federal officials close to him. In spite of separation of powers, the President has legislative powers, too, such as the veto, as we have seen in studying Article I.*

**Section 2, Clause 2: The President's Power to Make Treaties and Appointments Is Checked by the Senate.** He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

*The President and his advisers negotiate treaties with foreign nations. However, treaties must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the senators present (pages 120, 133). The failure to get the necessary two-thirds vote for the Treaty of Versailles after World War I kept the United States out of the League of Nations. A majority vote of the senators present is required for the approval of presidential appointments of specified important officials (pages 120, 132). However, the President does not need the Senate's approval to remove an appointed official. The appointment of hundreds of thousands of lesser Federal Government employees is arranged by a Civil Service Commission created by law (page 530).*

**Section 2, Clause 3: The President May Make Temporary Appointments to Fill Vacant Federal Offices When the Senate Is Not in Session.** The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

**Section 3: The President's Duties.** He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and

other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

*Actually, this section gives the President much legislative power. In giving his annual message, and particularly his special messages, to the Congress, he has an opportunity to publicize the program he desires.*

*A President's power to receive ambassadors means that he has great influence over our relations with foreign nations. By refusing to receive an ambassador, he is refusing to recognize a foreign Government.*

*A President's influence may be far greater than the Constitution makes it appear (page 131). The Constitution is so flexible that many a strong President has greatly stretched his constitutional powers. Sometimes, during wars or depressions, the Congress grants a President great additional power for the duration of the emergency. As leader of his political party, the President may withhold support or patronage (page 133) from those who do not support his program.*

**Section 4: A President and Other Federal Civil Officers May Be Removed After Conviction on Impeachment Charges.** The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

*All Federal executive and judicial officers are subject to removal if convicted after impeachment. The roles of the House and of the Senate in such procedures are, as we know, described in Article I. Congressmen are not subject to impeachment since, as we know, each house may expel members. Military personnel are not subject to impeachment since they may be court-martialed. Only one President, Andrew Johnson, has been impeached, and he was not convicted (page 416).*

## ARTICLE III

### The Supreme Court and Lesser Federal Courts: The Judicial Branch of the Federal Government

**Section 1: The Federal Courts and the Term and Pay of Federal Judges.** The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Another important weakness of the Government under the Articles of Confederation had been the absence of national courts. The Constitution establishes the Supreme Court and leaves it up to the Congress to create lesser Federal courts (page 158; Article I, Section 8, Clause 9) and to determine the number of judges in each. As we know, Federal judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. A Federal judge may serve for life if his behavior is good. Furthermore, his salary may not be reduced. These provisions free him, in giving decisions, from fear of political pressure that might cause his dismissal or a cut in his pay. For many years, the number of Supreme Court judges has been nine.

#### **Section 2: Cases Over Which Federal Courts Have Authority (Jurisdiction)—**

**Section 2, Clause 1: Types of Cases Heard by Federal Courts.** The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

"Admiralty and maritime jurisdiction" refers to cases involving ships, shipping, and sailors, on the high seas and on inland waterways. For each type of case in Clause 1, indicate why it is wise to have it handled by Federal, rather than state, courts.

Since the adoption of Amendment XI, it is illegal for a citizen of one state or of a foreign country to sue another state in a Federal court.

**Section 2, Clause 2: Cases in Which the Supreme Court Has Original and Appellate Jurisdiction.** In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

For an explanation of original and appellate jurisdiction, see page 134.

This clause also gives the Congress the right to

forbid certain appeals to go to the Supreme Court. Thus the Congress may forestall the Supreme Court from declaring a law unconstitutional. The power of the Supreme Court was greatly increased under Chief Justice John Marshall (page 224).

**Section 2, Clause 3: Trial Must Be by Jury in Federal Criminal Offenses.** The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed, but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

It is part of our heritage from Britain that a trial must be held in the region where the crime was committed and that jury members must be residents of the community in which the crime was committed.

#### **Section 3: Congress Decides the Punishment for Treason—**

**Section 3, Clause 1: Treason Defined.** Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The framers of the Constitution, being students of history, knew that in the past, innocent persons had been falsely accused of treason by their enemies. This explains the safeguards in this clause.

**Section 3, Clause 2: The Punishment for Treason.** The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

The Founding Fathers knew, too, that in early English history, traitors were savagely punished and that their children and other descendants were also punished. Clause 2 protects a convicted traitor's children and other descendants against punishment. It gives the Congress power to fix the punishment for treason.

### **ARTICLE IV**

#### **Relations Between the United States And the States, and Between One State and Other States**

**Section 1: All States Must Respect the Official Acts of Other States.** Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State,

and the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

*This means, for example, that a marriage, divorce, will, or contract legal in one state should be recognized as legal in all. Sometimes, however, states have refused to recognize divorcees granted in certain states where divorcees are more easily obtained than in other states. What serious situations might occur if states refused in general to recognize as legal the official acts of other states?*

## **Section 2: Other Duties of States Toward Other States—**

**Section 2, Clause 1: A Lawful Citizen in One State Is a Lawful Citizen in All States.** The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

*This means that if a citizen moves to another state, he will have the same rights as citizens already living there. He may have to wait a specified time before he can vote there, however.*

**Section 2, Clause 2: Fugitives from Justice from One State to Another Must Be Returned.** A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

*No steps have ever been taken to force a governor who refuses to observe extradition (page 131) to do so. What serious situation would arise if governors regularly refused to observe extradition?*

**Section 2, Clause 3: Runaway Slaves and Apprentices Must Be Returned.** No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

*On the basis of this clause, the Congress passed two fugitive slave laws. However, there are no longer indentured servants (apprentices bound for specified time periods, page 53). Furthermore, the Thirteenth Amendment, in 1865, abolished slavery. Therefore, the clause is obsolete.*

**Section 3: The Congress May Admit New States and Regulate Federal Territory—**

**Section 3, Clause 1: Limitations on the Con-**

*gress' Power to Admit New States.* New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

*Because the Congress has exercised the power granted in this clause, the Union is now made up of fifty states, instead of the original thirteen. However, the Constitution guarantees that no state will be reduced in size and that no two states will be merged wholly or in part without their consent. Massachusetts consented to the creation of Maine out of its territory. Virginia did not consent to the creation of West Virginia out of its territory. Find out why, then, West Virginia was admitted to the Union.*

**Section 3, Clause 2: The Congress Controls United States Territory and Property.** The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

*This refers to United States lands not under the jurisdiction of a state. The Northwest Ordinance (page 115), adopted before the Constitution was, continued to apply to territories desiring to become states on a par with earlier states. The word "needful" here was open to different interpretations.*

**Section 4: Each State Is Guaranteed a Republican Form of Government and Protection Against Invasion and Rebellion.** The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

*This assures the people of each state a representative form of state government and protection against invaders from other states or from foreign nations. If the state asks for Federal help to suppress an uprising, it must be given. However, in the case of the Pullman strike (page 511), the governor of Illinois did not consider Federal help needed. Yet President Cleveland sent in troops. Why? (See page 513.) How do the constitutional guarantees in Section 4 help to strengthen the Union?*

## ARTICLE V

### How the Constitution May Be Amended

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

*Two of the three original limitations on the power of amendment—those with respect to the slave trade and to direct taxes—are now out of date. Which limitation is still in effect? (See page 147.)*

## ARTICLE VI

### Some General But Very Important Clauses

**Section 1: A Pledge to Honor Past Debts.** All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

*The framers made it clear here that the new Constitution was not being drawn up to evade the payment of debts incurred under the Articles of Confederation. Under Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton, the constitutional pledge was honored.*

**Section 2: The Constitution Plus Federal Laws and Treaties Equal the Supreme Law of the Land.** This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

*This important clause makes it clear that in case there is any conflict between state constitutions or state laws and the Federal Constitution or Federal laws, the Federal Government, not the state government, must be obeyed. The Founding Fathers realized that without this clause, the*

*new Government would be weak, as the central Government under the Articles of Confederation had been.*

**Section 3: All Federal and State Officials Are Required by Oath to Support the Constitution; A Religious Test Is Forbidden.** The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution, but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

*To clinch the idea that the Federal Government is supreme in case of conflicting opinions, state government officials, as well as Federal Government officials, are required to take this oath to uphold the Constitution. The Constitution requires the states to perform many acts as agents of the Federal Government—such as conducting Federal elections. Section 3 adds that anyone who qualifies for Federal office in other ways may not be barred because of his religion. This was in line with the principle of separation of church and state that Roger Williams had promoted in the Rhode Island colony (page 24). Amendment I also stresses freedom of worship.*

## ARTICLE VII

### The Constitution Is In Effect When Ratified by Conventions in Nine States

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

*In requiring only nine of the thirteen states to ratify the Constitution, its framers were overstepping their authority (page 121). There are only thirty-nine signatures to the Constitution, signed September 17, 1787. There had been sixty-five delegates selected to attend the Convention. Ten refused to attend. Thirteen left before it was over. And three still there refused to sign. There were no delegates from Rhode Island. Eleven states ratified the Constitution in 1787 and 1788. Rhode Island and North Carolina ratified in 1790, after the Constitution was in effect.*

## AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

*The first ten amendments, proposed in 1789 and ratified by 1791, have come to be called the Bill of Rights (page 140). These are restrictions on the power of the Federal Government. Note*

that several clauses in the Constitution proper, such as that forbidding *ex post facto* laws (page 139), also protect the people's rights. In addition, each state has a bill of rights to safeguard the people against interference with their rights by the states. Note that the words "people" and "person" are used, not "citizens" or "citizen." Thus the Bill of Rights protects all, citizens and noncitizens alike.

#### **AMENDMENT I** [adopted 1791]

##### **The Congress Is Forbidden to Interfere With Freedom of Religion, Speech, The Press, Assembly, or Petition**

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

*A discussion of the rights granted and the limitations on these rights starts on page 140.*

#### **AMENDMENT II** [adopted 1791]

##### **The Congress Is Forbidden to Forbid People to Own and Carry Arms**

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

*The states have power to limit the people's right to own and carry arms. Many states, for example, require anyone who needs weapons for protection to obtain a license. This clause really means that the Federal Government will not interfere with the states' right to keep a militia.*

#### **AMENDMENT III** [adopted 1791]

##### **The Congress Is Forbidden to Quarter Soldiers in People's Homes**

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

#### **AMENDMENT IV** [adopted 1791]

##### **Unreasonable Searches and Seizures Of Homes and Other Property Are Forbidden to Federal Officials**

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be

violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

*Amendments III and IV: One of the causes of the American Revolution had been bitterness toward the British for sometimes quartering troops in colonial homes in peacetime. Another was the use of general, rather than specific, search warrants (see writs of assistance, page 65). The framers of the Constitution were determined (a) that people should not be forced to house soldiers unless, in a war emergency, the Congress passed a law saying so; and (b) that people should be free from unjust search of their homes and property in general. Federal officials are therefore forbidden to search or arrest an individual or search his home or other property without a warrant (page 140).*

#### **AMENDMENT V** [adopted 1791]

##### **Federal Courts Must Respect The Right of Trial by Jury and the Right to Life, Liberty, and Property**

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

*Federal courts are forbidden to try a person for a crime requiring the death penalty or imprisonment for more than a year, unless a grand jury has indicted him (investigated and found enough evidence for a trial). Exempt from this rule are persons serving in the armed forces during war or in other emergency periods, for these may be punished under martial law. No one may be tried a second time ("twice put in jeopardy") for the same offense if he has been tried and found innocent the first time (page 141). No one accused of a crime may be forced to give evidence that might prove him guilty (page 141). This was to prevent his being pressured physically or mentally in order to make him confess. No one may have taken from him his "life" (through execution), his "liberty" (through imprisonment), or his "property" (through fine or seizure), un-*

less he has been tried and found guilty. Although there has been much debate in court over the precise meaning of this clause, the expression "due process of law" has usually been interpreted to mean a court trial and other rights guaranteed by the Constitution to an accused person. With respect to taking private property for public use, see eminent domain (page 141).

#### **AMENDMENT VI** [adopted 1791]

##### **Federal Courts Must Grant Accused Persons Certain Rights In Criminal Cases**

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense

Like Amendments V, VII, and VIII, Amendment VI is particularly concerned with protecting people accused of crimes. According to British tradition, a man is innocent until proved guilty, and a writ of habeas corpus (pages 46, 139) is guaranteed. Amendment VI guarantees that Federal courts will give an accused person: (a) a quick trial; (b) a public trial, where others may see how he is being treated; and (c) a trial before unbiased residents of the community where the crime was committed. (As distinguished from the grand jury, which has power of indictment, this petty [or trial] jury listens to all testimony and then must agree unanimously that an accused person is guilty. If the jury's vote is not unanimous, the accused is held innocent.) The accused is further guaranteed: (d) that he be told why he is on trial, (e) that witnesses against him will give their testimony in his presence, (f) that, if necessary, the court will force witnesses for him to give their testimony, and (g) that he will have a lawyer, whether he can afford one or not

#### **AMENDMENT VII** [adopted 1791]

##### **Federal Courts Must Grant Jury Trials in Certain Civil Suits**

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined

in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

If a sum larger than \$20 is involved in a civil suit, the disputants may demand a trial by jury. (For common law, see page 46.) This is another element of our heritage from the British.

#### **AMENDMENT VIII** [adopted 1791]

##### **Federal Courts Must Not Impose Excessive Bail or Unreasonable Fines or Punishments**

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted

For a discussion of bail, see pages 139, 141. If an accused person is found guilty, he may not be fined such a large sum that it is unjust. Nor may his punishment be so "cruel or unusual" as torture, for example.

#### **AMENDMENT IX** [adopted 1791]

##### **The Federal Government Recognizes That the People Have Many Other Rights Impossible to List Here**

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Merely because certain rights of the people are enumerated in the Constitution does not mean that the people have not many other rights.

#### **AMENDMENT X** [adopted 1791]

##### **Powers Not Delegated to the Federal Government Nor Forbidden the States Belong to the States or the People**

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

The powers given the Federal Government by the Constitution are enumerated, specified, or delegated (page 128). The Constitution has forbidden certain powers to the states (page 130). The so-called "reserved" powers (page 130) referred to here are a recognition of states' rights

#### **AMENDMENT XI** [adopted 1798]

##### **A State May Not Be Sued in a Federal Court by a Citizen of Another State Or of a Foreign Country**

The judicial power of the United States shall

be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

*Amendment XI changes part of Article 3, Section 2, Clause 1. This change resulted from a suit brought against the state of Georgia by a citizen of South Carolina. Supporters of states' rights demanded the amendment to prevent a citizen of one state from bringing suit in the Federal courts against the government of another state. Foreigners are also forbidden to do so. Such suits must be brought to the courts of the state being sued. This amendment is also a recognition of states' rights.*

## AMENDMENT XII

[adopted 1804]

### Certain Procedures in Electing the President and Vice-President Are Changed

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole numbers of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the

President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person having a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

*Amendment XII changes Article 2, Section 1, Clause 3, which ordered the electors in the states to vote for the President and Vice-President on a single ballot, without indicating which man was being selected for which job. The change was made necessary as a result of the election of 1800, in which there was a tie between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr (page 180). Amendment XII deals with the problem by providing for separate ballots for President and Vice-President. If there is a tie for the Presidency, or no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives elects the President, choosing from the three men having the most electoral votes. In such a case, each state, no matter how many representatives it has, casts one vote. If the House has not made its choice by the date of the beginning of the President's term (then March 4, now January 20 following presidential Election Day), the candidate elected Vice-President by the Senate becomes President. Confusing situations developed in 1824 (page 230) and 1876 (page 528). If no candidate for Vice-President receives a majority of electoral votes, Amendment XII says that the Senate shall elect him, choosing from the two men having the most electoral votes. Amendment XII states that the Vice-President must have the same qualifications as the President. Article II had failed to state these. Amendment XII requires that electors vote for a candidate for either President or Vice-President who is not from their own state. Thus it tries to prevent having the President and the Vice-President from the same state. Actually, to insure winning more votes, political parties almost always choose their presidential and vice-presidential candidates from different parts of the nation.*

*In practice, political parties play the major role in determining who becomes President and Vice-President. It is the political parties that determine whose names appear in primaries (page 594) and it is party delegates who nominate*

the President and Vice-President at national nominating conventions. The framers of both Article II and Amendment XII meant for the presidential electors to exercise their judgment in voting. Actually, however, the electors today, almost without exception, vote as instructed by the party. On Election Day, the voter casts his ballot for his party's electors, but everyone knows that he is merely voting indirectly for whichever party's candidates he desires to be President and Vice-President. And the results of the election are known as soon as the voters' not the electors' votes are counted. Because it is possible for a President to be elected who wins a majority of the electoral, but not of the popular, vote, some are dissatisfied with the constitutional manner of electing the President. (See the election of 1888, page 535.)

### AMENDMENT XIII [adopted 1865]<sup>1</sup>

#### **Slavery Under the American Flag Is Forbidden**

**Section 1: Existing Slavery Is Abolished and Future Slavery Is Forbidden.** Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Many "free" states had abolished slavery much earlier than 1865, the year that Amendment XIII was adopted. Furthermore, as Union victories multiplied after January 1, 1863, the date when President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation, more slaves in the Confederacy had been freed. Although Amendment XIII formally abolished slavery in all states and territories, it allows forced labor in prisons, where convicted criminals are being punished.

**Section 2: The Congress Is Granted Enforcing Power.** Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 2 was added to Amendment XIII because the Radical Republicans in control of the Congress feared that President Johnson, the executive authority, would not enforce it. Nor did they expect co-operation from executive authorities in certain states.

### AMENDMENT XIV [adopted 1868]

#### **More Restrictions Are Placed on States**

**Section 1: Who Is a Citizen and Some of His Guaranteed Civil Rights.** All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Radical Republicans in control of the Congress after the War Between the States wanted to (a) insure civil rights for Negroes and (b) punish the former Confederate states. The Radical Republicans felt that some former Confederate states might wish to deny freed slaves citizenship and the rights that go with citizenship. Therefore, their definition of citizenship was so worded that Negroes born in the United States had to be considered citizens of the United States and of the states in which they live. Notice that here the "due process" clause restricts the states. A similar clause in Amendment V restricts the Federal Government. In the eyes of the Supreme Court, the word "person" means a corporation, as well as an individual. This interpretation made it difficult for states to regulate corporations. For regulations might deprive corporations of "liberty or property, without due process of law," or might be considered to withhold from corporations "equal protection of the laws."

**Section 2: When States Deny Negroes the Vote, Their Representation Shall Be Reduced.** Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

<sup>1</sup> Note that for more than sixty years (1804-1865), no amendments were adopted. Three—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth—were adopted as a result of the War Between the States.



Section 2 ended the three-fifths compromise in Article I, Section 2, Clause 3. As a result, the Southern states had greater representation in the House of Representatives. The Radical Republicans in control of the Congress wanted to insure the freed slaves the right to vote, hoping also that they would vote Republican. Section 2 therefore also provides for punishing states that deny the vote to qualified citizens, including Negroes. The punishment, a reduction in the states' representation, has never been inflicted.

**Section 3: Many Former Confederate Leaders Are Barred from Federal and State Office.** No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 3 left the Southern states without their former leaders, after the War Between the States. By 1898, however, the Congress had exercised its power to "remove such disability" from those former Confederates not welcomed back earlier.

**Section 4: The United States Debt Is Honored, But the Confederate Debt Is Repudiated.** The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

This section made Confederate money and bonds worthless. It forbade compensation to former slaveowners as a result of their having freed their slaves. But it stated that the Union's war debt would be paid.

**Section 5: The Congress Is Granted Enforcing Power.** The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

## **AMENDMENT XV** [adopted 1870]

### **A Restriction Is Placed on Both Federal and State Power To Decide Who May Vote**

**Section 1: An Attempt to Protect Negroes Against Being Barred from Voting.** The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

*In spite of the fact that this amendment is nearly 100 years old, it still makes headlines. For what reasons?*

**Section 2: The Congress Is Granted Enforcing Authority.** The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

*The Radical Republicans feared that many former Confederate states would place many obstacles in the way of Negro voting. That is why they placed the power to enforce Amendment XV in the hands of the Congress. The Congress was then controlled by Radical Republicans.*

## **AMENDMENT XVI** [adopted 1913]

### **A Federal Income Tax Is Made Constitutional**

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

*An income tax had been levied during the War Between the States and had gone unchallenged in the courts. But in 1895, the Supreme Court had decided that an income tax was a direct tax and that it was unconstitutional because it did not comply with Article I, Section 9, Clause 4. Amendment XVI made it possible for the Congress to levy taxes on incomes from any source without their being apportioned among the states according to population.*

## **AMENDMENT XVII** [adopted 1913]

### **The Method of Electing Senators Is Changed**

**Section 1: Senators Henceforth Are Elected Directly by the Voters.** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the quali-

fications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

*Amendment XVII gave the voters the right to elect their United States senators, thereby changing the method outlined in Article I, Section 3, Clause 1. A major reason for the adoption of this amendment was the demand of progressives that more power—both elective and legislative—be placed in the hands of the people (page 597).*

**Section 2: How Senate Vacancies Are Filled.** When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

*Section 2 empowers the governor of a state to call a special election to fill a Senate vacancy. In practice, state legislatures usually grant the governor the power to fill the vacancy temporarily.*

**Section 3.** This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

#### **AMENDMENT XVIII** [adopted 1919]

##### **National Prohibition Is Adopted**

**Section 1:** The Manufacture, Sale, or Transportation of Intoxicating Liquors as Beverages Is Forbidden. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

*Many states had had earlier temperance or prohibition laws. Amendment XVIII was shortened, as it was repealed in 1933 by Amendment XXI. No other amendment has been repealed. Amendment XVIII did not define "intoxicating." However, the Congress did, by law (page 706).*

**Section 2:** The United States and the States Share the Power of Enforcing Amendment XVIII. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

*When the United States and the states share a power, it is said to be a concurrent power*

*Even though the nation and the states both had enforcing power, this amendment was most difficult to enforce. In fact, one of the reasons for its repeal was the difficulty of enforcing it (pages 706, 755)*

**Section 3: The Time for Ratification of Amendment XVIII Is Limited.** This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

*Never before had the Congress limited the time for ratification of an amendment by the states.*

#### **AMENDMENT XIX** [adopted 1920]

##### **A Second Restriction Is Placed on Federal and State Power To Decide Who May Vote**

**Section 1:** Women Are Protected Against Being Barred from Voting. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

*Many states had granted women the right to vote before Amendment XIX forbade the states to deny the right to vote to women just because of their sex.*

**Section 2:** The Congress Is Granted Enforcing Authority. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **AMENDMENT XX** [adopted 1933]

##### **Presidential and Congressional 'Lame-duck' Periods Are Shortened**

**Section 1:** Presidential and Congressional Terms Are Changed to Begin in January of Particular Odd Years. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified, and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

*It seems democratic to have the men elected on Election Day take office as soon as possible to replace the "lame ducks" (page 745), who have been rejected at the polls. Since 1933, instead of waiting thirteen months to start making laws, congressmen newly elected in November take office on January 3. Similarly, instead of waiting*

until March 4 to be inaugurated, the new President and Vice-President take office January 20. Here are some of the evils that it was hoped the 'Lame-duck' Amendment would eliminate or curb in the Congress: (a) absenteeism, (b) indifference to legislation, and (c) delayed action in periods of emergency.

**Section 2: The Congress Meets Annually Beginning January 3.** The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the third day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

*Section 2 replaced Article I, Section 4, Clause 2, according to which the Congress met annually on the first Monday of December. The Congress has power to pass a law changing the January 3 date.*

**Section 3: What Happens If Neither the Elected President Nor Vice-President Is Qualified to Take Office.** If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

*If the newly elected President dies before Inauguration Day, the newly elected Vice-President becomes President. If the newly elected President fails to qualify under the terms of the Constitution, the Vice-President serves until a qualified President is chosen. The Congress is granted power to decide what procedure will be followed if neither the newly elected President nor the newly elected Vice-President has the qualifications for the Presidency required by the Constitution.*

**Section 4: What Happens When Election Is Up to Either the House or the Senate (in Case of Death of Candidates).** The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of

the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

*Suppose no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes. Then, as we know, the election of the President is thrown into the House of Representatives, and that of the Vice-President into the Senate. In such a case, the Congress may decide what shall be done should one or more of the candidates die.*

**Section 5: When Amendment XX Was to Become Effective.** Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the fifteenth day of October following the ratification of this article.

**Section 6: Amendment XX Is Required to Be Ratified Within Seven Years.** This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

## AMENDMENT XXI

[adopted 1933]

### National Prohibition Is Repealed

**Section 1: Amendment XVIII Is Canceled.** The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

*For reasons why it was felt desirable to repeal Amendment XVIII during the Great Depression, see page 755.*

**Section 2: Intoxicating-Liquor Shipments into 'Dry' States Are Forbidden If States Forbid Them.** The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

*The right of states to have prohibition laws is recognized here. More than that, the Federal Government protects a "dry" state by forbidding shipments of intoxicating liquors, for example, from a "wet" state to a "dry" state. As of 1963, Mississippi is the only state that bans the sale of intoxicating liquors.*

**Section 3: Amendment XXI Is Required to Be Ratified by State Conventions, and Within Seven Years.** This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

*Amendment XXI is the only amendment that*

was ratified by conventions in the states, instead of by state legislatures. It was felt that it would be democratic to have conventions especially selected by the voters for the purpose of expressing their will on the proposed amendment. As in the case of Amendments XVIII and XX, a time limit was set for ratification. In less than a year, the conventions ratified Amendment XXI.

## **AMENDMENT XXII**

[adopted 1951]

### **Presidential Term Is Limited To No More Than Ten Years**

*Section 1: Three Full Terms in the Presidency Are Forbidden.* No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Until 1940, an unwritten part of the Constitution had been the custom by which no President from Washington on had served more than two terms. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, however, was elected in that year for a third term, and, four years later, for a fourth. Amendment XXII was passed during President Harry S. Truman's administration. However, it specified that it was not to apply to him, should he wish to run again. He didn't. Note that if an individual serves more than two years in

filling out the term of an elected President, he may run for President on his own for only one term.

*Section 2: Amendment XXII Is Required to Be Ratified Within Seven Years.* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

## **AMENDMENT XXIII**

[adopted 1961]

### **The District of Columbia Is Given The Vote in Presidential Elections**

*Section 1: How the Number of the District's Electors Is to Be Determined.* The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct.

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State, they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State, and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

*This amendment means that voters in the District of Columbia will have a voice in electing the President and Vice-President. However, they still have no voice in electing members of the legislative branch.*

*Section 2: The Congress Is Granted Enforcing Authority.* The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

**PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES**

### Some Minor Party Candidates

President	Term	Party	Vice-President	Leading Opponents in Election	Some Minor Party Candidates
George Washington (1732-1799)	1789-1797	None	John Adams	None	
John Adams (1735-1826)	1797-1801	Fed.	Thomas Jefferson	Thomas Jefferson, Rep., 1796	
Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)	1801-1809	Rep.	Aaron Burr	John Adams, Fed., 1800	
			George Clinton	Charles C. Pinckney, Fed., 1804	
James Madison (1751-1836)	1809-1817	Rep.	George Clinton	Charles C. Pinckney, Fed., 1808	
			Elbridge Gerry	De Witt Clinton, Fed., 1812	
James Monroe (1758-1831)	1817-1825	Rep.	Daniel D. Tompkins	Rufus King, Fed., 1816	
				None, 1820	
John Quincy Adams (1767-1848)	1825-1829	Nat. Rep.	John C. Calhoun	Andrew Jackson, William H. Crawford, Henry Clay, Reps., 1824	
Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)	1829-1837	Dem.	John C. Calhoun	John Quincy Adams, Nat. Rep., 1828	
			Martin Van Buren	Henry Clay, Nat. Rep., 1832	
Martin Van Buren (1782-1862)	1837-1841	Dem.	Richard M. Johnson	William H. Harrison, Hugh L. White, Daniel Webster, Whigs, 1836	
				Martin Van Buren, Dem., 1840	
William H. Harrison (1773-1841)	1841 (1 mo.)	Whig	John Tyler		James G. Birney, Liberty
John Tyler (1790-1862)	1841-1845	Whig		Henry Clay, Whig, 1844	Martin Van Buren, Free-Soil
James K. Polk (1795-1849)	1845-1849	Dem.	George M. Dallas	Lewis Cass, Dem., 1848	
Zachary Taylor (1784-1850)	1849-1850	Whig	Millard Fillmore		
Millard Fillmore (1800-1874)	1850-1853	Whig		Winfield Scott, Whig, 1852	Millard Fillmore, Amer.-Whig
Franklin Pierce (1804-1869)	1853-1857	Dem.	William R. King	John C. Frémont, Rep., 1856	
James Buchanan (1791-1868)	1857-1861	Dem.	John C. Breckinridge	John C. Breckinridge,	John Bell, Const. Union
Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)	1861-1865	Rep.	Hannibal Hamlin	Stephen A. Douglas, Dems., 1860	
				George B. McClellan, Dem., 1864	
Andrew Johnson (1808-1875)	1865-1869	Rep.	Andrew Johnson	Horatio Seymour, Dem., 1868	James B. Weaver, Greenback-Lab.
Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885)	1869-1877	Rep.	Schuyler Colfax	Horace Greeley, Lib. Rep.-Dem., 1872	
			Henry Wilson	Samuel J. Tilden, Dem., 1876	
Rutherford B. Hayes (1822-1893)	1877-1881	Rep.	William A. Wheeler	Winfield S. Hancock, Dem., 1880	
James A. Garfield (1831-1881)	1881 (6½ mo.)	Rep.	Chester A. Arthur		
Chester A. Arthur (1830-1886)	1881-1885	Rep.		James G. Blaine, Rep., 1884	
Grover Cleveland (1837-1908)	1885-1889	Dem.	Thomas A. Hendricks	Grover Cleveland, Dem., 1888	
Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901)	1889-1893	Rep.	Levi P. Morton	Benjamin Harrison, Rep., 1892	James B. Weaver, Populist
Grover Cleveland (1837-1908)	1893-1897	Dem.	Adlai E. Stevenson	William J. Bryan, Dem.-Pop., 1896	
William McKinley (1843-1901)	1897-1901	Rep.	Garrett A. Hobart	William J. Bryan, Dem., 1900	
			Theodore Roosevelt	Alton B. Parker, Dem., 1904	
Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919)	1901-1909	Rep.	Charles W. Fairbanks	William J. Bryan, Dem., 1908	Eugene V. Debs, Socialist
William H. Taft (1857-1930)	1909-1913	Rep.	James S. Sherman	Theodore Roosevelt, Prog.,	Eugene V. Debs, Socialist
Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924)	1913-1921	Dem.	Thomas R. Marshall	William H. Taft, Rep., 1912	A. L. Benson, Socialist
				Charles E. Hughes, Rep., 1916	Eugene V. Debs, Socialist
Warren G. Harding (1865-1923)	1921-1923	Rep.	Calvin Coolidge	James M. Cox, Dem., 1920	Robert M. La Follette, Prog.
Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933)	1923-1929	Rep.	Charles G. Dawes	John W. Davis, Dem., 1924	
Herbert Hoover (1874- )	1929-1933	Rep.	Charles Curtis	Alfred E. Smith, Dem., 1928	
Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945)	1933-1945	Dem.	John N. Garner	Herbert Hoover, Rep., 1932	Norman Thomas, Socialist
				Alfred M. Landon, Rep., 1936	William Lemke, Union
			Henry A. Wallace	Wendell L. Willkie, Rep., 1940	
			Harry S. Truman	Thomas E. Dewey, Rep., 1944	
			Alben W. Barkley	Thomas E. Dewey, Rep., 1948	
Harry S. Truman (1884- )	1945-1953	Dem.			
Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890- )	1953-1961	Rep.	Richard M. Nixon	Adlai E. Stevenson, Dem., 1952	J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rts.,
John F. Kennedy (1917-1963)	1961-1963	Dem.	Lyndon B. Johnson	Adlai E. Stevenson, Dem., 1956	Henry A. Wallace, Prog.
Lyndon B. Johnson (1908- )	1963-	Dem.		Richard M. Nixon, Rep., 1960	

State	Admission	Capital	Population (1900)	Representatives (Based on 1900 Census)	Area in Square Miles	Nickname
Delaware	1787	Dover	446,262	1	2,057	Diamond State, First State
Pennsylvania	1787	Harrisburg	1,131,308	27	45,333	Keystone State
New Jersey	1787	Trenton	6,066,782	15	7,838	Garden State
Georgia	1788	Atlanta	3,913,116	10	58,876	Empire State of the South
Connecticut	1788	Hartford	2,335,234	6	5,069	Constitution State
Massachusetts	1788	Boston	5,148,578	12	8,287	Bay State, Old Colony
Maryland	1788	Annapolis	3,100,689	6	10,577	Old Line State, Free State
South Carolina	1788	Columbia	2,382,534	6	31,035	Palmetto State
New Hampshire	1788	Concord	608,921	2	9,304	Granite State
Virginia	1788	Richmond	3,698,949	10	40,615	Old Dominion
New York	1788	Albany	16,782,304	41	49,576	Empire State
North Carolina	1789	Raleigh	4,550,135	11	52,712	Tar Heel State, Old North State
Rhode Island	1790	Providence	859,488	2	1,214	Little Rhody
Vermont	1791	Montpelier	380,881	1	9,609	Green Mountain State
Kentucky	1792	Frankfort	3,038,156	7	40,395	Blue Grass State
Tennessee	1796	Nashville	3,567,989	9	42,246	Volunteer State
Ohio	1803	Columbus	9,706,397	24	41,222	Ruckeye State
Louisiana	1812	Baton Rouge	3,257,022	8	48,523	Pelican State
Indiana	1816	Indianapolis	4,662,498	11	36,291	Hoosier State
Mississippi	1817	Jackson	2,178,141	5	47,716	Magnolia State
Illinois	1818	Springfield	10,081,158	24	56,400	Prairie State
Alabama	1819	Montgomery	3,260,740	8	51,609	Heart of Dixie, Cotton State
Missouri	1820	Augusta	999,265	2	33,215	Pine Tree State
Wisconsin	1821	Jefferson City	4,319,813	10	69,674	Show Me State
Arkansas	1836	Little Rock	1,786,272	4	53,102	Land of Opportunity
Michigan	1837	Lansing	7,823,194	19	58,216	Wolverine State
Florida	1845	Tallahassee	4,351,560	12	58,560	Sunshine State
Texas	1845	Austin	9,579,677	23	267,359	Lone Star State
Iowa	1846	Des Moines	2,757,537	7	59,280	Hawkeye State
Wisconsin	1848	Madison	3,951,777	10	56,134	Badger State
California	1850	Sacramento	15,717,204	38	158,668	Golden State
Minnesota	1853	St. Paul	3,413,864	6	84,068	North Star State, Copher State
Oregon	1859	Salem	1,768,687	4	96,981	Beaver State
Kansas	1861	Topeka	2,178,611	5	82,276	Sunflower State
Nebraska	1864	Omaha	1,860,421	5	24,181	Mountain State
West Virginia	1863	Charleston	255,278	1	110,540	Sagebrush State, Silver State
Nevada	1864	Carson City	1,411,230	2	77,237	Beef State, Cornhusker State
Colorado	1876	Denver	1,753,947	4	101,247	Centennial State
North Dakota	1887	Bismarck	632,446	2	70,665	Sonny State, Flickertail State
South Dakota	1889	Pierre	680,514	2	77,047	Coyote State, Sunshine State
Montana	1889	Helena	674,767	2	147,138	Treasure State
Washington	1889	Olympia	2,853,214	7	68,192	Evergreen State
Idaho	1890	Boise	667,191	2	83,557	Gem State
Wyoming	1890	Cheyenne	339,066	1	97,914	Equality State
Utah	1896	Salt Lake City	890,627	2	89,919	Beehive State
Mississippi	1907	Oklahoma City	2,328,984	6	69,919	Sooner State
New Mexico	1912	Santa Fe	951,023	2	121,668	Land of Enchantment
Arizona	1912	Phoenix	1,362,161	3	113,909	Grand Canyon State
Alaska	1959	Juneau	228,167	1	586,400	The Last Frontier
Hawaii	1959	Honolulu	632,772	1	6,424	Aloha State

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